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Gods and Languages in Ancient Anatolia

Mariona Vernet, Ignasi-Xavier Adiego,
José Virgilio García Trabazo, María-Paz de Hoz,
Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach (eds.)

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Cover image: Drawing of the Stag-God of the Steppe, copied (J. D. Hawkins) from an orthostat. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara.

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Nu nekuz meḫur kuitmankan ^{d}UTU-*uš nāwi ūpzi...* (KUB 4.47 i 11)
In the twilight, before the sun rises ...

Heiner Eichner
In Memoriam

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Foreword

Anatolian studies, in all their linguistic, epigraphic and archaeological dimensions, are currently flourishing, with the incorporation of young new scholars, new discoveries and different perspectives of analysis that enrich and deepen this wide-ranging and interdisciplinary field of study. This is why we are pleased to offer the present volume, which is mainly devoted to the Anatolian divinities but also explores some very interesting linguistic and epigraphic novelties in the Anatolian languages. However, despite these grounds for celebration, it is with sadness that we must mourn the loss of Prof. Heiner Eichner, professor emeritus at the Universität Wien, who passed away very recently (7/3/2024). Professor Eichner was one of the great Anatolists and Indo-Europeanists whose influence on the study of Anatolian and Indo-European languages is undeniable. An example of his contribution is Eichner's Law, published in a 1973 article on the etymology of Hitt. *mēḫur* 'time, period', according to which PIE *h_2 did not colour *$\bar{e}$. Heiner Eichner, who was a member of our research project, always firmly believed that linguistic and philological studies of Anatolian languages should go hand in hand with epigraphy and archaeology; so we hope that this volume, which reflects precisely this interdisciplinary vision that he so enthusiastically and rigorously defended, will serve as a tribute to him, an expression of our sincere gratitude and acknowledgment of his achievements. On behalf of the editors, I would like to dedicate this volume to him *in memoriam*.

This volume is published inside the framework of a research project funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation and entitled *The gods of Anatolia and their names (continuity, importation, interaction): a philological and linguistic approach*, coordinated by the Universitat de Barcelona, the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

The articles in this volume cover a broad chronological as well as linguistic, epigraphic and archaeological spectrum, as they refer to Anatolian gods, languages, and other topics from the second and first millennia BC. Beginning with gods in the Hittite world, Birgit Christiansen presents a study and characterization of the Anatolian divinity Pirwa, comparing and contrasting it with other Mesopotamian and Syrian horse-related divinities. She argues that Purwa is not identifiable with

Astarte and notes that in some contexts (CTH 66) Pirwa can be understood as a chariot-riding deity similar to Šamaš. The Hittite divinities of the Underworld are analysed by José Virgilio García Trabazo in an article which places special emphasis on the Night goddess of Šamuḫa, considered to be a divinity of the underworld; this interpretation is in accordance with the Indo-European conception, in which she was related to the Dawn. The author also provides other arguments connecting this divinity with the Anatolian divinity ^{d}*Išpanza(-šepa)*- and the chthonic character of DINGIR GE_6. The emotional aspects of the Hittite religion, within a comparative approach between human and divine levels, are dealt with in detail by João Galhano, who analyses how the human body and the conceived divine body were perceived by the Hittites as a landscape of emotions. In her article on the deity ^{D}LAMMA ^{kuš}*kuršaš*, Natalia Lodeiro focuses on Hittite and Luvian texts that refer to this divinity, the protector of the royal family, the country, and nature. She also examines the attribute of this divinity, a bag made of animal skin known as the *kurša*, a symbolic representation of the god, which contains a high sacred meaning. In his study on the *Āššiya*- deities of Luwian origin, H. Craig Melchert defends that they are a part of an entire set of reflexes of the root **āšš*- 'good' in Luwian and Lycian: *āššā*- 'be good, favorable', *āššatta*- 'good, blessing', ^{d}*Aššiya*- 'bearer(s) of good/blessing', *āššuwali*- 'beneficent' and argues that it cannot be proven that Hittite *āššu*- 'good' is a prehistoric loan from Luwian. In the following article, Laura Puértolas offers a study of a group of Hittite divinities with negative epithets, which are far less common than other kinds of divine names: the goddess Wišuriyant, the evil GULša- and the divine Seven called "evil". She presents them in context and discusses in detail the prescribed treatment and the way to address each divinity, which seems to be quite different.

Regarding the gods in the Neo-Hittite world, Tatiana Frühwirt presents a reconstruction of the detailed sequence of deities in the Neo-Hittite pantheon of Tabal. She identifies two models: model (A) represented by Tarḫunt, Ḫebat, Šarruma, Alanzu, Ea and Kubaba; and model (B), headed by Tarḫunt, Kubaba and Runtiya. Diether Schürr analyses in detail the group of Kubaba seals. Four of them contain no more than the name of the goddess Kubaba, who is mainly associated with the northern Syrian city of Carchemish, but five contain symbols as well as hieroglyphs, like the ones found on Neo-Assyrian seals. On the Kubaba seals, not only the pairing with the sun god is striking, but also the association with other astral deities: the moon, the morning star and the Pleiades. The author relates these divinities with other texts and inscriptions from the ancient Near East. Zsolt Simon dedicates his article to the Neo-Hittite deity traditionally called Nikarawas, attested in a single Hieroglyphic Luwian text from Carchemish. According to the author, the

regular interpretation for its spelling as *NiKaru-* or *NiKarwa-* provides a fitting identification with *Nikkalu-*, the Hittite form of the Mesopotamian goddess Ningal.

The following section of articles is dedicated to the gods in the Lydian and later Luwic world. Juan Pablo Sánchez offers a study based on Greek inscriptions of the god Apollo Tyrimnos, of Lydian origin, the patron god of Thyateira in northwestern Lydia. In his article on the Lydian god *Qldãns*, Ilya Yakubovich offers a new hypothesis and etymology for this Lydian theonym: according to him, *Qldãns* may be the Storm-God of the Army, a loanword of Carian origin (pre-Car. **kwaljān*) with the meaning 'warlord, military leader'. Consuelo Ruiz Montero defends that the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon gives an appropriate generic description of a pompe of Artemis at Ephesus. Zeus and Apollo along with their epithets are analysed in detail by Francesco Guizzi and Michela Nocita in the Greek inscriptions of Hierapolis and Laodicea, providing interesting points of view on their cult. Ignasi-Xavier Adiego analyses in great detail in epigraphic and literary sources, the Carian epithet of Zeus Osogōs, in its multiple variants: *Osogōs*, *Osogō* and *Osogōa*; he concludes that there are no epigraphic examples of Οσογωα, and that it should be read Οσογωλλιος, genitive of Οσογωλλις. As for literary sources, the reading Ὀσογώ, genitive, given by the manuscripts of Strabo, is unproblematic and should be maintained. Accordingly, therefore, the correct transcription in English of the Carian name is not Zeus †Osogoa but Zeus Osogos/Osogollis. And finally, he accepts that no clear etymology for Οσογως, Οσογωλλις has been found. Manuela Anelli's article deals with the epiclesis of the local Zeus worshipped at Labraunda, a Carian sanctuary near Mylasa, which occurs under several variant forms in both the literary and the epigraphic sources; she concludes that Λαμβράυνδος was the earliest form of the epiclesis of Zeus of Labraunda and that the Carian root was presumably **lambr-*. The cult of Zeus in Iasos between the 6th and 4th centuries BC are analysed by Roberta Fabiani who studies this cult in a wider historical perspective. She shows the evident relationship between the Hecatomnids and the cult of Zeus at Iasos and concludes that Zeus stratios was worshipped in Iasos in Archaic times. The Lycian god Σουμενδις/Σομενδις, mentioned in Greco-Roman inscriptions from a sanctuary in the region of Limyra, is analysed by Florian Réveilhac. This theonym can also be found in Carian, as well as in Lycian and Luwian personal names of Greek transmission. According to the author, the most convincing etymology is CLuw. *zaman-* 'damage, witchcraft'. Héctor Arroyo-Quirce's article is concerned with what may be the earliest attested oracle of Ares in Anatolia, namely the one in Side, Pisidia. In this case, the god is called Ares *Kiddeudas*, an epithet of enigmatic meaning. The non-Hellenic term δοῦμος attested in several Greek inscriptions from Roman times across a wide area of Asia Minor, particularly in northeastern Lydia,

is analysed by María-Paz de Hoz. This term seems to have a Phrygian origin since it is also documented in Palaeo-Phrygian. She explains the semantic evolution of this term, which originally may have been used to designate a sacred village which became a religious association in imperial times and, afterwards was used for "association" in general outside Anatolia.

The last part of this volume focuses on new trends in Anatolian linguistics and epigraphy. Gem Ferrer proposes a new formal approach to the Sidetic signs for *d* and *l*, while examining and establishing the epigraphic variants of these signs and proving a relationship between them. This internal evidence reinforces Neumann's hypothesis that brings the Sidetic alphabet closer to other local alphabets in Anatolia, thus pointing to a Greek origin. Alwin Kloekhorst tries to elucidate and establish the synchronic paradigms of the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns in Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian, and also to reconstruct the Proto-Luwian paradigms for these pronouns and discuss to what extent they can be used to reconstruct the Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European scenarios. Elisabeth Rieken's article is devoted to the establishment of Luw. **ḫūmm-/ḫuwamm-*, a new word family, and its connection with Hitt. *ḫūm-* 'to take, enclose (etc.)'. According to her, both may derive from Proto-Anatolian **h_2u-$h_1$em-/*h_2u-h_1m-* and ultimately from PIE **$h_1$em-*. Recai Tekoğlu presents, for the first time, two unpublished *pinakia* from the deposit of the Side Museum, with new signs (such as sign 27) and new phonetic proposals such as sign 23, which may be a velar occlusive /k/. The last article, written by Miguel Valério and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, deals with Carian *q* and Luwic **H* (< Proto-Anatolian **H* < PIE **h_2*). The authors conclude that **Hu* and **ku* are probably the two main sources of Carian *q*. Moreover, they defend a uvular interpretation of *q* (instead of a labiovelar sound). The result of these conclusions is that Kloekhorst's interpretation of Luwic **H* as a uvular stop /q/ presents the most economical scenario in terms of historical development: */k/ merged with */q/ before */u/ in Carian. But it also entails that elsewhere Luwic **H* /q/ was de-uvularized, becoming Carian *k* /k/. The authors also note that the fate of Luwic */k/ in Carian remains very uncertain.

I would not like to conclude without expressing my deepest thanks to the authors of this volume, as well as to the co-editors Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, María-Paz de Hoz, José Virgilio García Trabazo and Bartomeu Obrador for their help and enthusiasm in bringing this volume to completion.

Mariona Vernet
Barcelona, June 12th 2024

The character and gender of the Anatolian deity Pirwa and other Ancient Near Eastern deities associated with horses

Birgit Christiansen
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

§ 1. *Introduction*[1]

The deity Pirwa played a significant role in the Hittite state cult during the New Hittite Kingdom that extended from the mid-14th to the end of the 13th century BCE. [2] It held a significant role in various festivals and incantation rituals and was included in the pantheon of numerous cities. The primary temple dedicated to Pirwa was the *ḫekur* of Pirwa (^{NA_4}*ḫekur* ^{D}*Pirwa*), a sanctuary presumably constructed from stone and situated in the mountains. This temple was a hub for agricultural activities such as crop cultivation and animal husbandry, including rearing sheep, goats, and horses. Moreover, the *ḫekur* of Pirwa functioned as a horse training facility. The strong association with horses is also displayed in Pirwa's statues, portraying a human figure standing on a horse accompanied by various equipments.

1. The present study has been carried out in the framework of the project 'The Hittite Corpus of Divinatory Texts: Digital Edition and Cultural Historical Analysis (HDivT)', led by Birgit Christiansen, Enrique Jiménez (both Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) and Daniel Schwemer (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg) and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG project number 494541176). I would like to thank the conference organizers for the invitation to Barcelona and the possibility to present some results of my research. I am also grateful to Craig Melchert for his invaluable comments, which greatly benefited the article. Of course, all errors and shortcomings are solely my responsibility.

2. For overviews on the deity see van den Hout (2003); Pecchioli Daddi (2003); Taracha (2009: 27–31) with further literature.

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The earliest attestations of the deity are found in documents from the Assyrian trading posts in Kaneš during the 19th and 18th centuries BCE. These records and subsequent Hittite written sources highlight Kaneš (Hittite Neša, modern Kültepe) as a pivotal site for Pirwa's worship. Although the Old Assyrian texts provide limited information on the local religious beliefs and practices, they offer some significant insights into the importance of Pirwa (Old Assyrian Per(u)wa). For instance, a document labeled kt 87/k 320, 21 (layer II) mentions a priest (*kumrum*) of Per(u)wa named Ḫa-pu-a-lá.[3] The prominence of the Pirwa cult in Kaneš is further evidenced by the deity's name being the most frequent theophoric name in Kaneš, born by many high-ranking officials and royal family members.

In Hittite sources from the Old and Middle Hittite Period, only the personal name Pirwa is attested. However, many texts dating from the Empire Period are copies of older texts or maintain earlier religious concepts and rituals and thus reflect Pirwa's significant role before the New Hittite period. A notable example is a myth that, according to Melchert (2021), likely originated in a foreign language (possibly Hattian) and was translated into Hittite in the Old Hittite period. Pirwa's close association with the cult of Kaneš/Neša and Ḫattian religious traditions is seen in the monthly festival (CTH 591), where the singer of Kaneš sings a song for Pirwa of Šippa in the Hattian language (cf. KUB 2.13 rev. VI 9–10).[4] During the same festival, Pirwa, along with the gods of Kaneš (DINGIR$^{MEŠ\ URU}$*kaniš*) and various deities closely associated with him, receives a billy goat as an offering (KUB 56.45).[5] Yet, Pirwa was also part of the religious traditions of Luwian communities, as seen in a ritual text for vineyard growth where a song for Pirwa is performed in the Luwian language (KUB 35.2 8-11).[6]

The origin of the name Pirwa has sparked scholarly debate, with some scholars suggesting a connection to Hittite *peru-*, gen. *perunaš-* 'stone, rock' and Sanskrit *párvata-* 'mountain'.[7] On the other hand, Oettinger (2020, 175) proposes a link to Hittite *parḫ-* 'to hunt, to rush' and ai. *bhari* 'to stamp along' (especially of horses) < PIE. **b^hérh_2u̯o-* or **b^hérh_xu̯o-* 'to rush'. Pirwa would then originally be a 'herder' of wild horses, i.e., a god who herded (wild) horses and drove them to hunters or shepherds at their request, which is also supported by the deity's epithet

3. See Kryszat (2006: 115).

4. Edited by Klinger (1996: 544–589). For further literature see Košak, hethiter.net/: hethkonk (2.plus).

5. Edited by Klinger (1996: 608–13). See also Groddek *et al*. (2002: 54–55 with further literature).

6. KUB 35.2 8–11. See already Otten (1953: 68).

7. See Haas (1994: 412 with further literature).

parḫant- ‘chasing, hunting’ (KUB 35.145 rev. 13′). However, it is important to note that the reference to a mountain in Çorum 6-1-96 obv. 5′ (see further below), contradicts Oettinger’s argument against a possible etymological connection of the name Pirwa to Hittite *peru-*, gen. *perunaš* - ‘stone, rock’ and Sanskrit *párvata-* ‘mountain’. Regardless of which theory is correct, both interpret the name Pirwa as Old Anatolian (presumably Hittite) or even a name of an earlier Indo-European origin.[8]

Pirwa is also invoked as an oath deity in state treaties. In contrast to different claims, the attestations are interestingly restricted to treaties of Muršili II.[9] Thus, Pirwa is mentioned as one of the oath deities in the state treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66), listed after Bunene. He is also mentioned in the state treaty between Muršili II and Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Riverland Šeḫa (CTH 69). Furthermore, Pirwa is one of the invoked deities in a version of Muršili’s II plague prayers (CTH 379).[10] According to some scholars, it might also have been part of a broken passage in the list of oath deities in the state treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Tette from Nuḫašše (CTH 53).[11] However, since Pirwa is not mentioned in any other state treaty of Šuppiluliuma I, a restoration of Bunene is more probable.

§ 2. *The discussion of Pirwa’s gender*

Determining the gender of a deity recorded in Hittite texts is complicated because, unlike personal names, deity names are not preceded by a gender-specific determinative. Instead, both male and female deity names are classified by the determinative DINGIR ‘god’. The forms of the names also often provide no information about the gender, as they are frequently not gender-specific either. Another difficulty is that deity names are often written with logograms hiding the Hittite name and gender of the deity. For instance, ^{D}UTU ‘Sun-Deity’ can be used for male and female Sun-Deities.[12] Furthermore, some deities can appear in both male and female forms or have characteristics of both genders, as is the case with the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna / Ištar, her Hurrian-Hittite ‘equivalent’ Šauška, and

8. Thus Oettinger (2020: 178).

9. Differently, Pecchioli Daddi (2003: 574), according to whom “from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, Pirwa joins the canonical list of deities invoked as witnesses to the state treaties”.

10. See Rieken *et al*. (2015).

11. Thus, del Monte (1986: 152–153); Beckman (1996: 58); Christiansen (2012: 233 with note 848).

12. For a detailed study on the Sun-Deities in Bronze Age Anatolia see Steitler (2017).

the Syrian Astarte.[13] However, the gender of a deity can usually be inferred from other information. This includes descriptions of cult images, mentions of female or male partners, representations in myths, typical male or female attributes, or gender-specific offerings.

In the case of Pirwa, there exists evidence that complicates the determination of the deity's gender. Certain scholars advocate for a female gender designation, while others posit the deity as male or, like Ištar, bigender. In the following, the arguments will be examined.

§ 3. *Pirwa's representation by a man standing on a horse*

The description of Pirwa's statue in the oracle text KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′–10′ as a man standing on a horse (see. rev. 8′–9′) represents Pirwa as a male deity. Due to their common features with KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′-10′, the fragmentarily preserved cult inventory KUB 38.4 obv. I 1–11 and the oracle text Çorum 6–1–96 1′–9′ probably contained similar descriptions of Pirwa's statue. Therefore, the three texts will be presented in a synopsis.[14]

KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′–10′	KUB 38.4 obv. I 1–11	Çorum 6-1-96 obv. 1′–9′
rev. IV 8′ [^{D}*p*]*í-ir-wa-aš* ^{URU}*ZI-pa-ri-wa* ALAM LÚ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA	obv. I 1 ˹^{d}˺*pí-ir-wa-aš* ˹^{URU}˺*ši-i*[*p-pa-aš*]	obv. 1′ [ ] *ne-*˹*pí*˺-[*iš*? obv. 2′ [ ]x-*kán* 2 *a-šu-š*[*a-aš*
rev. IV 9′ [*A-NA*] ANŠE.KUR.RA ZABAR ˹GUB˺ GAM-*ŠÚ*!?	obv. I 2 *A-NA* ANŠE.KUR.RA KÙ.BABBAR GAR.R[A]	obv. 3′ x-[*i*]*n*$^{?}$(-)*ta-pí-iš ŠA* [obv. 4′ *GÙB-*za-ma* ŠU-*za*
^{GIŠ}GÌR ZA⟨BAR⟩ ^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE ˹KÙ.BABBAR˺	obv. I 3 ^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE KÙ.*BABBAR* *iš*[*-me-ri-ia-an-za*$^{?}$]^{16}	^{KUŠ}*E*[*L-TÙ-ḪU* obv. 5′ GUL-*ḫa-at*$^{?}$ $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*wa-*[
rev. IV 10′ [x x]^{15} *ḫar-zi* 1 ^{GIŠ}BUGIN-*ia-aš-ši* ŠA ˹GIŠ˺-*ṢÍ pé-an*	obv. I 4 ZAG-*za* ŠU-*za* ≮*du-pa-ú-x*[(-) GÙB-*za-ma* ŠU-*za*]^{17}	obv. 6′ ˹1$^{?}$˺ *kar-za-na-aš* GIŠ *pu-*[obv. 7′ [ ]MU 1 GÍR.LÍL SI×SÁ-[*at*
	obv. I 5 *EL-TÙ-ḪU* KÙ.BABBAR	obv. 8′ [ ] KÙ.SI$_{22}$ GAR.RA 1 G[Ú obv. 9′ [*A-N*]*A* ^{D}*pí-ir-wa* [¬¬¬

13. For overviews with further literature see Frayne and Stuckey (2021: 35–38; 143–146; 326–327).

14. Editions of KUB 38.4 have been provided by von Brandenstein (1943: 22) and Cammarosano (2018: 329–31). For an edition of Çorum 6–1–96 see Ünal (2019). A transliteration of KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′–10′ has been provided by Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 192–196; 209–211).

15. Since there is only space for two signs maybe the preverb *pé-e* is to be restored. For the meaning and attestations of *pē ḫark-*'to have or hold (in one's possession), to keep' see CHD P, 253–256. Another possible restoration would be a term designating a further material of which the bridle/reins are made.

16. Restoration based on a similar passage in the cult inventory KUB 38.1 obv. II 7′–8′.

(the description is followed by an oracle inquiry aiming to find out if the mentioned utensils are the only ones belonging to the statue which is answered by the gods with a 'no')	⌜*ḫar*⌝*-zi* [obv. I 6 [2?][18] ⌜*a*⌝*-šu-ša-aš* AN.BAR GE$_6$ (erasure) *ḫ*[*ar-zi* obv. I 7 [KÙ].SI$_{22}$*-kán iš-ḫu-zi-ia-*[*an-za*(?) (vacat?)] obv. I 8 [1? *BI-I*]*B-RU* ANŠE.KUR.RA KÙ.SI$_{22}$ x[obv. I 9 [x x x]x KÙ.SI$_{22}$ DAB-*ši* NA$_4$ GAR.RA [obv. I 10 [x x x x x](-)x(-)*ma-a-u-wa-an-za* x[obv. I 11 [I]GI-*zi* GUB-*an-te-eš* [(text breaks off)	(the following lines of the obverse contain, as far as we can say on the basis of the text's fragmentary state of preservation, a description of another statue of Pirwa)
rev. IV 8′ [P]irwa of Zipariwa: A statue of a man plated with silver rev. IV 9′a standing [on] a horse of bronze. Below it a base of bronze. rev. IV 9′b-10′ He/it holds/has a bridle/reins of silver, one wooden trough is before him/it.	obv. I 1 Pirwa of Ši[ppa ...] obv. I 2 [...] on a horse plate[d] with silver [...]. obv. I 3 [It is] *brid*[*led*] with a bridle of silver […]. obv. I 4 In the right hand [...] a *dupau*-[..., in the left hand] obv. I 5 he holds a whip of silver […] obv. I 6 [He] ho[lds/ha[s two] *ašuša* of black iron …[…]. obv. I 7 [He/it is] gird[ed] with [... of go]ld [...] obv. I 8 [One *bi*]*bru* vessel of gold (shaped like) a horse obv. I 9 [...] ... of gold, a stone plated DAB-*ši* vessel [...] obv. I 10 [...] … … […] obv. I 11 standing in [f]ront […] (text breaks off)	obv. 1′ [...] sk[y ...] obv. 2′ [...] two *ašuš*[*a* ...] obv. 3′ ... of [...], obv. 4′ and in the left hand a wh[ip …] obv. 5′ It is damaged. An image of a mountain[...] obv. 6′ One *karzana*- of wood, (a) *pu*-[…][19] obv. 7′ […]…, one field knife [was] determined. obv. 8′ [...] plated with gold, one corse[let ...] obv. 9′ [for] Pirwa [...]

17. Restoration based on Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 4′.

18. Restoration based on Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 2′.

19. Or, if GIŠ is to be interpreted as a determinative accompanying *pu*[*ri*- "(a) *karzana*, (a) *pu*-[…]. Another possibility might be the restoration of a form of *punušš*- 'to ask, investigate', as suggested by Ünal (2019: 697).

Commentary

KBo 44. 209+ rev. IV 8′ / KUB 38.4 obv. I 1: As the cited passages show, the statues of Pirwa described in both texts are located in different cities. The one described in KBo 44. 209+ rev. IV 8′ is situated in Zipariya, whereas the one described in KUB 38.4 obv. I 1 is located in Šippa. Although the name of the city is only partially preserved and other place names beginning with the sequence *ši-ip-* are attested, the reading ˹URU˺*ši-i*[*p-pa-aš* is suggested by KUB 2.13 and IBoT 2.131 that both mention the god Pirwa and, in case of IBoT 2.131, also a temple of this deity (cf. obv. 28′).[20]

Regarding the similar description in KBo 44.209+ rev. 8′ and the approximate space at the end of the line, the restoration of ALAM LÚ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA in KUB 38.4 obv. I 1 ‘a statue of a man plated with silver’ seems likely. However, it is important to note that the restoration remains unsure. Thus, the material of the human figure might differ in both texts, as is the case with the horse described in the following lines. Thus, according to KUB 38.4 obv. I 2, the horse of Pirwa’s statue in Šippa is plated with silver, whereas, according to KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 9′ the horse of Pirwa’s statue in Zipariya is plated with bronze. The same applies to the base that, according to KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 9′ is made of bronze, whereas the information in KUB 38.4 obv. 2 is broken off. Furthermore, it is also possible that the statue in KUB 38.4 obv. I 1 was not described as a statue of a man but as a statue of a woman. Yet, since there is otherwise insufficient evidence for the hypothesis that Pirwa could manifest itself both as a male and a female deity, it is more likely to restore ALAM LÚ ‘statue of a man’.

Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 1′: Ünal (2019: 697–700 with note a) suggests to restore […] *ne-*˹*pí*˺-[*ša-aš* ^{D}UTU-*aš* …] and to translate ‘[What concerns that the Sun God(?) of Heav]en [is determined by oracle as angry in his temple]’. However, since the text otherwise is about Pirwa and not about the Sun-God of Heaven, and the description of the divine statue resembles the ones in the two other texts, this restoration seems unlikely. If the reading *ne-*˹*pí*˺-[*iš* is correct, the text might rather refer to a sky or heaven *en miniature* which, as a kind of baldachin, was placed above the divine statue. A similar attestation can be found in the oracle text KUB 5.7 rev. 23–24.[21] It is notable, however, that such a sky is only seldom mentioned

20. Other place names beginning with ^{URU}*ši-ip-* are ^{URU}*ši-ip-ri*, ^{URU}*ši-ip-pu-u-wa* and ^{URU}*ši-ip-pí-it-ta-aš*. See del Monte and Tischler (1978: 359–360); Kryszén (2023) s.v. *Sippa*, *Sippar*, *Šipittas*, *Šipri*; for Pirwa and his temple in Šippa see also Cammarosano (2018: 258–270; 329–331).

21. See Tognon (2004: 75 with note 85); See also CHD L–N, 463 s.v. *nepiš* g; Cammarosano (2018: 58).

in descriptions of cult images. The fact that the statue of Pirwa is covered with a sky might be due to the deity's close association with mountains, which is also shown by the mention of a mountain in obv. 5′.

Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 3′: The sign sequence at the beginning of the line remains unsure.

KBo 44.209+ rev. 9′–10′ / KUB 38.4 obv. I 3: the restoration *išmeriyanza* 'bridled' is suggested by the preceding ^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE KÙ.*BABBAR* and a similar passage in KUB 38.1 obv. II 7′–8′. However, in KUB 38.1 obv. II 7′–8′, the word for reins is missing. Instead, the word for 'bridled' is mentioned in the dat.-loc., referring to *a-na awiti* KU.SI$_{22}$ (1 ALAM KÙ.SI22 LÚ GUB-*an* ≺*lūpannauw*[*anza*] *A-NA awiti* KÙ.SI$_{22}$=*kan išmeriyanti* ['one statue of gold of a man, standing, wear[ing] a cap, on a bridled spinx of gold').[22] If the restoration of iš[meriyanza in KUB 38.4 obv. I 3 is correct; the subject would be the horse ('it (the horse) is bri[dled] with a bridle (^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE) of silver').[23] In KBo 44.209+ rev. 9′–10′, on the other hand, the subject of [x x] ḫarzi, could be either the horseman or the horse since ^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE designates both the bridle and the reins. The sentence is thus either to be translated as 'it (the horse) has a bridle of silver' or 'he (the horseman) holds reins of silver'.

KUB 38.4 obv. I 4–5 / Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 3′–4′: According to Starke (1990: 551–552) and Cammarosano (2018: 330–331), the sign sequence *du-pa-ú-x*[(-) at the end of the line might be the first part of an otherwise unattested Luwian genitive adjective ≮*dupaun*[*ašša*/*i*- that is derived from *dupai*- 'to strike, beat, stab' or similar. The word would then be an attribute to *EL-TÙ-ḪU* 'whip'. If so, the man standing on the horse would hold a 'beating whip' in his right hand. However, this interpretation is, for several reasons, unlikely. First, the phrase 'beating whip' would be redundant as a whip is inherently a tool used for beating. Second, it is more likely that the horseman described in KUB 38.4 obv. I 4–5 holds the whip in the left hand, as in Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 4′. The partly broken word ≮*du-pa-ú*-x[(-) thus likely denotes another implement that the horseman, according to KUB 38.4 obv. I 4, holds in his right hand. As its etymology suggests, it probably refers to a striking weapon such as a lance, spear, or mace. In contrast, the whip would not have been used as a weapon but as an implement to guide and punish the horse.

KUB 38.4 obv. I 6 / Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 2′: The term *ašuša*- has sparked debate regarding its meaning. While most scholars translate it as 'ring' or 'earring',

22. See Cammarosano (2018: 310–311; 318).
23. See also Cammarosano (2018: 330).

others remain skeptical about this meaning.[24] For instance, Starke (1990: 552 with note 2044) argued that the meaning 'earring' is unlikely since the human figure in KUB 38.4 obv. I 6 and Bo 3826 rev. III 9′ holds the object in his hand. This interpretation is, however, not compelling since KUB 38.4 obv. I 6 does not explicitly say that the horseman holds the object in his hand. Concerning Bo 3826 rev. III 9′, the sign traces speak against the reading 2 *a-šu-ša*.[25] The meaning 'earring' is further supported by a passage in the ritual text KBo 10.45 that describes an object attached to the goddess Ištar/Šaušga's ear, aligning with iconographic evidence of male and female deities wearing earrings.[26] The material 'black iron' (AN.BAR GE_6), likely meteorite iron, is also in line with the interpretation, as is shown by KUB 42.11 obv. I 4, where the material is associated with the Akkadogram *IN-ṢA-AB-TUM* 'ring, earring'. Yet, with the horse deity Pirwa, the term *ašuša-* might also denote elements of the horse's harness, such as the bit rings used to attach the reins or the rings that are part of the headstall. Alternatively, the term might refer to rings as part of the equestrian equipment. Support for this interpretation might be seen in the fact that in KUB 38.4, the [two[?]] *ašuša* are mentioned immediately after objects held by the human figure on the horse and a description of what it is girded with. Moreover, in KBo 18.172 rev.! 1′–9′, one or several *ašuša-* are mentioned alongside archery accessories like arrows, bows, and quivers, and possibly even arrowheads (if *šittara*/*i-* com. and *šit*(*t*)*ar-* neut. means arrowhead instead of sundisk as some scholars suggest).[27]

KUB 38.4 obv. I 8–11 and KBo 44.209+ rev. 10′: The description of the human figure, horse, and the statue's base is followed by terms for vessels. According to KBo 44.209+ rev. 10′, a wooden trough stands before the horse and/or human figure, whereas KUB 38.4 obv. I 8–9 mention a *BIBRU* and a DAB-*ši* vessel of silver. The following two lines of KUB 38.4 are only very fragmentarily preserved, but perhaps the broken passage contained a reference to a wooden trough, as in KBo 44.209+ rev. 10′.

As noted above, the description of Pirwa's statue is followed in KBo 44.209+ rev. 11′–15′ by an oracle inquiry that aims to reveal whether the utensils found with the statue were the only ones. The fact that both the divination priest and the 'Old Woman' ask for an unfavorable outcome ("let the exta/KIN be unfavorable") indi-

24. See, e.g., HW² Vol. A, 537–538 s.v. *ašuša-*²; Starke (1990: 552 with note 2044); Cammarosano (2018: 331).

25. See also Burgin (2022: 507–508).

26. For an overview see Herbordt (2009: 103–106).

27. For a discussion see CHD Š, 460–461 s.v. *šittara-*/*šittari-*, *šit*(*t*)*ar-*.

cates that there should be more implements. However, this is not the case, as the actual outcome of the oracle procedure shows (cf. KBo 44.209+ rev. 15′). Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 5′: Ünal 2019: 697; 700, suggests restoring $^{\text{Ḫ}UR.SAG}$*wa*-[*a-ši-it-ta-aš*] ‘Mount Wa[šitta]’. However, since a mountain name in the present context would be unusual it seems more likely that ḪUR.SAG is to be interpreted as a determinative followed by the word *wattattar* neut. ‘image of a mountain’ (see Christiansen, forthc.).

Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 6′: ⌜1⌝ *kar-za-na-aš* GIŠ *pu*-[. According to Ünal (2019: 697), at the end of the line *pu*-[*nu-uš-šu-un*] is to be restored. Accordingly, he translates “In regard to one weaver’s utensil [I have initiated an investigation].” This means that he apparently interprets the hapax *karzana-* as a derived *a*-stem gen. com. of the neuter *n*-stem *karza*(*n*)-, which is attested in several festival texts in the context of weaving.[28] Although the derivation of *karzana-* from *karza*(*n*)- is likely, it is questionable that *karzana-* is a mere ‘thematization’ of *karza*(*n*)- since both terms appear in completely different contexts. As I will demonstrate in a forthcoming article (s. Christiansen forthc.), both stems likely derive from Indo-European *(*s*)*ker-* ‘to cut’ or ‘to scratch’ whose extended form *(*s*)*kert-* is also attested in Hittite *karta*(*i*)-.[29] Whereas *karza*(*n*)- probably denotes a weaving stick or shuttle used to guide the weft thread through the warp thread, the hapax *karzana-* probably refers to a stick-shaped implement or an implement used for cutting or slicing as part of Pirwa’s equipment or given to him as an offering. Furthermore, it remains unclear whether after GIŠ, the first pers. sg. of the verb *punušš-* ‘to ask’ is to be restored. Alternatively, the sign PU might also be the beginning of a noun such as *puriyalli-*, *puriyalla-* ‘muzzle’.

Similarly, it remains unsure whether the sign MU in obv. 7′ is to be interpreted as the enclitic pronoun of the first person sg. in the acc. or dat., as Ünal (2019: 697; 699) assumes. It might also be part of a noun like *ŠA-MU* ‘sky’.

§ 4. *Further indications of Pirwa’s male gender*

A further indication of Pirwa’s male gender might be seen in the fact that the deity receives predominantly male animals as offerings. As pointed out by Pecchio-

28. Cf. KUB 11.20 obv. I 5–21 = KUB 11.25 + IBoT 2.96 rev. III 2–14; IBoT 2.96 rev. V 5′–20′; IBoT 2.94 VI 4′–15′. Other attestations remain unclear due to the texts’ poor state of preservation.

29. See, e.g. Oettinger (2002: 375–376); HED 4, 109–110; HW², 205–206; EDHIL, 455–456.

li Daddi (2003: 575), the favorite is a billy goat, but also rams and oxen are attested.[30]

However, this evidence does not exclude a bigender nature of Pirwa since the deity also receives sheep offerings (cf. KBo 4.13 obv. I 15 or KBo 14.21 obv. I 61; obv. II 21′; obv. II 55′). Another indication of Pirwa's male gender can be seen in the theophoric personal name Pirwa (*Per*(*u*)*wa*), which in Old Assyrian and Hittite texts is attested as a masculine personal name.[31] However, this does not exclude a bigender nature either. The same applies to the argument by Pecchioli Daddi, according to whom the connection of Pirwa with mountains suggests that Pirwa is a male deity.[32] It is true that mountain gods, in general, are perceived by the Hittites as male.[33] However, there are also female deities associated with mountains like Aškašepa, Bēlet ṣēri 'Lady of the Steppe', Lilluri, and Ḫepat.[34] Aškašepa is even known as a mountain name.[35]

§ 5. *Indications of a female gender?*

According to von Brandenstein (1943: 58), the epithet GAŠAN-*IA,* 'my lady' in Bo 6483 confirms that Pirwa is a female deity. However, the attestation seems to be a misquote, as already pointed out by Otten (1953: 64). A further indication of a female gender of Pirwa has been seen in the fact that the deity's name is frequently followed by MUNUS.LUGAL, which some scholars interpreted as an epithet, whereas others argued that, at least in most cases, it is a deity name on its own, 'the queen'.[36] One exception is to be found in a list of oath deities in an instruction and oath imposition of Šuppiluliuma II for the men of Ḫattuša (CTH 256 ABoT 1.56 obv. II 14).[37] Since Pirwa is followed by "MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*" and "MUNUS.LUGAL […", the form "MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*" might be an epithet of Pirwa, whereas the following "MUNUS.LUGAL […", might be the name of the goddess

30. For a ram as an offering see, e.g., KBo 14.21 obv. I 29′; for an ox see KBo 14.21 obv. I 61–62; obv. II 55′. For a billy goat as an offering, see, e.g., KUB 4.13 rev. III 34–35; KBo 14.21 obv. I 50; KBo 25.32 obv. I 11′).

31. See van den Hout (2003: 575–576).

32. Cf. Pecchioli Daddi (2003: 575).

33. This can especially be seen in descriptions of mountain gods in cult inventories. See Cammarosano (2018: 72–74).

34. See Frayne and Stuckey (2021: 32–34; 130–131; 182–183 with further literature).

35. See del Monte and Tischler (1978: 47–48); Haas (1994: 614).

36. For discussions see Otten (1953: 64); Güterbock (1956: 312).

37. Ed. Miller (2013: 310–311). For discussions see Otten (1953: 64); Güterbock (1956: 312).

called ‘Queen’. Yet, since there is no similar evidence for two consecutive mentions of MUNUS.LUGAL, a dittography is more likely.

The theory of a bigender nature of Pirwa was predominantly based on the fact that the ‘Proud Ištar’ (*Ištar multarriḫu*) or, as in the duplicate text ‘Ištar Evening Star’ (*Ištar* MUL *dilbat*) is mentioned in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51) in the same position in a list of oath deities in which, in other treaties, Pirwa is mentioned. Another indication was seen in a depiction on a seal from Kültepe showing a male deity standing on an equid and, in front of the animal a female deity holding her breasts.

In fact, the depiction suggests that a male ‘horse deity’ was already worshipped in Kaneš in pre-Hittite times and that Ištar, in the form of the ‘naked goddess’ was also associated with horses at this time. Nevertheless, this does not indicate a binary gender of Pirwa.

Similarly, the evidence of the Šattiwaza treaty does not mean that Pirwa is ‘interchangeable’ with the ‘Proud Ištar’ or ‘Ištar Eveningstar’ and can appear, like Ištar, in male and female forms. It also does not indicate that Pirwa in CTH 51 is ‘replaced’ by Ištar, as Pecchioli Daddi (2003: 575) claims. Since Pirwa is not attested in the state treaties of Šuppiluliuma I, one could rather speak of Ištar being replaced by Pirwa. However, this is also problematic since in the treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Teššup von Amurru (CTH 62) Bunene is mentioned instead of Pirwa, whereas in the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66), Bunene and Pirwa are mentioned together. In the following, a short overview of the relevant passages will be provided:

(1) *The treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51)*

In the list of oath deities preserved in the Akkadian version of the treaty, various regional types of Telipinu, with Telipinu of Ḫanḫana being the last, are followed by the ‘Proud Ištar’ (^{D}*Ištar multarriḫu*), Aškašepa, Nisaba, the Moon-God, the ‘Lord of the Oath’, and Išḫara, the ‘Queen of the oath’. As pointed out by Güterbock (1961: 14), the epithet *multarriḫu* shows that Šauška, i.e., the Ḫurrian Ištar, is mentioned here in her male representation. In the duplicate text KBo 1.2 rev. III 23′, we find Ištar Evening Star (*Ištar dilbat*) instead of the ‘Proud Ištar’.

KBo 1.1 rev. 45–46[38]

rev. 45 ^{D}*te-li-pí-nu ša* ^{URU}*ta-wi$_5$-ni-ia* ^{D}*te-l*[*i-pí-nu ša*] $^{URU\lceil}$*dur*$^{\rceil}$*-mi-it-ta* ^{D}*te-li-pí-nu ša* $^{\lceil URU\rceil}$*ḫa-an-ḫa-na* $^{D\lceil}$*ištar*$^{\rceil}$ *mul-tar-ri-*$^{\lceil}$*ḫu*$^{\rceil}$[39] rev. 46 ^{D}*aš-ga-ši-pa* ^{D}NÍSABA ^{D}30 EN *ma-mi-ti* $^{D\lceil}$*iš*$^{\rceil}$*-ḫ*[*a-ra* (MUNUS.LU)]GAL[40] *ma-mi-ti*

Telipinu of Tawiniya, Tel[ipinu of] Turmitta, Telipinu of Ḫanḫana, the ‘Proud Ištar], Aškašepa, Nisaba, the Moon-God, the Lord of the Oath, Išḫ[ara, the (qu)]een of the oath.

(2) *The treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette from Nuḫašše (CTH 53)*

The treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette from Nuḫašše is preserved in several fragments in the Akkadian language. The beginning of the list of oath deities resembles the one of CTH 51. Unfortunately, the text following the various regional types of Telipinu is not preserved. Since in the main fragment KBo 1.4+, the gap is followed by Aškašepa (rev. IV 16′) and the Moon-God, the Lord of the Oath (rev. IV 17′), del Monte (1986: 152–153), Beckman (1996: 58), and Christiansen (2012: 233 with note 848) suggested restoring Pirwa (^{D}*pí-ir-wa*] at the end of rev. IV 16′. On the contrary, Wilhelm (2014) and Devecchi (2015: 191), restored BU.NE.NE. However, both restorations remain uncertain. Since the gap offers more space than three or four signs, it is also possible that two deities have been mentioned, as is the case in the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66). Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that the ‘Proud Ištar’ or ‘Ištar Evening Star’ has been mentioned instead of Bunene and/or Pirwa, as in CTH 51 KBo 1.1 rev. 45.

Cf. KBo 1.4+ rev. IV 13′–17′[41]

rev. IV 13′ ...[^{D}*te-li-pí-nu*] rev. IV 14′ [*ša* $^{UR]U}$*dur-mi-it-ta* ^{D}*te-li-pí-nu š*[*a* ^{URU}*ta-ú-i-ni*]*-ia* rev. IV 15′ [^{D}*te-l*]*i-pí-nu ša* $^{<URU!>}$*ḫa-an-na-ḫa-an-*$^{\lceil}$*na*$^{\rceil}$[42] [ ] rev.IV 16′ [^{D}*aš-k*]*a-še-pa* ¬¬¬ rev. IV 17′ [^{D}30] EN *ma-mi-ti* ^{D}*Iš-ḫa-ra* MUNUS.LUGAL *ma-mi-ti*

38. For the whole list, see Christiansen (2012: 207–214).
39. KBo 1.2 rev. III 23′ MUL dil-bat.
40. Restoration based on the duplicated KBo 50.27 + KUB 3.1b rev. 7′/12′.
41. For the whole list, see Christiansen (2012: 232–235).
42. Text ^{D}*ḫa-an-na-ḫa-an-*$^{\lceil}$*na*$^{\rceil}$.

rev. IV 13′[Telipinu of] Turmitta, Telipinu o[f Tawini]ya, [Tel]ipinu of Ḫanḫana, [...] [Ašk]ašepa, [the Moon-God], the Lord of the Oath, Išḫara, the Queen of the oath.

(3) *The treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66)*

In the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit, written in the Akkadian language, Bunene and ᵀᴰᵀ*Pirwa* are mentioned after various regional types of Telipinu. Pirwa is succeeded by the partly preserved determinative URU and a gap at the end of the line, whereas line 97 begins with the Moon-God, the 'Lord of the Oath'. According to del Monte (1986: 28) URU is probably to be emended into the determinative DINGIR followed by Aškašepa. Since Pirwa, in other state treaties, is never specified by a geographical name, an emendation seems likely. Yet, instead of Aškašepa, the Moon-God might also be preceded by Nisaba, as is the case in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza (CTH 51).

RS 17.338+ rev. 95–97 (with duplicates RS 17.353+ and RS 21.53)[43]

rev. 95 [(ᴰ)*t*]*e-l*[(*i-pí-ni*) *ša* (ᵀᵁᴿᵁ*dur*ᵀ-*m*)]*i-it-t*[*a* ᴰ*t*]*e-*ᵀ*li*ᵀ*-pí-nu ša* ᵁᴿ[ᵁ*ta-ú-i-ni-ia*] ᴰ*te-li-pí-*[*nu*] rev. 96 [*ša*] ᵁᴿ[(ᵁ*ḫa-an-ha-an*)*-na* ᴰBU.N]E.NE ᴰ*pí-ir-w*[*a*] ᵀᵁᴿᵁ?ᵀ*x*[ ] rev. 97 ᵀᴰᵀ30! E[N *ma-m*(*i-ti* ᴰ*iš-ḫa-r*)*a* MU]NUS.LUGAL *ma-mi-t*[*i*

Tel[(ipinu) of (Turm)]itta, T]elipinu of [Tawiniya], Telipi[nu of (Ḫanḫa])na, Bun]ene, Pirwa *of*? [...], the Moon-God, the Lo[rd of the Oa(th Išḫar)a, the Qu]een of the Oa[th ...

(4) *Treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Teššup of Amurru (CTH 62)*

Unfortunately, the relevant passage of the list of oath deities is partly broken off. The preserved part contains a list of several regions types of Telipinu, Bunene, and Ašgašepa. Since the text preceding Bunene is broken off, we cannot say whether Bunene was directly preceded by Telipinu of Ḫanḫana or if the latter was followed by another deity name. A possible candidate might be Pirwa. Yet, since Bunene in the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66) precedes Pirwa, Pirwa might in CTH 62 rather have been left out completely. The deity name following the one of Aškašepa is also broken off. Since the gap is followed by 'the Queen of the oath' (MUNUS.LUGAL *MA-ME-TI*), presumably the names of the Moon-God and Išḫara are to be restored at the beginning of line 24′.

43. For the whole list, see Christiansen (2012: 237–239).

KBo 22.39(+) Rs. III 21′–24′[44]

rev. III 21′ [^{D}*te-li-pí-nu-*]*uš ŠA* ^{URU}*dur-mi-it-ta* rev. III 22′ [^{D}*te-li-pí-nu-uš*] *ŠA* ^{URU}*ta-ú-i-ni-ia* ^{D}*te-li-pí-*[*nu-uš*] rev. III 23′ [*ŠA* ^{URU}*ḫa-an-ḫa-na* ^{D}]BU.NE.NE ^{D}*aš-ga-aš-ši-*[*pa-aš*] rev. III 24′ [ ] ⌜MUNUS.LUGAL *MA-ME-TI*⌝

[Telipin]u of Turmitta, [Telipinu]of Tawiniya, Telipi[nu of Ḫanḫana], Bunene, Aškaše[pa, *the Moon-God, the Lord of the Oath, Išḫara*], the Queen of the Oath.

(5) *The treaty between Muršili II and Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Riverland Šeḫa (CTH 69)*

The list of oath deities in the treaty between Muršili II and Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Šeḫa Riverland differs from the ones discussed so far in several aspects. One difference is that not several regional types of Telipinu are invoked, but only one, which is followed by Pirwa and the Moon-God, the Lord of the Oath. Aškašepa and Bunene are, on the other hand, left out.

KUB 26.36+ rev. IV 5:[45]

rev. IV 5 ^{D}*te-li- p*[(*í-n*)]*u-uš* ^{D}*pí-ir-wa-aš* ^{D}30 EN *MA-M*[*I*]-*TI*

Telip[(in)]u, Pirwa, the Moon-God, the Lord of the Oath, ...

§ 6. *Conclusion*

The study evaluated various scholarly arguments concerning the nature and gender of the Hittite deity Pirwa. It concluded that there is inadequate evidence to support the assumption that Pirwa was a female or bigender deity, as assumed by some scholars. Instead, descriptions of the deity's statue in a cult inventory (KUB 38.4) and two oracle reports (KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′–10′ and Çorum 6–1–96 obv. 1′–9′) suggest that Pirwa was male. According to KBo 44.209+ rev. IV 8′–10′, Pirwa was depicted as an armed man standing on a bridled horse. The descriptions of the statue in the other two texts are only fragmentarily preserved, and an indication of the deity' gender is missing. However, due to the similarities between the three texts, the statues described in them were likely similar. Therefore, Pirwa would be a male deity represented by an armed horseman standing on a bridled horse.

44. For the whole list, see Christiansen (2012: 235–238).

45. For the whole list, see Christiansen (2012: 249–253).

The assumption of Pirwa's female or bigender nature was based on the fact that the deity's name is frequently followed by the Sumerogram MUNUS.LUGAL 'queen'. However, as already pointed out by other scholars, the Sumerogram is not to be understood as an epithet of Pirwa but designates a distinct deity. The only doubtful case is found in an instruction and oath imposition of Šuppiluliuma II for the men of Ḫattuša (CTH 256 ABoT 1.56 obv. II 14), where the name of Pirwa is followed by the sequence MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* MUNUS.LUGAL[... Since this is the only attestation of this sequence, it is likely to be interpreted as a dittography.

Furthermore, it has been suggested in the present paper that there is no evidence of Pirwa being included in the lists of oath deities in Hittite state treaties before the reign of Muršili II. This challenges the claim that Pirwa was replaced by *Ištar multarriḫu* ('the Proud Ištar', 'Ištar Evening Star') in the state treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51). In fact, it is possible that the opposite is true. Considering the significant role of Astarte, the Syrian equivalent of Ištar, in Syria from the second millennium onwards, it is unsurprising that she was among the deities invoked in CTH 51.

The reason for Pirwa's appearance in the treaties of Muršili II in the same position as the 'Proud Ištar'/'Ištar Evening Star' = Astarte in CTH 51 can be attributed to the close association of both deities with horses. Astarte's connection to horses is evident from various visual representations of the goddess sitting on horseback,[46] whereas Pirwa is depicted standing on a horse according to the description of his statue in KBo 44.209+. This distinction in their depictions suggests that the two deities are not identical or interchangeable. Instead, their relationship with horses likely explains why they are mentioned in a similar position among the lists of oath deities in the state treaties of Šuppiluliumas I and Muršili II. This is further supported by the mention of Pirwa together with Bunene in CTH 66, whereas in a fragmentary passage of the list of oath deities in CTH 62, Bunene is likely mentioned alone. Considering that Bunene is known in Mesopotamia as the charioteer and vizier of the Sun-God Šamaš, the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66) suggests that Pirwa was possibly envisioned as a chariot-riding deity similar to Šamaš.[47]

46. For textual attestations and depictions, see Leclant (1960). See also Schmitt (2013) with further literature.

47. For Bunene see Pomponio (2000); Frayne – Stuckey (2021, 63); for Bunene in Hittite religious sources see Polvani (2010).

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Hittite Divinities of the Underworld and the Night Goddess of Šamuḫa: An interpretation from their hybrid cosmological background[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction. Mesopotamian and Anatolian Divinities of the Underworld*

In this article I shall try to address some relevant features that may be useful to explore the connections between theological and cosmological conceptions of the Anatolian peoples, especially based on the analysis of their role in the ritual sphere.

It is often argued that the *anthropomorphization of divinities* is a characteristic feature of the civilizations of the Ancient Near East, a result of the spiritual evolution that characterized the Neolithic.[2] In my opinion, however, the fact that there are divinities, powers or *numina* located in the Underworld is not the result of a transposition of the "division of labour" characteristic of relatively advanced urban societies – as seemingly suggested, for instance, Piotr Taracha[3] – but goes back to

1. I am deeply grateful to Ilya Yakubovich (Marburg/Moscow) and Zsolt Simon (Barcelona) for their careful reading of an earlier version of this paper, providing valuable suggestions and corrections. Of course, any remaining errors and shortcomings are the sole responsibility of the author.

2. Taracha (2009: 1–2).

3. Taracha (2009: 2) "The anthropomorphization of divinities is a trait characteristic of civilizations of the Ancient Near East. Consequently, the appearance of anthropomorphic cults in Europe should be considered the effect of Near Eastern influence. […] The gods divided among themselves power over the cosmos, underworld, elements and forces of nature and the various spheres of man's

times predating the Neolithic expansion. In my view, the cosmological conceptions underlying the topology of the Underworld and the rituals associated with the divinities that inhabit it – or are directly related to it – are best explained as the survival of ideas that predate the spread of the predominant political-social structures in the Near East.[4]

Naturally, the same chronological sequence of the different cultural strata that shape religious thought is also attested in Mesopotamia, an unquestionably decisive influence in the development of Anatolian religion. This type of diachronic analysis seems advisable, for example, to study the phenomenon of the *Dema* divinities.[5] A *Dema* deity is a primordial *numen* that inhabits living beings or objects, and new and vital parts emerge from its body when it gets killed. In Sumerian religion they were conceived as *divinities of the Underworld* and at the same time *primordial divinities*. It is likely that this conception, extended to the whole of Mesopotamia, led to the idea of the identification of the "primordial gods" with the gods of the Underworld.

In many instances, these gods cannot be separated from the "ancient gods" or "gods of the early times"; likewise, in the Hurrian tradition the ancestral gods or "divine grandfathers" (*ammadena enna*) are usually identified with the "gods of the deep" (Hurr. *enna turena*, Hitt. *kattereš šiuneš*). This is the same idea that we find expressed in Hittite by the syntagma *karuileš šiuneš* 'ancient gods,' i.e., the generation prior to that of the gods who hold sovereignty at the time to which the texts refer to. In turn, they were identified from the Middle Kingdom with the Akkadian underworld divinities called *Anunnaki*.

The divinities of the Underworld are usually grouped as an undifferentiated collective under the Sumerian denomination a.nun.na(k)[6] / Akkadian *Anunnakkū*.[7]

life. This was also reflected in the *hierarchic pantheon structure modeled on contemporary social relations*" (italics added).

4. Sahlins (2017: 24) – "[H]uman societies were engaged in cosmic systems of governmentality even before they instituted anything like a political state of their own" – must be understood in a similar way.

5. For the concept of *Dema* divinities – primarily based on New Guinean religious expressions – the most important works are Jensen (1960[2]), Haeckel (1971[4]), and, especially for the Sumerian religion, van Dijk (1971). For the relevance of the *Dema* divinities in the context of the history of Hittite religion, cf. Haas (1994: 107–111).

6. There are several spellings attested: ^{d}a-nuna, ^{d}a-nuna-ke$_4$-ne, or ^{d}a-nun-na, with the meaning of 'princely offspring' or 'offspring of *An* (the Sky).' The earliest attestations of the *Anunnaki* appear in the inscriptions of Gudea (c. 2144–2124 BC) and the Third Dynasty of Ur. In the earliest texts, the

They appear in groups of seven or nine. In the Sumerian epic *The Descent of Inanna to the Underworld* [8] they are called "the seven judges" and belong to the oldest generation of gods.[9]

Another fundamental cultural stratum to understand the formation of the Anatolian belief system comes from the pre-Indo-European inhabitants of Anatolia, the Hattians. Among them, the divinity Lelwani, lord of the Underworld,[10] who was later identified with the Mesopotamian goddess of the Underworld called Allatu, was venerated. A different divinity was the Sun-goddess of the Earth,[11] the Luwian (mostly Kizzuwatnean) divinity of the Underworld, whose name is hidden under the notation EREŠ.KI.GAL, and who also shares many traits with the Hurrian Allāni[12] and with other primeval gods of the Underworld with Mesopotamian and Hurrian names. The Luwians of Kizzuwatna worshipped the chthonic aspect of the Sun as a separate divinity. However, it is by no means clear that the 'Sun of the Earth' (*tiia̯maššiš Tiu̯ad*) was a goddess,[13] although it appears to share characteris-

term is applied to the most powerful and important Sumerian deities, the descendants of the Sky-god An; cf. Falkenstein (1965).

7. Akkadian texts of the 2nd mill. BC portray the Anunnaki like the *Inanna's Descent into the Netherworld*, depicting them as chthonic Underworld deities. In an abbreviated Akkadian version of Inanna's Descent written in the early 2nd mill., Ereškigal, the queen of the Underworld, says that she "drink[s] water with the Anunnaki"; cf. Kienast (1965: 145–146).

8. Kramer (1961: 83–86); Wolkstein & Kramer (1983: 127–135).

9. On the sumerian image of the Underworld, cf. Katz (2003).

10. According to Torri (1999: 53–55) this would be a goddess; cf. Haas (1994: 245 n. 46): "In der hattisch-hethitischen Bilingue 412/b+ ist Lelwani eine männliche Gottheit (Vs. 5a); das Epitheton „mein Herr" führt sie auch in KBo 4.6 Vs. 10'."

11. On the Sun-goddess of the Earth, cf. Hutter (2021: 164). For a thorough study on the Hittite solar deities of Bronze Age Anatolia, see Steitler (2017).

12. See Laroche (1974: 182–183), Otten (1961: 145), Archi (2013: 4); against the identification of Allāni with the Sun-goddes of the Earth, see Lorenz (2008).

13. As Ilya Yakubovich points out to me (personal communication 4/12/23), Luwian Sun-deities appear to be all male. The Luwian Sun-god Tiwad is referred to as 'father' (for example, in CTH 763.1.6, KBo 9.143 obv. ii[!] 10': *šar-la-a-un-du*] *ta-a-ti-in* ^{D}UTU-*an* "let us praise] Father Sun-god!"; cf. Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 400-401, 403), and it would be peculiar for him to change his sex depending on whether he travelled above the Earth or under the Earth. The expression in CTH 761.1.b, KUB 32.10 + 35.19 obv. 12' [*šar-r*]*i Ti-u̯a-ta i-in-ta-ḫa* ⌜*Ti-u̯a-ta*⌝ "Tiwad above and Tiwad below" (Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 204-205) make it difficult to assume that this is a couple. One could argue the expression (CTH 760.2, KUB 35.45 ii 25-26) *šar-ri-* $^{(D)}$UTU-*za* 'Sun-god above' vs. *ti-i̯a-am-ma-aš-ši-iš* $^{(D)}$UTU-*za*, transitionally translated as 'Sun-goddess of the Earth' (Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 150-151), but above in the same passage (ii 18) both hypostases appear to be summarized under the label ⌜$^{(D)}$UTU-*ta*⌝ EN-*i̯a ti-u̯a*[!](UD)-*a*-⌜*li*⌝-*i̯a* "Sun-god, divine

tics with the Syro-Ugaritic Sun-goddess Šapšu,[14] who crossed the Underworld at night, as did the Mesopotamian Šamaš. When the Hurritization of local beliefs took place, an image of the solar goddess of the Earth influenced by the Hurrian Allāni emerged. She opened the gates of the Underworld and her role, like other chthonic divinities, was ridding the earth of all evil, impurity and disease.

The systematization of the divinities undertaken by the Hittite priests integrates the Sumerian idea of the Lady of the Underworld Ereškigal,[15] mother or wife of the ancient sovereign Ninazu ("Lord of the Earth") and her Hurrian equivalent Allāni ('The Lady': *alla-ni*), both of wich are identified with the "Sun-goddess of the Earth". In the Hurro-Hittite *Myth of Deliverance*, Allāni is referred to as the "Bolt of the Earth", in relation to the Gate to the Underworld, the boundary between the Beyond and our world.

In the ancient Hittite tradition, the Central Anatolian Sun-goddess is the Mistress of both the Earth and of the Underworld, since the sun goes through its route over the Earth's disk during the day, descending at sunset in the west to cross the Underworld at night. Her local (Hattian) forms are Eštan (hittitized Ištanu)[16] and Wurunšemu / Urunzimu,[17] identified with the Sun-goddess of Arinna / Ereškigal. As for the "Sun-goddess of the Earth",[18] who, since the mid-second millennium BC is identified with the Hurrian Mistress of the Underworld Allāni, there is no clear evidence for this deity's connection with the Hattian milieu.[19] Together with the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the Mother-goddesses and the Fate-goddesses

lord". In all these instances, the underlying name is Tiwad, directly related to Hittite *siu̯att-* 'day' and Old Indian *dyút-* 'shining, splendour', and root-cognate of Zeus and Jupiter. I am grateful to I. Yakubovich for bringing this issue and these texts to my attention.

14. See Kutter (2008).

15. See Dalley (2000) and Lorenz (2008).

16. See Steitler (2017: 58).

17. Steitler (2017: 59–64). "The name *Wurunšemu* is composed of two elements: \wur=un\ "land" + oblique case (genitive […]) and \še(=)mu\ "mother(?)" (Steitler 2017: 61). According to Klinger (1996: 146–147 with n. 78), Hattic *Wurunšemu* corresponds conceptually with Hittite *annaš daganzipaš* "mother (of the) earth". However, Steitler (2017: 62) favours reading this as "mother of the land", roughly analogous to Hitt. *annaš=maš utnē* 'the land of my mother', where "my mother" (spoken by the king) refers to the Sun-goddess.

18. According to Lorenz and Link (2009: 157), the Sun-goddess of the earth was adapted within the Hattian pantheon because of her similarity with Lelwani, who in turn was closely related to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. In contrast, Steitler (2017: 230) argues that the texts she cites as evidence for the inclusion of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in the Hattian pantheon cannot be confidently attributed to the Hattian milieu.

19. Steitler (2017: 231).

(DINGIR.MAḪ$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$ / *Darawes* GUL-*šeš*) are the main divine protagonists in the magical practices of the Hurrian-Luwian circle, charged with freeing the patient from the powers of the chthonic divinities.

The god Šanda (in Lycian Ḫãta)[20] was venerated in Hellenistic times on both sides of the Taurus, with its main worship centre in Tarsus (Gr. Σανδας, Σανδης, Σανδον). He was identified with the Phoenician Melqart and the Mesopotamian Nergal, god of the underworld and plagues. In Hittite texts, he was often expressed with the logogram ^{D}AMAR.UD (Marduk); he is sometimes mentioned together with the god of war and plagues, Iyarri, which is reminiscent, both in name and nature, of the Mesopotamian Erra. Both carry bows and arrows and appear in company of the Marwainzi divinities,[21] 'the dark ones'. In the kizzuwatnean *Hittite-Luwian ritual of Zarpiya against plagues* (CTH 757), Šanda is invoked with a group of Annarumenzi divinities (Hitt. Innarawanteš), the 'violent, brutal': "Come, Šanda! May the Innarawanteš divinities come with you, those who wear bloody (garments), who carry wrapped about them the girdles (?) of the mountain dwellers, girded (?) with daggers, who carry strung bows and arrows!"[22] In one of the treatises of Šuppiluliuma I, Šanta is listed among the divine witnesses immediately after the gods of war and next to the chthonic Allatu (= Lelwani), and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. This would come to confirm the connection between the god of War and the Underworld.

§ 2. *Cosmological conceptions*[23]

In the Mesopotamian belief system, the earth is structured on three levels: 1. The "terrestrial surface" (Akkad. *erṣetum elītum*). 2. The realm of subterranean water, called "Near earth" (Akkad. *erṣetum qablītum*), in which Enki / Ea rules. 3. The "lower earth" (Akkad. *erṣetum šaplîtum*), the subterranean world located in the deepest bowels of the earth. The terrestrial disk lies above the cosmic Ocean. The image of the giant Ubelluri of the Kumarbi cycle, which rises above the sea or

20. Taracha (2009: 113); Melchert (2002).

21. For a comparative interpretation and etymology of the Hitt./Luw. $^{(d)}$*Mar*(*ku*)*wainzi* divinities, see García Trabazo (2017).

22. KUB 9.31 Ro i 36–41: [*e*]-*ḫu* ^{D}AMAR.UTU *k*[*at-ti-ti-m*]*a-at-ta* ^{D}*In-na-ra-u-ụa-an-ta-aš* (37) [*ú*]-*ụa-du e-eš-ḫa*-[*nu-ụa-an*]-*ta ku-e-eš ú-e-eš-ša-an-ta* (38) [^{LÚ}].^{MEŠ}*lu-u-la-ḫi-ia-a*[*š-ša-a*]*n ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-ia-an-ti-iš* § 39 *IŠ-TU* GÍR-*ia-aš-ša-an* [*ku-i*]-^{r}*e*^{1}-*eš iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ia-te-eš*$_{17}$ (40) ^{GIŠ}PAN$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš-ša-an ku-*^{r}*i*^{1}-[*e-eš*] *ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ta* (41) ^{GIŠ}GAG.Ú.TAG$^{ḪI.A}$-*ia* [*ḫar-ká*]*n-z*i. A recent transcription and translation can be found in Petropoulos and Bayun (2021: 112–3).

23. See Haas (1994: 127–131).

above the Netherworld, and on which heaven and earth were erected, is based on a similar conception.[24]

In the Hittite conception, the Underworld is located immediately below the inhabited earth. Its entrances are natural caves and excavated pits. In the caves, the blood of animal victims flows for the divinities of the Underworld.[25] In addition, closely related to the Underworld are the fountains, springs, and ponds. Through a cave and a fountain, the Storm-god of Nerik descends to the Underworld and returns from it.

The Mesopotamian Underworld is, in all respects, like a city in the world of the living, but its inhabitants, the dead, lead a wretched existence, which is only relieved if their descendants regularly make them food offerings. The Underworld is the "house of darkness" or "a house whose inhabitants are deprived of light". There is no return from the Underworld, and for this reason it is also called "city of no return" or "city of destiny". A palace in the Underworld is described in the Hurrian *Myth of Deliverance* (CTH 789), and this is also deduced from the motif of the seven locked doors with seven bolts mentioned in the myth of Telipinu.[26]

The path to the Underworld is oriented to the west, where the sun sets. Dumuzi, god of vegetation and agriculture, reaches the Underworld through the western steppe. The boundary between the Beyond and the World of the living is formed by the river of the Underworld Ilurugu (Sumerian) or Ḫubur (Akkadian), one of the god Nergal's forms. It is crossed by the spirit of the dead in the Boat of the Dead (Sum. má.gi$_4$.lum) led by the boatman called in Akkadian Ḫumuṭ-tabal "carry him soon".

24. KUB 33.106+ (CTH 345, *Song of Ullikummi*, third tablet) iii 28'-29': T[I-*an-za-ụa-ra-aš e-eš-du* (?)] / (29') ^{D}*U-pé-el-lu-ri-iš* GE$_6$-*i̯a* KI[-*pí* AN-*iš-ụa-kán* K]I$^{?}$-*aš ku-e-da-ni še-er ú-e-da-an-za* '[*May you*] li[ve on the dark earth, Ubelluri, on whom [the heaven and ea]rth are built!' (The translation follows Hoffner 1998: 64, slightly modified).

25. The ritual CTH 446 (*House cleaning ritual and invocation of subterranean deities*) seems to describe a blood offering to the divinities of the Underworld: KBo 10.45+ Vo iii 12–14 EGIR-*pa-ma-kán* 1 SILA$_4$ A-*ni* BAL-*an-ti na-an ḫa-at-*ˈ*ta-an-zi*ˀ (13) *nu-uš-ša-an e-eš-ḫar* IM-*aš ḫu-u-up-pa-ri tar-na-*ˈ*i*ˀ (14) *na-at e-eš-ḫa-na-aš* DINGIR-*LIM-ni pé-ra-an* GAM *da-a-i* 'Danach aber weiht er das Lamm mit dem Wasser, und sie schlachten es. (13) Das Blut läßt er in ein *huppri*-Gefäß aus Ton ein; (14) und er stellt es vor der Gottheit des Blutes nieder.' (Translation by Miller 2008: 13).

26. KUB 17.10+ (CTH 324, Myth of Telipinu) iv 13–14: *ták-na-ša-at* DUTU-*aš* KASKAL-*an pa-id-du* § (14) *ḫa-a-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}NI.DUḪ 7 ^{GIŠ}IG *a-ap-pa ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-at* 7 ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-at-ta-lu* 'May it (i.e., Telipinu's anger, wrath, sin, and sullenness) go the route of the Sun-goddess (of the Dark Earth). § The gatekeeper opened the seven doors. He drew back the seven bars.' (Translation by Hoffner 1998^{2}: 17).

§ 3. *Kizzuwatna Rituals and Cosmological Parallels*

The invocation of the divinities in Kizzuwatna rituals involved the correct choice of magical materials, appropriate prayers and incantations, purification techniques and sacrificial practices, all of which had to be carried out at the appropriate time and place to achieve the optimal conditions for the success of the ritual. The ritual officiant only acted as an intermediary between the divine powers and humanity. The incantations, practices and materials are of divine origin. In the *ritual of Ḫantitaššu* (CTH 395), the officiant says: "My word is the word of the Sun god and Kamrušepa".[27]

§ 3.1. *Water*[28]

According to a mythologeme from the domestic purification ritual CTH 446 (*House cleaning ritual and invocation of subterranean deities*), both the words of the incantation and the magical matter of water are of divine origin.[29] Its connection with water is emphasized by the fact that the officiant invokes the gods and

27. KBo 11.14 Ro ii 24'–25': *am-me-el* [*ud-da-a-ar*] (25') ^{D}UTU-*aš* ^{D}*Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš-ša ud-da-a-a*[*r*]. Mouton (2024: 18) highlights the importance of this passage in illustrating the concept of 'agency'. Ritual agency describes the capacity of the ritual and its protagonists to transform the world. In this specific case, non-human agency holds centre stage since the conjurer claims to pronounce divine words, despite his human nature. I am indebted to I. Yakubovich for pointing this reference out to me.

28. For an introduction to the ritual and the religious implications of water from an archaeological perspective, see Oestigaard (2011).

29. Cf. Strauß (2006: 30). So the goddess Ištar hurries from Nineveh: KBo 10.45 Ro ii 45–47 ZAG-*za* [***u̯a***]-˹***a***˺-***tar*** *ḫar-zi* GÙB-*la-za-ma ud-da-a-*˹*ar*˺ (46) *ḫar-z*[*i* ZAG-*za* ***u̯***]***a-a-tar*** *pa-ap-pár-iš-*˹*ke*˺*-ez-zi* GÙB-*la-za-ma* (47) *ud-da-*[*a-a*]*r me-mi-iš-ke-ez-zi* 'With her right (hand) she holds the **water**, but with her left she holds the words (of the incantation). She sprinkles the **water** [with her right hand], but with her left she speaks the following words (of the incantation).' Ištar had earlier demanded the water from the springs and the deity of water: KBo 10.45 Ro ii 31-35 **A-*ni-u̯a*** *ku-e-da-ni ú-u̯a-nu-*[*un*] (32) [*n*]*u-u̯a-mu a-pa-a-at* ***wa-a-tar*** *pé-eš-tén pár-ku-nu-um-ma-aš-u̯*[a] (33) [*k*]*u-iš* ***ú-i-te-na-an-za*** *e-eš-ḫar NI-ÌŠ* DINGIR-*LIM pár-ku-nu-*[*zi*] (34) [*ku-i*]*š* ^{É}*ḫi-lam-mar pár-ku-nu-zi ku-iš pa-an-g*[*a-u-u̯a-aš* x x] (35) [*ḫur-ta*]-˹*a*˺-*in u̯a-aš-túl kur-ku-ra-in pár-ku-nu-zi* 'The **water** for which I have come, give me that **water**. That **water** of purification, which purifies the bloody deed and the perjury, which purifies the gate building, which purifies [the word] of the community, the curse, the crime, and the fear.'

asks for support for the ritual from the riverbank, and obtains certain materials for the ritual from the Mother goddesses and the Destiny goddesses who inhabit it.[30]

The divinities of the Underworld are requested to placate other gods; see the invocation in Muwattalli's *Prayer to the Storm-god of Kummanni* (CTH 382): "If any divinity has angered the Tempest god, the Anunnage must placate the Tempest god with respect to that divinity!"[31] Similarly, the divinities of the Underworld represent a "court of justice," as attested again in the ritual CTH 446. Since the river represents a connection with the Underworld, and thereby with the gods who rule there as well, the extraction of water and the summon of the gods from the Underworld are intimately related.

The transcendent connection of the rivers is also related to the goddesses of rivers and springs (Haas 1994: 464), with known Indo-European parallels.[32] Probably following the Babylonian tradition, the Sea is conceived as the Mother of Rivers. Since rivers and fountains are linked to the Underworld, the Storm-god of Nerik descends through his "beloved fountain" to his mother, and the goddess of the Underworld also ascends to the surface world from a fountain.

§ 3.2. *The smoke sacrifice and the 'exposition to the stars'*

In a ritual procedure documented in the Hurrito-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual series, smoke is asked to rise to the gods "like a bird" and invite them to take part in the ritual.

In the *Ritual of Ammiḫatna from Kizzuwatna against impurity* (CTH 471, § 27) the water is left overnight to "rest under the stars".[33] This "exposure to the stars" is documented several times in the ritual of *Expansion of the Cult of the Night Goddess* (CTH 481) and takes place on the roof of the temple. The procedure

30. The summoning woman ('Beschwörerin') of the *Ritual of the River* (CTH 409) goes to the riverbank *at night* to summon the mother goddess Ḫannaḫanna, who lives there, to assist her to carry out the ritual; cf. Strauß (2006: 31).

31. KBo 11.1 Ro 14: *ma-a-an-kán* ^{D}U DINGIR-*LUM* KUR-*TI ku-iš-ki* TUKU.TUKU-*nu-ut ki-nu-na* ^{D}A.NUN.NA.KE$_4$ ^{D}U-*an A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM a-pé-e-da-n*[*i me-na-a*]*ḫ-ḫa-an-da ták-šu-la-a-an-*$^{\lceil}$*du*$^{\rceil}$.

32. For the celestial and divinized rivers in the Indo-European traditions, see for example Schmitt (1967: 44–6; 221–236), West (2007: 350–1), and Calin (2017: 184–5). Of particular interest in the present context is the characterisation of the Greek infernal river Eridanus as a 'Starry River' (for example in Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 2.327: **ἀστερόεντος** ἐν ὕδασιν Ἠριδανοῖο 'in the waters of **starry** Eridanos'), an epithet linking it to the Milky Way.

33. KBo 5.2 Ro ii 28: *nu ú-i-da-ar A-NA ŠA-PAL* MUL$^{ḪI.A}$ $^{\lceil}$*še*$^{\rceil}$*-eš-zi* '(Then) the water rests under the stars'; cf. Strauß (2006: 43); transcription and translation: Strauß (2006: 224, 237).

is documented in Assyro-Babylonian Namburbi rituals. When bread (in CTH 471 § 25) is cut up in water, it can be understood as an offering to the stars and constellations as intermediaries between men and gods.

§ 4. *The Night Goddess*[34] *of Šamuḫa and her relation to the Underworld*

The sequence of sumerograms DINGIR GE_6 was interpreted years ago as "black goddess",[35] which led Haas and Wegner (1979: 124–128) (among others), to argue "die Göttin [...] einem bestimmten Typ mediterraner Göttinnen zuzuordnen ist, der die Bezeichnung 'die Schwarze' oder 'die Dunkle' trägt".[36] But the use of the acadogram *MUŠI* 'night' in texts[37] discovered shortly afterwards completely

34. In the Anatolian tradition, an older name is documented for '(divinity of the) Night, divinised Night': ^{d}*Išpant-* or ^{d}*Išpanza-šepa-* '(divinity/genius) Night'. This theonym is rarely documented, and almost exclusively used in religious festivals; cf. van Gessel (1998: 204). In a list of offerings listed in one of these festivals (CTH 625), the divinity Night is mentioned together with the god Moon and a 'star-god', KBo 4.13 vi 34 + KUB 10.82 6: ^{D}30 MUL ^{r}***I***$^{\lceil}$***š-pa-an-za*** ^{D}*Ḫa-aš-ma-i-ú-un* '(the king toasts) ... the (god) Moon, the Star, **the Night**, (the deity) Ḫašmayu' (*Iš-pa-an-za* is therefore an incorrect nominative, according to Puhvel 1984: 432). At another festival (*CTH* 617.2, AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, *32nd day: for the tutelary deity of Tauriša*), a musician from Kaneš in Cappadocia sings a sacred chant. The singers from Kaneš mainly perform at religious festivals in the Hattic-Hittite cultural sphere. On the other hand, the divinity *Išpanz*(*a*) appears without the divinity determinative, and in a clearly Anatolian context: it is "drunk" by one of the protagonists of the ceremony: KUB 10.81, 11'-13' ***iš-pa-an-ta-an-n****a e-ku-zi* (12') ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*ka-ni-eš* SÌR^{RU} (13') 9 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *pár-ši-ia* [...] 'he/she drinks **the Night** [...] the musician of Kaneš sings [...] he/she slices nine loaves of bread'. The context in which several of the mentions of *Išpant-* are inserted points to the Luwian or Kanešite regions, accompanying divinities from Kamrušepa mythology (cf. Popko 1995: 89; Steitler 2017: 80). About $^{(d)}$*Išpanza*(*-šepa*)- the following can be concluded (cf. Mouton 2008: 225). First, the divinity unquestionably comes from the Hattic-Hittite sphere. This is confirmed by the early date of the compositions in where he is mentioned. The date is relevant because the Syro-Mesopotamian influences in Anatolia (via Kizzuwatna) are mainly observed from the Middle Hittite period onwards. If this is confirmed, we could deduce the pre-existence of a Night divinity in northern and central Anatolia.

35. Or also "Deity of Darkness" (Ünal 1993: 642).

36. Quoted by Miller (2004: 395, n. 635), who adds: "In a footnote to this comment (n. 3) they [sc. V. Haas and I. Wegner] added, 'Es handelt sich dabei um die kyprische Aphrodite Urania Anadyomene mit ihren beiamen *melania*, *melainis* „die Schwarze", auch *skotia* „die Dunkle" genannt, und um die zur Zeit des römischen Feldherrn Sulla mit der kommagenischen Göttin Mâ-Enyo gleichgesetzten Kriegsgöttin Duellono oder Bellona mit ihrem Beinamen atra „die Schwarze" (italics added).' These considerations can now be laid ad acta."

37. KBo 32.176 obv. 1, rev. 7: ^{LÚ}SANGA *ŠA* DINGIR^{LIM} *MU-ŠI*.

invalidates this interpretation, as pointed out by Mouton (2008: 220). The correct interpretation is therefore 'goddess of the Night'.[38]

Interestingly, the Night Goddess of Šamuḫa is not usually included among the divinities of the Underworld in works devoted to Anatolian religion. The divine designation DINGIR GE_6 seems to be a Kizzuwatnean innovation (Miller 2004: 364). No DINGIR GE_6 deity is attested in any Mesopotamian written source, and – as Miller himself rightly points out – this should serve as a warning against hasty identifications with Mesopotamian divinities, be it Ištar, Šawuška, a Moon-god, etc.

Instead, Haas (1994: 352) – following Lebrun (1976: 16) – considers it an expression of Ištar-Šawuška as 'evening star'. The evidence for this association in later periods, and even its identification, are not as clear as it may seem, and have obscured several clues that distinguish DINGIR GE_6 from Ištar, both typologically and chronologically.[39]

Another relevant – and problematic – aspect regarding the possible identification of DINGIR GE_6 with Ištar is its relationship with the lunar divinity. As noted by Miller (2004: 370), Laroche had suggested (Laroche 1952: 78; cf. also Laroche 1966: 40–1, Nos. 140–141) the identification between the names ^{f}DINGIR.GE_6-*u̯iia* and ^{fD}30-*u̯iia*, as well as ^{m}DINGIR.GE_6-*ziti* and ^{mD}30-*ziti*, suggesting that they should be read as Armawiya and Armaziti, respectively.[40] Although this alternation is attested in late New Hittite (NH) texts, it is a fact that DINGIR GE_6 alternates

38. The Anatolian Night goddess is always mentioned in the singular, which is a substantial difference vis-a-vis the Mesopotamian DINGIR^{MEŠ} GE_6, which is always quoted in the plural. Her feminine gender is strongly suggested by the following oracular passage (CTH 577.1), KUB 16.52 obv. 9': *nu-za* DINGIR GE_6 **AMA-*ŠU*** DÙ-*zi* 'he/she worships the Deity of the Night, **his/her mother**' (cf. Miller 2004: 365, n. 526). The transcription DINGIR-*LUM* (instead of DINGIR GE_6) given in the *Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis*, hethiter.net/: TLHdig KUB 16.52 (2021-12-31) is incorrect, as can easily be seen in the photograph available at Mainzer Fotoarchiv: http://hethiter.net/:%20fotarch%20BoFN00789c, both available at the CTH website https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/.

39. For a comprehensive diachronic overview of DINGIR GE_6 and its relationship to Ištar of Šamuḫa, see Miller (2004: 378–390). "[I]t seems that during the time of Tutḫaliya I (I/II) and for some time thereafter DINGIR GE_6 was without exception referred to as such, never as Ištar, perhaps in recognition of the distinctiveness which she enjoyed. At the same time, her similarity to Ištar was recognized and she was grouped with her" (Miller 2004: 389). On the Night goddess, see recently Hutter (2021: 129–131).

40. To this Lebrun (1976: 30, n. 80) added the equation between the scribal names ^{m}*A*]*r-ma*-LÚ-*is* (KBo 16.27 + KBo 40.330 iii 12') and ^{m}DINGIR.GE_6-LÚ (KUB 4.1 iv 42) / ^{mD}30-LÚ (KUB 30.54 ii 8).

with the Sumerian logogram for the Moon-god (^{D}30). The available data do not allow a definitive conclusion, but we could well be faced with a late graphic innovation carried out by scribes who no longer associated DINGIR GE_6 with Ištar – or with any divinity with the name "goddess of the Night" – and therefore had the grapheme at their disposal to use as an alternative to the name of the Moon-god.[41]

§ 4.1. *The infernal aspect of the Night Goddess*

In the ritual of *Expansion of the Cult of the Night Goddess* (CTH 481),[42] DINGIR GE_6 is invoked from an offering pit ($^{(D)}$*api*-),[43] which seems to imply an infernal connection. Although this seems to *a priori* exclude any identification with Ištar, it is true that Ištar has sometimes been related to infernal or primordial divinities in Kizzuwatna. Whilst the evidence is scanty, there was a certain tendency in Kizzuwatna to ascribe Ištar to the primordial generation of gods who had lost their pre-eminent position in the pantheon, or also, more vaguely, to the circle of the Underworld divinities. Nor are the similarities between DINGIR GE_6 and Išḫara[44] negligible, although the two are never explicitly related.[45]

§ 4.2. *The* (*woollen*) *object*/*symbol called* uliḫi[46]

The $^{(SÍG)}$*uliḫi* (Miller 2004: 409–412) was a piece of wool that was tied to the image of the divinity and used to invoke it. It is quite possible that it can be identified with the **red wool** found in certain contexts identical to those in which the *uliḫi* is mentioned. The identification is based on the following (in addition to the fact that *uliḫi* itself appears once with the determinative SÍG 'wool'):

1. In the ritual of Expansion (KUB 29.4+ i 63–69), the divinity is invoked into the interior of the ancient temple with red wool, after which the *uliḫi* is bound upon the divinity:

41. See Miller (2004: 370–3).

42. All transcriptions and translations of this ritual are taken from Miller's edition (Miller 2004) or contain only very slight modifications; emphasis added.

43. KUB 29.4+ ii 19-21: *na-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR-*LAM* ***a-a-pí-ta-az*** (20) *ša-ra-a* 7-*ŠU ḫu-it-ti-ja-az-zi* EN SÍSKUR-*ja-kán* (21) 7-*ŠU ša-ra-a ḫu-it-ti-ja-az-zi* 'The SANGA-priest evokes the deity up **from the offering-pit** 7 times, and the ritual patron evokes upwards 7 times' (Miller 2004: 281).

44. On Išḫara, see Prechel (1996).

45. Miller (2004: 376–7).

46. For the term *uliḫi*- and its nature, see Kronasser (1963: 45–6), Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 171–2), Haas (1994: 505–6), Beal (2002: 203) and Strauß (2006: 193).

§ 9[47]
(62) … *na-at-ša-an šu-uḫ-ḫi ti-an-zi na-at ŠA-PAL* MUL$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$
(63) *še-eš-zi nu še-ḫe-el-li-i̯a-aš* A.A$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-ar* [*x*] *ku-e-da-ni* UD-*ti da-an-zi*
(64) *ka-ru-ú-i-li-in-na* DINGIR-*LAM IŠ-TU* **SÍG SA$_5$** Ì.DÙG.GA-*i̯a*
(65) *IŠ-TU* 7 KASKAL$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ 7 KA.GÌR$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ ḪUR.SAG-*az* ÍD-*az*
(66) *ú-e-el-lu-u̯a-az ne-pí-ša-az ták-na-az*
§ 10
(67) ⌜*a*⌝*-pé-e-da-ni* UD-*ti ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-zi na-an-kán ka-ru-ú-i-li-aš*
(68) *A-NA* É DINGIR-*LIM an-da ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-zi nu-uš-ša-an* ***ú-li-ḫi-in***
(69) *A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM an-da ḫa-ma-an-kán-zi* …

And they set them (= the ritual items) on the roof, and they remain under the stars.

And on that day when they take the waters of purification, (§ 10) they evoke (§ 9) also the old deity with **red wool** and refined oil from the 7 paths, the 7 footpaths, the mountain, the river, the steppe, the sky (and) the earth (§ 10) on that day. And they evoke her into the old temple, and they bind ***uliḫi*** onto the deity.[48]

2. In the same ritual (§§ 22–23), refined oil is poured into a *tallai*-vessel, the divinity is invoked with **red wool** and the ***uliḫi*** is placed in the *tallai*-vessel.

3. In KBo 24.45+ (CTH 479.1), which bears close similarities whith the Expansion ritual, **red wool** is placed in refined oil to invoke the divinity.

4. In KUB 15.31 (CTH 484) an ***uliḫi*** is prepared for the evocation ritual, but when the time comes the divinities are evoked with **red wool** and a *kureššar*-garment.

5. In KBo 23.1++ i 7–25 (CTH 472, *Ritual of Ammiḫatna, Tulbi and Mati*) it is noted that **red wool** is used to evoke the divinity, for which it is dipped in refined oil in a vessel, just as ***uliḫi*** is used in the ritual of Expansion. However, the binding of the **red wool or *uliḫi*** on a divinity seems not to be found in any other text outside the Expansion.

It should also be noted that the *uliḫi* is, without exception, attested in connection with the translation or evocation of a deity. The object could well symbolise the presence of the deity.

47. All paragraph numbering hereafter follows the edition of the ritual of the Expansion (CTH 481) by Miller (2004).

48. Miller (2004: 278–9).

The itinerary of the *uliḫi* in the Expansion is as follows: during the second day of the rituals for the ancient temple the *uliḫi* is tied to the deity. On the last day of the rituals for the old temple, which corresponds to the first day of the rituals for the new temple, it reappears when the deity is required to "divide his divinity" and, therefore, come to the new temple. In a sense, the object performs a **circular itinerary**.[49]

§ 4.3. *The white* kureššar-*garment and the red* kureššar-*garment*

The (new?) *uliḫi* brought from the old temple is taken from the *tallai*-vessel and attached to the *kureššar*-garment of the new divinity (§§ 31–32). The *kureššar*-garment that is associated with the figure of the divinity that is "divided" to be brought to the new temple is **white**, while the one associated with the new divinity is **red** (cf. Beal 2002: 202):[50]

§10 (continued)
(69) ... LÚ^{MEŠ} DINGIR-*LIM-ma ki-i da-an-zi*
(70) 1 *tar-pa-la-aš* SÍG SA_5 1 *tar-pa-la-aš* SÍG ZA.GÌN 1 ^{SÍG}*ki-iš-ri-in*
(71) **1 ^{TÚG}*ku-re-eš-šar* BABBAR** 1 ^{NA4}*ku-un-na-na-an* ^{NA4}*ki-ri-in-ni-iš*

The personnel of the deity, however, take these (items): 1 *tarpala*(-fabric) of red wool, 1 *tarpala*(-fabric) of blue wool, 1 wool *kisri*(-fabric), **1 white *kureššar* garment**, 1 *kunnana*-gem, *kirinni* stone, ...[51]

§32
(iv 29) [(*ka*)]-*ru-ú-i-li-in-ma-aš-ša-an ú-li-ḫi-in*
(iv 30) [^{TÚG}***k***]***u-re-eš-ni* SA_5** *ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM* GIBIL *an-da ḫa-ma-an-kán-zi*

Then they bind the old *uliḫi* onto **the red *kureššar* garment** of the new deity.[52]

These colours recall, on the one hand, the seasonal colouring of the 'white hawthorn' (^{GIŠ}*ḫatalkešnaš*) in the *Myth of the disappearance and return of Ḫannaḫanna* (CTH 334, KUB 33.54+ 13'-14'): *zi-ga-az* ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-tal-kiš-na-aš ḫa-mé-eš-ḫi-ia-az* **BABBAR^{TIM}** [*u̯a-aš-ša-ši*] (14') $BURU_{14}$*-ma-az* ***iš-ḫar-u̯a-an***[***-da*** *u̯*]*a-aš-ša-ši* "You, white hawthorn, in spring you [wear] **white** and in summer you

49. Miller (2004: 409–12).
50. Explicitly pointed out by Miller (2004: 411, n. 656)
51. Miller (2004: 279).
52. Miller (2004: 296).

[wear] **red** (lit. 'of blood')".[53] But we could also associate this difference in colour with two aspects of the Night Goddess ("diurnal" and "nocturnal", or perhaps better: "dawn" vs. "twilight"). Other pieces of evidence also suggest some kind of relationship between this divinity and the **divinity of the Night or Dawn** attested among various Indo-European peoples:[54] the exposure of the waters of purification to the nocturnal celestial bodies (cf. § 3.2); or the ritual of the third day, which begins **at the break of dawn**, when the stars are still visible.[55] To this we can add the **immersion of the red wool in the refined oil** (a reminiscence of the immersion of the deity himself in the ocean of the Underworld?) and the ritual significance of the ***kureššar*-garment**-.

53. Perhaps we could also compare the short mythological narrative preserved in a bilingual Hattic-Hittite fragment (CTH 731.1.A, KUB 28.6 obv. 10'a–13'a and 10'b–13'b) which mentions the "splendid garment" of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the "blood-red colour" of an apple tree. Hattic version: (10'a) ⌜*ša-a-u̯aa*⌝*-at-ma ga-ú-ra-an-ti-i-u* (11'a) ***ka-az-za*** *li-im-mu-ša* (12'a) [*u̯*]*aa-aḫ-ku-un u̯uü-ru-še-mu* (13'a) *ta-az-zi-ia-aḫ-du ta-zu-u-ḫa-aš-ti*. Hittite version: (10'b) ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR PÚ-*i še-*⌜*er*⌝ *ar-ta-ri* (11'b) *na-at* ***iš-ḫar-ú-i-***⌜***eš***⌝***-ke-ez-zi*** *a-uš-*⌜*ta-at*⌝ (12'b) ^{URU}PÚ-*na-aš* ^{D}UTU-*uš nu-*⌜*kán*⌝ ***mi-iš-ri-u̯***[***a-an-***…] (13'b) **TÚG-*SÚ*** *še-er ka-a-*⌜*ri-ia*⌝*-a*[*t*? "An apple tree stands over a well and becomes **blood-red**. The Sun-goddess of Arinna (*Wurunšemu*) saw it; she laid **her spl**[**endid**] **garment** over it." See Steitler (2017: 129), with bibliography.

54. Indo-European poetic phraseologisms allow us to reconstruct a deified **Night**, sister of the **Dawn**, the **Immortal Mistress of the Night** / the **Immortal Dawn**: Proto-Indo-European (PIE) ***potnih₂ nokᵘts** / **leh₂trih₂*** // ***h₂eu̯sōs u̯-mr̥tos*** (cf. Schmitt 1967: 169–175; West 2007: 372; Calin 2017: 165, Calin 2023: 112). The reconstruction is based on a wide range of Ancient Indian and Greek formulae. Vedic examples: *Ṛgveda* (RV) 10.127.1a+2ab ***rā́trī... amartyā... devī́*** 'Night, the immortal goddess'; RV 3.61.2a ***úṣo devy ámartyā*** 'O Dawn, immortal goddess!'; RV 3.61.4b ***uṣáḥ ... pátnī*** 'Lady Dawn'; RV 1.122.2b etc. ***uṣā́sānaktā*** 'Dawn and Night' + RV 1.13.7a etc. ***naktoṣā́sā*** 'Night and Dawn'; ***aktā́*** (< **n̥kᵘt-eh₂*) ***uṣā́***: RV 1.62.8cd: ***kr̥ṣṇebhir aktoṣā́ ruśadbhir vapurbhiḥ*** 'Night in a black attire, Dawn in a bright one'; like Dawn, the Night-goddess is Dyaus' [Sky's] daughter: *Atharvaveda* (AV) 19.47.5bd, *Atharvaveda Paippalāda* (AVP) 6.20.5bd ***rātri… duhitar diváḥ*** 'Night … Sky's daughter'. Greek examples: *Odyssey* (Od.) 11.330 **νύξ ... ἄμβροτος** / *Iliad* (Il.) 18.267f **νύξ ἀμβροσίη** 'immortal Night'; Il. 14.78 **νὺξ ἀβρότη** 'immortal Night' etc.; Smyrnaeus 2.652, 657 **ἄμβροτος Ἠώς** 'immortal Dawn', *Homeric Hymns* 5.223, 230 **πότνια Ἠώς** 'lady Dawn'; Euripides, *Orestes* 174 **πότνια Νύξ** 'lady Night'; Theognis 5 **πότνια Λητώ** 'lady Leto'; Sappho, fr. 157 **πότνια Αὔως** 'lady Dawn'.

55. KUB 29.4+ ii 14-15: [§13] *I-NA* UD 3^{KAM}*-ma ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu* EN SÍSKUR ***ka-ru-ú-a-ri-u̯a-ar*** (15) *ḫu-u-da-ak I-NA* É DINGIR-*LIM ú*$^{!}$*-iz-zi* MUL$^{ḪI.A}$ *nu-u-a a-ra-an-da* 'Then on the morrow of the 3rd day, the ritual patron comes immediately **at dawn** into the temple, (when) the stars are still out (lit. 'stand').' Cf. Miller 2004: 281.

§ 4.4. *The Night as the "dark garment*[56] *of the Sky"*

The Proto-Indo-European deified Night, as we can reconstruct it from poetic phraseology, was described as the **dark garment of the sky**, in contrast to the **Dawn's reddish robes**.[57]

In a beautiful article, Paola Dardano (Dardano 2010) has identified the Indo-European image of the sunset as a dress covering the sky in one of the rituals of the magician Pittei (*CTH* 767.4):

KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 obv. 1–2:

[*UM-MA*] ^{f}***Pít-te-i ma-a-an*** DUMU-***an ar-ma-iz-zi*** (2) [***ne-p***]***i-ša-aš-za*** **GE$_6$**-***i u̯a-‹aš-›ši-i̯a-at*** ***nu-za*** ⸢***du***$^{?}$-***u̯i***$_5$-***ip***$^{?!}$⸣ ***u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a‹-at›*** ^{d}**30**-***aš-ma‹-za›*** ***e-eš-ḫa-ni-i̯a u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a‹-at›***

[Thus] (speaks) Pittei: "When (a woman) is expecting a son". **The sky is clothed in dark**; it is clothed *ambiguously* (?);[58] **the moon, on the other hand, is clothed in the colour of blood**.

The "dark garment of the sky" is, therefore, also attested in the Anatolian sphere. However, in the Kizzuwatnean ritual of the Expansion of the Night Goddess, the chromatic contrast we find is **white** (of the ancient divinity) versus **red** (of the expanded divinity), instead of the expected *dark* versus *reddish*. This could

56. PIE ****u̯óspr̥***, *u̯ósbʰo-*, *u̯ésmn̥*, *u̯ḗsos-*, *u̯ésti-*, ***u̯éstr̥-*** 'garment, clothing' can be reconstructed from the following historical forms: Hittite *u̯aspa-*; Sanskrit *vásman-*, *vā́sas-*; Avestan *vaŋhanəm*, *vastra*; Greek εἷμα / ἕμμα, (ϝ)εστία, (ϝ)έστρᾱ; Armenian *zgest*; Latin *uestis*; Gothic *wasti*; Old High German *wester* (cf. English ***west***) and so on (cf. Calin 2017: 51; Calin 2023: 25). In direct relation to the phraseologism we are discussing here, the Latin and Greek words for 'evening' (***uesper*** and **ἕσπερος**, both also meaning 'west') go back to a delocatival formation 'that which is in a shroud' (cf. Katz, J. T. 2000).

57. This Proto-Indo-European *kenning* can be reconstructed, among others, from the following formulae: Vedic RV 1.113.14ab *vy* ***àñjibhir*** *divá ā́tāsv adyaud ápa* ***kr̥ṣṇā́ṃ nirṇíjaṃ*** *devy ā́vaḥ* '**Mit aufgeschminkten Farben** ist sie in den Torpfosten des Himmels aufgeblizt; die Göttin hat das **schwarze Gewand** abgedeckt' (Geldner 1951: 149), 'She has flashed forth with her ornaments at the doorposts of heaven. The goddess (Dawn) has removed **the black raiment**' (Jamison and Brereton 2014: 264); Greek: Aeschylus, *Prometheus bound* 24: ἡ **ποικιλείμων νὺξ** ἀποκρύψει φάος 'the night with its **multicoloured** (starry) **cloak** obscures the light'; Euripides, *Ion* 1150 **μελάμπεπλος** δὲ **Νύξ** ἀσείρωτον ζυγοῖς ὄχημ' ἔπαλλεν 'the **dark-robed Night** spurred her chariot with horses harnessed to the yoke'; Il. 8.1 Ἠὼς μὲν **κροκόπεπλος** ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν 'The **saffron-veiled Dawn** spread across the land' (cf. Katz, J. T. 2000; Calin 2017: 51–2; Calin 2023: 25).

58. On the luwian word ⸢*du̯ip(a)* (?), cf. Melchert (2022: 304).

be explained, perhaps, by the idea that in this case the red colour alludes to the darkening of twilight, as in the ritual of Pittei.

§ 5. *Conclusions*

When looking at the Expansion ritual (CTH 481) in a broader perspective, possibilities that could be interesting for the identification or classification of the divinity to whom it is consecrated arise. We assume that the ritual context of the Anatolian Night Goddess has been shaped by traditions of multiple origins, both Mesopotamian and Anatolian, the latter including both indigenous traditions and the Indo-European heritage. The comparative perspective allows us to at least attempt to answer some questions that have remained unanswered to date:

1. *Why is the 'Night Goddess' conceived as a divinity of the Underworld?* The Night Goddess could be conceived as a divinity of the Underworld because, in the Indo-European conception, she is intimately related to the Dawn – to the extent that they may be the same divinity – who, in her cyclical alternation (cf. the "circular itinerary" of the *uliḫi*, § 4.2) with the day, travels the Underworld in the manner of the Anatolian 'Sun-goddess of the Earth' (§ 1); the night firmament ('the Rock') is the image of the Underworld: the bottom is turned upside down.

2. *Why is wool used as a ritual element of transposition or translation?* The wool (§ 4.2) is a symbol (*pars pro toto*) of the animal capable of crossing liminal boundaries, trait that also allows it to assume the function of a 'scapegoat'. Ovids and caprids are often found to play in this role.

The Mesopotamian and Hurrian influence in the Šamuḫa Night-goddess Expansion ritual is unquestionable, as is to be expected throughout the Kizzuwatnean ritual realm.[59] But we have tried to highlight elements that allow us to advance in the study of the origin and nature of the Anatolian 'divinity of the Night':

1) Its **possible connection with the Anatolian divinity ^{d}*Išpanza(-šepa)-***, most probably of autochthonous origin (§ 4).
2) The **chthonic character of DINGIR GE$_6$**, in contrast to similar divinities in the Mesopotamian sphere (§ 4.1).

59. For a deep and comprehensive proposal of delimitation between the Hittite/Luwian sphere and the Hurrian/north-Syrian or Mesopotamian influence in the Kizzuwatnean ritual texts, see Miller (2004: 441–469).

3) In direct relation to the two previous points, we believe that an **Indo-European heritage** can be traced at least in some of the features associated with this Anatolian deity. Important ritual and theological details support this notion:
    a. The **white *kureššar* dress** and the **red *kureššar* dress** as a symbolic transposition of 'dawn' and 'twilight' (§ 4.3)
    b. The **immersion in refined oil** (§ 4.2) as an allusion to the waters of purification (§ 3.1 and § 4.3) or the waters of the Underworld (§ 4.3)
    c. The **idea of the divinised Night itself**, in the manner of the Vedic *Rā́trī* and the Greek Νύξ.

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Hittite ideas about the body as stimulus, stage and landscape of human and divine emotions. A textual approach

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The emotion process usually starts with a stimulus, either external, or internal, and then develops into a complex bodily response.[1] As stated in 1884 by the philosopher William James, "the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and […] our feeling of the same changes as they occur is the emotion".[2] At the end of the 20th century, from a neurophysiological point of view, Damásio defined emotion as "a collection of changes occurring in both brain and body, usually prompted by a particular mental content" and feeling as "the perception of those changes".[3] From an evolutionary perspective, somehow following Darwin's emotion research in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*,[4] "all people, regardless of race or culture, should express emotions in the face

1. Johnson (s.d.: 4).

2. James (1884: 189–190).

3. Damásio (1995: 270, n. 1). About the interaction of mind and body developed in the emotion process, see e.g. Panksepp: "Affective experience is an emergent function of complex network-level neurodynamics, intimately connected to body and world" (Panksepp 2008: 58); Fridja: "People, objects, and events, and the feelings they evoke, moreover, do not leave one cold. They affect one's body and one's cognitive functioning. One may tremble, become confused, or believe what one knows to be untrue." (Fridja 2008: 69), and Solomon: "Thoughts about mathematics may be clearly "in" the mind, as stomach contractions are in the body, but an emotion seems to require the interaction of mind and body in an undeniable way." (Solomon 2008: 6).

4. Darwin (1896).

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and body in similar fashion".[5] Furthermore, "Darwin engaged in a detailed study of the muscle actions involved in emotion [...]", concluding that "the muscle actions are universal, and their precursors can be seen in the expressive behaviors of non-human primates and other mammals".[6] For example, Darwin's description of anger included raised nostrils, compressed mouth, furrowed brow, wide open eyes, erect head, expanded chest, arms rigid by sides, stamping ground, body swaying backward or forward, and trembling.[7]

In the first part of this paper, we will not argue for Hittite differentiation on that level, but we intend to survey how Hittites registered that kind of phenomena in written form. In other words, one of the objectives of this research is to observe, through the analysis of written records, how the human body and the conceived divine body were perceived by the Hittites as a landscape of emotions. Therefore, the perspective adopted in this paper is more cultural than strictly philological, paying attention to the emotional aspects of Hittite religion, within a comparative approach between human and divine levels.

The perspective is purposely directed to somatic expressions and to what may be defined as *non-verbal behaviour* associated with emotional situations. Given that Hittite deities were conceived or imagined to a large extent as analogues of human beings, the research includes emotional data related with Hittite gods. Therefore, one of the objectives of the present work is to get a better knowledge of the emotional profile of some Hittite deities, and not only of Hittites. We might say, a bit like Febvre in 1941, that this kind of research seeks to "reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois":[8] in this case, *l'autrefois* is Hittite, whether human or divine.

With the known limitations, the dimension of staging emotions through references to the body can also be surveyed through text analysis. This perspective looks for the way Hittites viewed the body as a resourceful narrative device to denote emotions or emotion related processes associated with the human and the divine realms. From this point of view, the body is not merely interpreted as a land-

5. Matsumoto *et al*. (2008: 212).

6. Matsumoto *et al*. (2008: 212); see also Keltner *et al*. (2016: 468: "In 1872, Charles Darwin published *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, which influenced profoundly the scientific search for the characteristic patterns of behavior that signal different emotions, their universality, and their origins in display behaviors of mammalian species [...]"), and Keltner *et al*. (2016: 471).

7. Matsumoto *et al*. (2008: 213).

8. Febvre (1941).

scape of emotions, it is considered instead as a reference medium to obtain desired narrative outputs. That is the matter of the second part of this paper.

The third part of the text includes some passages where the body is connoted and understood as a stimulus of the emotion process. In this case, the body is not the place where emotions are after the perception of a stimulus, but it stands instead at the very beginning of emotional activity, being itself a cause of emotion processes. From this perspective we will see some contrasts between the human and the divine spheres of activity.

The approach made in this paper to the abovementioned topics, here adopted, is strictly textual and limited to some examples. In fact, the knowledge of the emotional profile of the Hittites and their deities may be researched also through analysis of different artistic manifestations, e.g. sculptures, rock-carvings, bas-reliefs, or cylinder seals, *inter alia*. That is not the matter of the present work. Furthermore, the present research is dedicated to a limited set of emotions, namely: love, joy, fear, disgust, hate, and anger (and similar or near semantic concepts). Out of the present scope remain some emotions such as sadness, pity, compassion, and the so-called "self-conscious" emotions (e.g. shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride).[9]

§ 2. *The body as landscape of emotions*[10]

Lexicalized by Hittite *tu*(*e*)*kk*(*a*)- (or the Sumerogram NÍ.TE), the 'body' is attested in some "vanishing gods" myths as the divine locus where emotions like wrath (*karpi*-), anger (*kardimmiyatt*-), and sullenness (*šāuwar*) are displayed.[11]

9. The so-called self-conscious emotions "involve, as a central feature, some form of self-reflection and self-evaluation", which "may be implicit or explicit, consciously experienced or silently transpiring below conscious awareness" (Tangney 1999: 541).

10. In this paper, I use the following abbreviations: CAD = Gelb *et al*. 1956–1992; CHD = Güterbock, Hoffner and van den Hout 1989–; CL = Cuneiform Luwian; CTH (followed by number) = text number in Laroche 1971, updated in Košak 2002–2022 (only the main number is indicated in this paper); EDHIL = Kloekhorst 2008; ePSD = *Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* (2006); eras. = erasure; GrHL = Hoffner and Melchert 2008; HED = Puhvel 1984–; HEG = Tischler 1983–2016; HL = Hieroglyphic Luwian; HW^2 = Friedrich. Kammenhuber et al. 1975–; obv. = obverse; rev. = reverse; transcr. = transcription; transl. = translation; translit. = transliteration; // = "is duplicated by"; « = *Glossenkeil*(*e*). References to tablet publications and inventory numbers include the tablets of the totality of the known text, even if the text quoted in this paper occurs only in some tablets (further references are easily available at Košak 2002–2022), exception made to the *Apology of Ḫattušili III*.

11. In some medical texts, the physical dimension of an individual could be lexicalized also with the general *antuḫša*- (cf. Zubieta Lupo 2020: 108 ff.).

However, such locus was understood by the Hittites as the place where emotions *are*, and not only where they are *displayed*, leading to a quite accurate idea of emotion.[12] Examples can be found in the *Myth of Telipinu* (and reconstructed in *The Disappearance of the Storm God*).[13] On the other hand, the *Ritual for Muršili II* shows that the human 'body' (or 'limbs') is also affected by 'terror' (*ḫatugāt̰ar*) and 'sullenness' (*šauwar*):

Myth of Telipinu

9' [...] ˹d˺*Te-li-pí-nu-i i-da-a-lu* ***t***[***u-ug-ga-az-ši-it*** *da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*]
10' [*kar-pí-iš-š*]*a-an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un kar-di-m*[*i-ya-at-ta-aš-ša-an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*]
11' [*uš-du-ul-ši*]*-it da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un ša-a-u-wa-a*[*r da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*]
12' [*i-da-a-lu-un*] EME-*an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un i-d*[*a-lu-un pa-tal-ḫa-an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*]

9'–12' From Telipinu, (I) [have taken] the evil, [**from his**] **b**[**ody**], (I) have taken [h]is [wrath], (I) [have taken his] ang[er], (I) have taken [h]is offense, (I) [have taken] sullennes[s], (I) have taken the [evil] tongue, (I) [have taken the b[ad behaviour].[14]

12. As told, the emotion is "a collection of changes occurring in both brain and body" (Damásio 1995: 270, n. 1).

13. Another example in CTH 335 *Fragments of Disappearing Deities Myths* (*mugawar*) (KUB 43.34 + KUB 57.105 obv. ii 28'-32'):

28' [...] ***tu-e-eg-ga-az****-ši-it i-*[*d*]*a-lu-uš-ši-it* ˹*da-aḫ*˺*-ḫu-un*
29' [... K]I.MIN *kar-pí-iš-ša-an* KI.MIN ˹*kar*˺*-tim-mi-ya-*˹*at*˺*-ta-an* KI.MIN
30' [...]x ˹KI˺.MIN *ša-a-u-wa-ar* K[I.MI]N ^{d}U-*aš* ˹LÚ.MEŠ˺
31' [...]x *mi-*˹*ya-an*˺*-te-eš ú-*˹*wa*˺*-te-te-en*
32' [...]*-en*.

28'–32' […] (I) took his e[v]il **from** his **body**, […] ditto, his wrath ditto, (his) anger ditto, […] ditto, (his) sullenness d[it]to. Bring the growing […] to the men of the Storm God, […].

Cf. Rieken *et al*. (2017; translit., transcr., and German transl.); Galhano (2022: 444; translit. and English transl.).

14. CTH 324 (KBo 34.24 + KBo 38.162 + KUB 33.1 + KUB 33.2 + KUB 33.3 rev. iii 9'–12'). Cf. García Trabazo (2002: 132–133, with translit. and Spanish transl.); Beckman (2003: 153, with

The Disappearance of the Storm God

7’ ˹d˺IM-*na-aš kar-di-mi-ya-u-wa-a*[*z* ZI-*ŠU* **NÍ.TE-*ŠU*** GIŠ*wa-ar-ša-ma-aš*]
8’ ˹*ú*˺-*e-šu-ri-ya-at-ta-ti nu ku-u-uš* G[IŠ*wa-ar-ša-mu-uš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an wa-ar-nu-e-er*]
9’ ˹d˺IM-*na-ša kar-pí-iš kar-tim-mi-ya-z*[*a wa-aš-du-ul ša-a-u-wa-ar*]
10’ [*Q*]*A-TAM-MA wa-ra-a-nu* dIM-*na-aš kar-tim*[15]*-mi-y*[*a-u-wa-an-za* ZI-*ŠU* **NÍ.TE-*ŠU***]
11’ [*ú*]-˹*ri*˺-*wa-ra-an pa-aḫ-ḫur nu ki-i pa-aḫ-ḫur ma-aḫ-ḫ*[*a-an kiš-ta-ri*]
12’ [(*ka*)]*r-pí-iš-ša kar-di-mi-ya-az ša-a-u-*˹*wa*˺-*a*[*r QA-TAM-MA kiš-ta-ru*]

7’-12’ Out of ange[r], the Storm God, [in his soul and **his body**], was suffocated (as) [a firewood log]. And [as] (they) have burned] this f[irewood log], may the Storm God’s wrath, ange[r, offense, sullenness] be burned [i]n the same way. [In his soul] (and) [**his body**], the an[gry] Storm God (is) a [b]urning fire! And a[s] this fire [is extinguished], may also the wrath, anger, (and) sullennes[s be extinguished in the same way]![16]

Ritual for Muršili II

9 [*nu ku-it-m*]*a-an* m*Šu-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma-aš* LUGAL-*uš*
10 [*nu-u-w*]*a* TI-*an-za e-eš-ta nu-za* m*Mur-ši*-DINGIR-*LIM* DUMU-*an*
11 [*am-mi*]-*ya-an-ta-an A-NA* KASKAL.MEŠ-*TIM ku-e-da-aš*
12 [*IŠ-T*]*U* KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *pa-ra-a*
13 [*na-iš-k*]*i-it nu-uš-ši-kán ku-it ḫa-tu-ga-a-tar*
14 [*ša-u*]-*wa-ar*? **NÍ.TE-*iš-ši*** *e-eš-ta*

English transl.); Rieken (2012, with translit., transc. and German transl.); Galhano (2022: 440, with translit. and English transl.).

15. Written over erasure.

16. CTH 325 (ABoT 2.35 + KBo 26.124 + KBo 26.132 + KBo 60.12 + KUB 33.24 + KUB 33.28 rev.? iii 7’ 12’; 11’–12’ // KBo 26.133 + KBo 38.154 + KBo 39.158 + KUB 33.25 + KUB 33.26 + KUB 33.27 + KUB 33.29 + KUB 33.30 + KUB 36.71 rev. iii 1’–2’). Cf. Rieken (2012b, with translit., transc. and German transl.); Galhano (2022: 441, with translit. and English transl.).

9–14 [And wh]ile Šuppiluliuma (was) king, [and] was alive, to the journeys which (he) [sen]t Muršili, his [lit]tle son, [wit]h the army and horses – what a terror (and) [sull]enness existed **in his limbs**![17]

A general affection of the body due to the 'anger' of a great deity (DINGIR-*LUM RA-BU-Ú*) is attested also in the text entitled *Magic and Myth: the Neglected Deity*, where it is described as the (possible) stirring of 'limbs' (or 'members', *tu*(*e*)*kk*(*a*)-) and 'head' (SAG.DU-) of a mortal:[18]

Magic and Myth: the Neglected Deity

20' [*nu-w*]*a-kán* DINGIR-*LUM RA-BU-Ú kar-di-mi-ya-*˹*at*ʔ*-ta*˺*-a*[*t*]
21' [*nu-w*]*a-ra-aš* ˹*I*˺*-NA* É ^{LÚ}BÁḪAR *pa-it nu-*˹*wa-za*˺ 9 [GU_4 *da-a-aš*]
22' [*nu-w*]*a-*˹*ra-aš*˺ *a-ru-ni pa-it nu-wa a-ru-na-an t*[*e-e-kán*]
23' [*ták-š*]*a-an ḫar-nam-ni-it da-an-du-ki-iš-na-ša-wa* [DUMU-*aš*]
24' [***tu-***]***ek-ku-uš*** **SAG.DU**-*SÚ-ya an-da ták-ša-*˹*an*˺ [*ḫar-nam-ni-it*]

20'–24' The great deity became angr[y], [and] she went to the house of the potter. (She) [took the cattle], [and] she went to the sea. (She) stirred up sea and e[arth toge]ther. [Of the mortal] (she) [stirred up] the [**me**]**mbers** and his **head** together.[19]

In some attestations, the body of a human being or of a deity, from where undesired emotions like 'the anger of gods' (DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš karpin*) and the 'terror of the deads' (*aggandaš ḫatugatar*) should be removed, is a twelve parts unity, being written with the Sumerogram ^{UZU}ÚR, Hittite $^{(UZU)}$*ḫappeššar*, e.g. in the *Ritual of Tunnawiya*:[20]

17. CTH 462 (VSNF 12.7 rev. iv 1–16). Cf. Görke (2014, translit., transc., and German transl.); Galhano (2022: 448, translit. and English transl.).

18. The Sumerogram SAG.DU, Hittite *ḫaršar*, may mean also, in some contexts, 'person' (cf. Kammenhuber 1964: 150 f., 191 and 1965: 177; see also HW^2 *ḫ*: 344, 352 ff. and EDHIL 314).

19. CTH 764 (KBo 9.127 + KBo 43.223 + KUB 35.107 + KUB 36.41 obv. i 11/20'–15/24'). Cf. Groddek 2007: 319–321, with translit. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 496, with translit. and English transl.). The anger of a deity could cause also physical disease, as shown e.g. in a *Liver Oracle* (SU): *ma-a-an-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* UN-*ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* TUKU.TUKU-*an-za iš-tar-ak-zi-wa-ra-an* 'When a deity (is) angry with a person, he becomes ill.' (CTH 570, KBo 53.103 + KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 + KUB 50.123 i 45–46; cf. Zubieta Lupo 2020: 111).

20. Also, in CTH 458 *Fragment of Incantation* (KUB 7.16 rev. iii 2–8):

Ritual of Tunnawiya

6 *ka-a-ša* ^{GIŠ}*šar-ra-an ḫar-mi nu-za ku-iš* **12** ^{UZU}[**ÚR**]
7 *i-da-la-u-wa-az pa-ap-ra-an-na-az ar-ḫa šar-ri-*[*iš*]*-ke-et*
8 *ki-nu-na-at-ta IŠTU* **12** ^{UZU}**ÚR** *i-da-lu*
9 *pa-ap-ra-tar al-wa-za-tar a-aš-ta-ya-ra-tar* DINGIR.MEŠ*-aš kar-pí-in*
10 ⌜*ag*⌝*-ga-an-da-aš ḫa-tu-ga-tar a-wa-an ar-ḫa šar-ri-iš-ke-mi*
11 [*na-a*]*t-ši a-wa-an ar-ḫa šar-ra-an e-eš-du*

6–11 Behold, (I) hold a *šarra-*. Whoever was separating off each of (his) **twelve bo**[**dy parts**] using evil impurity, now (I) am separating off from each of your **twelve body parts** the evil impurity, sorcery, *aštayaratar*, the anger of gods, (and) the terror of the deads. May [th]ey be separated off from him (sc. the patient).[21]

Although sometimes the body is characterized as a eight[22] or nine[23] parts unity, the number 12 is common in Hittite culture. For example, the two main chambers of the Yazılıkaya sanctuary were "open to the sky and enclosed by twelve-meter-high walls" and in the same sanctuary there is a depiction of twelve gods[24];

2 [*nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* ...]
3 ⌜*IŠ-TU* **12**⌝ [^{UZU}**ÚR.ḪI.A** ...]
4 *dan-na-at-ta*[(-) ...]
5 *ḫa-pal-li-ya-t*[*ar* ...]
6 DINGIR.MEŠ*-na-aš* TUKU.TUKU*-a*[*n-* ...]
7 *ḫa-pal-li-ya-tar* [...]
8 *ar-ḫa QA-TAM-MA d*[*an-n*]*a*[*-at-ta-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* ...]

2–8 [And as …] from the **twelve** [**members** …] emptied […], in the same way (they) shall e[m]p[t]y the injur[y? …], the ange[r] of the gods, the injury? […]!

Cf. Fuscagni 2013, with translit., transc., and German transl., and Galhano 2022: 487, with translit. and English transl..

21. CTH 409 (DBH 43/2.52 + KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 rev. iii 6–11). Cf. Galhano (2022: 447, translit. and English transl.).

22. E.g. CTH 457 *Fragments of Incantations and Myths* (KUB 43.60 i 23).

23. E.g. CTH 412 *Ritual and Myth of Zuwi* (CHDS 3.190 + KUB 7.57 + KUB 35.148 iii 15).

24. Collins (2007: 139, 141); Bryce (2002: 196–197).

no more than twelve LU(.MEŠ)*MEŠEDI*, an elite guard of the Hittite king, were assembled;[25] in the *Festival of the Investiture of Royal Successor (*EZEN$_4$ *ḫaššumaš)*,[26] the young prince "consorted with twelve prostitutes in a consecrational initiation";[27] in the *Deeds of Šuppiluliuma*[28] there is reference to twelve tribes of the Gašga;[29] finally, in the *Myth of Telipinu*, immediately before the abovementioned passage, 'twelve rams' are cut in order to treat the *karaš*-grain of Telipinu.[30] Therefore, the reference to twelve body parts, written also with the Sumerogram UZUÚR (which means also 'limbs' in Sumerian),[31] appears to be a standard number, with magical connotation and ritualistic application.

Hittite *tu(e)kk(a)*- 'body', but also 'self', written with the Sumerogram NÍ.TE, apparently identified with a kind of "inner me" where 'worry' (*laḫlaḫima*-) and 'anguish' (*pittuliya*-) lie, was used sometimes interchangeably (or at least in a complementary way) with ŠÀ, which may mean (UZU)*kard*(*i*)- 'heart' or *karāt*- 'innards, entrails; inner being',[32] as seen in the *Plague Prayers of Muršili II*:

Plague Prayers of Muršili II

36' *A-NA* KUR URUGIDRU-*ti-ma gi-i*[*n-zu* …]
37' *da-at-tén nu-kán* KUR-ʳ*e*ˀ *an-da* SIG$_5$*-ru nam-ma am-mu-uk-ka$_4$-aš-ma-aš-kán* LÚSANGA-*KU-NU* ARAD-*KU-N*[*U*]
38' *u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ru nu-mu gi-in-zu da-at-te-en nu-mu-kán* **ŠÀ-*az*** *la-aḫ-la-ḫi-*ʳ*ma*ˀ*-an ar-ḫa*
39' *u-e-ya-at-te-en* **NÍ.TE-*az*-***ma-***ʳ*mu-kán pit*ˀ*-tu-li-ya-an da-a-at-tén*

25. E.g. CTH 262 *Instructions for the Royal Body Guard* (LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI*) (IBoT 1.36 i 9–15). Cf. Bryce (2002: 22).

26. CTH 633 (IBoT 1.29 ii 57).

27. HED (*ḫ*: 216–217).

28. CTH 40 (KBo 14.3 iii 15–16).

29. HED (*k*: 195); HED (*l*: 65).

30. CTH 324 (KBo 34.24 + KBo 38.162 + KUB 33.1 + KUB 33.2 + KUB 33.3 rev. iii 5').

31. ePSD (s.v. ur [ROOT]). Hittite *tu*(*e*)*kk*(*a*)- may mean also 'body parts' (cf. HEG *t/d* 3: 401 ff.; EDHIL 885).

32. EDHIL (445–446). About the semantic dimension of *karāt*- cf. Kammenhuber (1965: 183): "Trotz der Zweiteilung in Seele und Leib/Körper sprechen die Hethiter aber nur von einer Einheit von Seele und Leibesinnerem = *karat*-. *karat*- "Leibesinneres" besaßen für sie außer Göttern, Menschen und Tieren auch Pflanzen (Ölbaum, Weinstock) und Unbelebtes wie z.B. Bier".

36'–39' "But take pi[ty again?] on the land of Ḫatti! Let there be love in the land again! May also I, your priest, your servant, be seen by you! And take pity on me! And send away the worry **from** my **heart**.[33] Take the anguish **from** my **body**!"[34]

In this text, as in others, the reference to the 'heart', which is a possibility, seems to be quasi-metaphorical for a general or undetermined place of the body where emotions are located. In the *Treaty with Kuruštama*, the segment 'our hearts trembled' (*nu kir=šumet katkatti*[*šket*]) appears to signify merely 'we had an emotion', very likely 'fear' (vel similar; previous context lost).[35] Similarly, a 'wound', metaphorically lexicalized with *ḫazziyaššar*,[36] is located inside the 'heart' (*kuit=ma=šmaš=kan kardi(e)=šmi anda*), but appears to denote a general emotional disturbance, even if this sentence includes the "local" particle *-kan*:[37]

Treaty with Kuruštama

2' [*n*]*u*? ***ki-ir***-*šu-me-et kat-kat-ti-i*[*š-ke*?*-et*? …]
3' [*n*]*u nam-ma na-at-ta pa-aḫ*-x[-…]

2'–3' "[A]nd our **heart** trembl[ed …], [a]nd (we?) will not def[end?] again."[38]

33. Or 'my innards'.

34. CTH 378 (Bo 4229 + Bo 9433 + KBo 3.47 + KBo 50.184 + KBo 53.303 + KBo 54.6 + KBo 58.8 + KBo 66.276 + KUB 14.14 + KUB 19.1 + KUB 19.2 rev. 36'/49'–39'/7); line numbers above according to KUB 14.14. Cf. Rieken 2017b, with translit., transcr., and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 252, with translit. and English transl.. Similar passages: CTH 378: KBo 55.25 + KUB 14.11 obv. i 8'–12'; // ABoT 2.22 + KUB 14.10 + KUB 26.86 obv. i 14–18; CTH 389 *Fragments of Prayers*: KBo 14.75 obv. i 9'–14'; CTH 416 *Ritual for the Royal Couple*: Bo 7736 + Bo 8063 + IBoT 3.135 + KBo 17.2 + KBo 17.3 + KBo 17.4 + KBo 17.7 + KBo 20.15 + KBo 25.7 + KBo 63.366 + KUB 43.32 + KUB 43.39 rev. iv 5'/5'/5'–9'/9'.

35. In CTH 309 *Vocabulary Fragments* (KBo 13.2 obv. 6'), Hittite *kat-kat-ti-ma-aš*(*=me-iš*) 'my trembling' is equated with Akkadian [*ta*]*-ru-ru-ya*, which may be related with Akkadian *arāru* 'to fear, to become agitated, panic-stricken' (CAD (*a*, II: 236, s.v. *arāru* B); Galhano (2022: 235).

36. Hittite neuter *ḫazziyaššar* means literaly 'perforation, stabbing, wound', but has also a figurative use (cf. Galhano 2022: 365, 372–373).

37. About the "local" value of *-kan* see GrHL (366 ff., 28.48 ff.).

38. CTH 134 (KUB 40.28: 2'–8'; 4'–8' // KBo 8.37 obv. 1'–4'). Cf. Kühne 1972: 252–253, with translit. and German transl.; Singer 2004: 597–598 and 601 with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 229, with translit. and English transl.

Foundation Ritual

43 *ku-it-ma-aš-<ma-aš>-kán* ***kar-di-eš-mi***ˡ *an-da na-at uš-ši-it-tén*
44 *ták-ku ḫa-az-zi-ya-aš-šar na-at ú-da-at-tén ták-ku i-da-a-lu-uš*
45 x-*u-e-eš na-at uš-še-et-tén ták-ku ḫur-ta-aš na-at uš-ši-ya-at-tén*

43–45 "But whatever (is) inside **your heart(s)**, reveal it! If (it is) wound, then bring it (here). If (it is) an evil […], then reveal (it). If (it is) a curse, then reveal it!"[39]

The Sumerogram ŠÀ, in the sense of 'innards', is also a locus where divine emotions as 'wrath' (*karpi-*), 'anger' (*kardimmiyatt-*), and 'sullenness' (*šāuwar*) are felt, namely in the "vanishing gods" myths.[40] In the *Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik*, very likely also the 'innards' (*karāi-*) 'become excited' (*ḫalwatnazzai*):

39. CTH 414 (KUB 29.1 obv. i 43–45). Cf. Görke 2015, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 369–370.

40. Cf. CTH 334 *The Disappearance of Ḫannaḫanna* (DINGIR.MAḪ) (KUB 33.46 obv. i 2'–7'):

2' [... *w*]*a-ar-šu-*[*la-aš* ...]
3' [*nu* Z]I-*ŠU* ***ka-***[***ra-az****-ši-iš-ša* ...]
4' [*w*]*a-*˹*ra*˺*-a-ni ka*[*r-pí-iš kar-di-mi-ya-az wa-aš-du-ul ša-a-u-ar* ...]
5' x x x-*kán-za* [...]
6' ˹*ma*?*-a*?*-an*?˺ x-*an* x[...]
7' ˹*kar*˺-[*pí*]*-iš ka*[*r-tim-mi-ya-az wa-aš-du-ul ša-a-u-ar* ...?]

2'–7' "[…] the vapour […], [and] (as) his [so]ul [and] **inna**[**rds** b]urn, the wr[ath, anger, offense, and sullenness …]. […], when? […] wr[a]th, an[ger, offense, and sullenness]".

Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009d, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 442–443, with translit. and English transl.).

Also CTH 335 *Fragments of Disappearing Deities Myths* (*mugawar*) (HKM 116 obv. 1–2):

1 [... DING]IR-˹*LUM*˺ TUKU.TUKU-*u-an-za* ZI-*ŠU*
2 [***ka-r***]***a-az****-še-iš wa-ra-an pa-aḫ-ḫur la-ap-ta*

1–2 […] the [dei]ty (was) angry, his soul (and) his [**inn**]**ards** glowed (as) a burning fire.

Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009e, with translit., transcr., and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 443, with translit. and Englis transl. See also HKM 116 obv. 29 (CTH 335) with attestation of NÍ.TE-*az* ŠÀ-*az* 'from the members (and) from the innards'.

Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik

39 [***kar-az-z***a-š]*i-kán an-da ḫal-wa-at-na-az-za-i me-li-ya-at-ta-ri-ya-wa-ma-aš-kán an-da*

39 "[Hi]s [**innards**] become? excited? (and) quarrel? inside."[41]

'Anger' sometimes generates 'fear' somatically expressed by 'trembling' of the body. In a *Fragment naming the daughter of the* ^{d}IMIN.IMIN.BI, 'fear' (*naḫšaratt-*) is reflected in an undetermined or general 'trembling' (*katkattiške/a-*). In the *Song of Ullikummi*, 'fear' induced by divine anger seizes the servants and, metaphorically, 'trembling' (*katkattima-*) seizes the house. In the *Song of Ḫedammu*, the 'trembling' of the knees is acompanied with a "spinning" head:

Fragment naming the daughter of the ^{d}IMIN.IMIN.BI

6' [G]E$_6$*-az-pát pí-ra-an ar-ḫa píd-da-a-*[...]
7' *na-aš-kán ḫa-a-ri kat-ta-an-da pa-it* [...]
8' *kat-ta-an ma-a-uš-ta na-aš*(-)x-x[42](-)[...]
9' ***kat-kat-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi*** ⌜*nu-kán*⌝ [...]
10' [*n*]*u PA-NI* DINGIR.MEŠ *ú*-x[...]
11' [*l*]*e-e-wa-a*[*t-ta* ...]

6'–11' "At [ni]ght, (s/he)? run? away? (from) before […], and s/he went down into a valley. (S/he) fell down (and) **keeps trembling** in fe[ar?[43] … a]nd before the gods [… n]ot [… you …]."[44]

41. CTH 671 (KUB 36.89 rev. 39). Cf. Haas 1970: 154–155, with translit. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 398–399, with translit. and English transl. About the doubtful semantics of the CL verb *ḫalwatnazza-* see Galhano 2022: 402, with references to other bibliography.

42. Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009: n. 1 *ad loc*.: "Francia, Gs Imparati 2002, 278 ergänzt hier nach parallelem KBo 12.74 9' zu *naḫšaratti*. Nach den erhaltenen Spuren ist dies gut möglich."; cf. CHD (*l–n*: 343).

43. CHD (*l-n*: 343): "[(*n=aš n*)]*a-aḫ-ša-ra-at-ti* [(*katkattiškizzi*)] 'He trembles in fear' KBo 12.74:9 (myth), w. dupl. KBo 12.75: 8–9". Rieken *et al*. (2009): "[...] zittert"; HED (*n*: 11): "KBo XII 74, 9–10 *n-as n*]*ahsaratti* [*katkattiskizzi*] 'he shakes in fear'; dupl. KBo XII 75, 8–9 *n-as n*[*ahsaratti*] *katkattiskizzi*".

The Song of Ullikummi

5 *nu i-it A-NA* ^{d}*Ku-mar-bi me-mi ku-wa-at-wa*
6 É-*ri me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* TUKU.TUKU-*an-za ú-et*
7 *nu-wa* É-*er* ***kat-kat-ti-ma-aš***[45] *e-ep-ta* SAG.GÉME.ARA[(D.MEŠ-*ya*)]
8 *na-aḫ-ša-ra-za e-ep-ta*

5–8 (The Sea God replies to Impaluri) "[…] And go! Speak to Kumarbi: 'Why did (you) come angry against my house?' **Trembling** seized the house and fear seized the servants. […]".[46]

The Song of Ḫedammu

1' [...]x x x ˹*wa-al*˺*-ḫi-iš-ša*[*r*]
2' [...]-˹*zi* ^{d}U-*aš*˺-[*m*]*a-an-na-aš-kán* ^{d}*IŠTAR-aš*$^{!}$*-ša wa-an-ti-m*[*u-uš*]
3' [*te-e*]*t*$^{?}$*-ḫi-mu-uš-ša* A-*ni*$^{!}$*-it ar-ḫa na-wi*$_5$ *pa-a-an-zi*
4' [...]-*ya-aš-ša-*˹*an*˺ *na-wi*$_5$ *ú-wa-ú-e-ni* ***gi-nu-wa-an-na-aš****-kán*
5' [... ***k***]***at-kat-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi*** **SAG.DU-*aš*-***ma-an-na-aš*** ^{LÚ}BÁḪAR-*aš*
6' [^{GIŠ}UMB]IN GIM-*an* ***ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ri***

1'–6' "[…] a strik[e …]. But lightni[ng] and [thu]nder of the Storm God and Ištar have not yet gone away with water. (We) have not yet come […]. **Our knees keep trembling** […], our **head spins** like a potter's wheel."[47]

Nevertheless, on human level, 'to fear' (ḪUŠ-*riye*/*a*-, *weriteš*-) can be externalized through other body phenomena, namely through involuntary movements of the 'mouth' (KA×U-), 'eyes' (IGI.ḪI.A-) and 'limbs' or 'body parts' (^{UZU}ÚR.ḪI.A),

44. CTH 353 (KBo 12.75 r. 6'–11'). Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 234, with translit. and English transl.

45. KUB 33.102 obv. ii 9: *kat-kat-te*[-*ma-aš*.

46. CTH 345 (KUB 33.98 + KUB 36.8 obv. ii 5–8; // KBo 26.58 + KUB 17.7 + KUB 33.93 + KUB 33.95 + KUB 33.96 + KUB 36.7a + KUB 36.7b obv. ii 19–23; // KBo 26.61 + KBo 57.228 + KUB 33.102 + KUB 33.104 + KUB 36.9 obv. ii 7–10). Cf. Rieken et al. (2009c, with translit., transcr. and German transl.); Galhano (2022: 313, with translit. and English transl.).

47. CTH 348 (KUB 33.103 rev. iii 1'–6'). Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009b, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 234, with translit. and English transl.

as recorded in a *Cult Inventory*. In an extreme case, that of Muršili II, the fear (*naḫḫ-*) powered by the Storm God has lead to the loss of ability to speak:

Cult Inventories with Descriptions of Festivals

7 *na-aš* ḪUŠ-*ri-ya-ad-da-at ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta nu-uš-ši-kán* **KA×U-*iš*** *ta-pu-ša pa-it*
8 **IGI.ḪI.A**-*wa* KI.MIN **9** ^{UZU}**ÚR.ḪI.A** KI.MIN

7–8 "She became afraid, (she) was frightened. Her **mouth** went sideways, (her) **eyes** ditto, (her) **nine limbs** ditto."[48]

Muršili II's Speech Loss

1 [(*UM-MA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ^{m}*Mur-ši-li* LUGAL.GAL *I*)]-*NA* URU.DU$_6$ ^{m}*Ku-un-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝
2 [(*na-an-na-aḫ-ḫu-un nu ḫar-ši*)]-⌜*ḫar-ši ú*⌝*-da-aš nam-ma* ^{d}U-*aš ḫa-du-*[(*ga*)][49]
3 [*te-et-ḫi-iš-ke-e*]*t* ⌜*nu*⌝ *n*[(*a-a*)]-*ḫu-un* ***nu-mu-kán me-mi-ya-aš*** **KAxU-*i an-d*[*a*]**
4 [(***te-pa-u-e-eš-*)*t*]***a*** *nu-mu-kán me-mi-ya-aš te-pu ku-it*<*-ki*> *ša-ra-a*
5 [(*i-ya-at-ta*)]-*at* […]

1–5 "Thus (speaks) His Majesty, Muršili, the great king: I was driving to the mound (of) Kunnu̯, and (the Storm God[?])[50] brought a thunderstorm. Then the Storm God [thundere]d terribly! (I) was afraid, and **the speech inside (my) mouth became weak**.[51] The speech came out to me some(how) weakly!"[52]

48. CTH 528 (KBo 13.241 + KUB 44.4 rev. 5–8). Cf. Bachvarova 2013: 136, 139, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 322, with translit. and English transl.

49. KBo 4.2 + DBH 43/2.20 rev. iii 41: *ḫa-*⌜*tu*⌝*-ga*.

50. Cf. Görke 2015b, CTH 486: n. 1 *ad loc*.: "HW2 Ḫ 370a versteht eine unpersönliche Konstruktion „ein Gewitter brach los" [...]. Vgl. jedoch den analogen Ausdruck in § 4, Kola 61–62, in dem der Wettergott Subjekt sein dürfte".

51. Literally 'became little'.

52. CTH 486 *Muršili II's Speech Loss* (Bo 4373 + Bo 6523 + IBoT 4.26 + KUB 12.27 + KUB 15.36 + KUB 43.50 obv. 1–5; // Bo 6967 + Bo 10023 + IBoT 2.112 + KUB 12.31 + KUB 43.51 +

In a *Ḫuwaššanna Festival Fragment*, reference to the 'mouth' (KAxU) (Hitt. *aiš*) stands aligned with 'faces' (or 'foreheads'), written SAG.KI.MEŠ (Hittite *ḫant-*), characterized as 'furious' or 'awesome' (*šarkiwali-*), apparently due to the 'sullenness of the gods' (DINGIR.MES-*aš šaūwar*). Besides 'furious' and 'awesome', the adjective *šarkiwali-* may mean 'vengeful (?)' and 'seeking redress (?)',[53] but in any of those semantic outputs there is a connection of the 'face' to emotional states, as expected. Also in the *Festival for the Storm God of Zippalanda*, the 'face' or 'forehead' of the Storm God, written *ḫant-*, appears to be the place where 'anger' (*kardimmiyatt-*) can be perceived:[54]

Ḫuwaššanna Festival Fragments

2' [...]-*za* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš ša-a-wa-a*[*r* ...]
3' [*šar*$^{?}$-]*ki-wa-la* **SAG.KI.MEŠ KAxU**[...]

2'–3' "[…] the sullenne[ss] of the gods […], the [***šar***]***kiwali*** faces (and) mouth […]."[55]

KUB 48.100 obv. 1–4; // Bo 8032 + DBH 43/2.20 + KBo 4.2 rev. iii 40–44). Cf. Görke 2015b, with translit., transcr. and German transl.); Galhano 2022: 217, with translit. and English transl.). It is worthwhile to underline that, in this case, Muršili's aphasia results from the terrifying thunder of the Storm God, and not from some kind of bewitchment (about the "binding" of the mouth caused by bewitchment see Puértolas Rubio 2020: 143–144).

53. García Ramón (2019). Cf. also Galhano (2022: 589).

54. Besides these two texts, there is also a possible attestation of face change due to 'anger' in *The Song of Ullikummi*, however the crucial part of the text is lost (KBo 26.64 + KUB 33.87 + KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 + KUB 36.14 obv. i 2'–3'):

2' [*ke-e-wa* INIM.MEŠ *ma-a-an*(?)]$^{\lceil d \rceil}$U-*aš IŠ-ME nu-wa*^{54}*-aš-ši kar-tim-mi-*$^{\lceil a \rceil}$*t*$^{\rceil}$*-t*[*i*]
3' [*pí-ra-an* **x x** *ta-me-u*]*m-ma-aḫ-ta-at*

2'–3' "[When?] the Storm God heard [these words], from ange[r] his **[…]** (he) [cha]nged."

Cf. García Trabazo 2002: 210 ff., with translit. and Spanish transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009f, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 163–164, with translit. and English transl.

55. CTH 694 (KBo 29.194: 2'–3'). Cf. Polvani 2010: 250 n. 43, with translit.; Galhano 2022: 588, with translit. and English transl.

Festival for the Storm God of Zippalanda

9 *ma-a-an-wa-za* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Zi-pa-la-an-da*
10 *ku-it-ki šar-ki-wa-li-iš*
11 *ši-ú-na-aš* ***ḫa-an-za-ti-ʳit*** *šaˀ-ra-a* [...]
12 *ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta kar-ʳtimˀ-mi-ʳyaˀ-*[*at-ta-an*]
13 *wa-ar-nu-um-me-en nu-wa* ʳ^{d}ˀU ^{URU}*Zi-pa*[*-la-an-da*]
14 *ši-ú-na-aš* ***ḫa-an-za-at-ti-ʳitˀ*** *ar-ḫa* [...]

9–14 "If (you), O Storm God of Zipalanda, (are) in some way vengeful[?] and **your** divine **front**/**forehead** […], behold! (We) have burned your ang[er] and […] away **your** divine **front**/**forehead**, O Storm God of Zipa[landa]!"[56]

In some texts, the anger and fury of gods is somatically designed through the imagined divine eyes (Hittite *šakuwa-*, also IGI.ḪI.A), namely in the "vanishing gods" myths and other texts. Such attribute of the divine eyes, in fact a metonymy for the divine gaze, is attested lexicalized with the verb *aršan*(*iye*/*a*)- 'to be angry' (also 'to be envious'), but also with the adjective *karpiwala-* 'furious' (from *karpi-* 'wrath, fury, anger'):

Myth of Telipinu

4' [... *tu-eg-g*]*a-aš-ʳšaˀ-aš an-da-a*[*n*]
5' [... *ar-ḫ*]*a pár-aḫ-ta kar-p*[*í-in kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta*(*-an wa-aš-du-ul*)]
6' [(ʳ*i*[?]ˀ)*-da-lu-un*(?) EM]E-*an* ʳ*i-daˀ-a-lu-un pa-ta-a*[(*l-ḫa-an*)]
7' [...*-d*]*a* ***ša-a-ku-wa*** *ar-ša-na-an-d*[(*a-an*)]
8' [... *a*(*n-da-a*)]*n da-a-la-aš na-aš-kán pa-ra-a ša*[*r-a* (*ú-e-et*)]

4'–8' "[…] of his [bod]y (he) expelled. The wr[ath, ange]r, offense, b[ad ton]gue, bad behaviour, […] angry **eyes** (he) left [t]herein, and he came forth up[wards]."[57]

56. CTH 635 (KUB 20.96 rev. iv 9–14). Cf. Groddek 2004: 167, with translit.; Galhano 2022: 496, with translit. and English transl.

57. CTH 324 (KUB 33.9 rev. iii 7'). Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009j, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 440–441, with translit. and English transl. See also CTH 335 *Fragments of*

The Storm God of Kuliwišna

11 *kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-an-ma ar-ḫa tar-na kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-aš*
12 **IGI.ḪI.A**-*wa kar-pí-wa-a-la ḫa-an-ta*

11–12 "But let go away the anger, the furious **eyes** of anger therefore (let go away)."[58]

In contrast, Hittite texts lexicalized the 'furious look' of humans, but not of deities, with words derived from an unattested **tarku*-, namely the neuter noun *targulliyauwar* 'furious / angry look'[59] and the imperfective *tarkuwalliške*/*a*- 'to look angrily', from an unattested verb **tarkuwalliye*/*a*-, itself a denominative from **tarkuwalli*- originated from *tarku*(*wa*)- 'angry', known only adverbially (*tarkuwa* 'angrily'). In the *Annals of Ḫattušili I*, such gaze belongs to the Hittite king, but in the *Ritual of Allaituraḫi*, beyond the king (LUGAL), also the 'people' (KUR-*e-anda*-), the queen (MUNUS.LUGAL), the city (URU-), the house (É), the father (*atta*-), the mother (*anna*-), the nobles (LÚ.MEŠ *RA-BU-TIM*), the mayor(s) (LÚ*ḪAZZIYANNI*), and others, including the 'multitude' (*panku*-, *pangaw*-), have furious eyes:

Annals of Ḫattušili I

ii 54 LUGAL-*ma-aš Ta-ba-ar-na-aš I-NA* URU*Zi-ip-pa-aš-na* «[60] [*pa*]-*a-un*

iii 1 URU*Ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-za-kán* UR.MAḪ *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*
2 *ar-ḫa* ***tar-ku-wa-al-li-iš-ke-nu-un***

Disappearing Deities Myths (*mugawar*) (HKM 116 obv. ii 32–33): *ar-ša-na-an-ta* [*ša-a-ku-wa*(?)]; and CTH 731 *Hattic-Hittite Fragments* (KBo 25.122 + KBo 25.123 rev. iii 1'–15').

58. CTH 330 (KUB 33.62 ii 11–12). Cf. Galhano 2022: 441, with translit. and English transl.

59. The semantics of *targulliyauwar* is assured by the equations with Sumerian [ig]i.ḫuš 'furious eye' and Akkadian *né-ké*[*l-mu-u*] 'to look at ang[rily]' in KBo 13.1 obv. i 48 (CTH 301 *Vocabulary of the Series* erim.ḫuš = *anantu*).

60. Imparati (1965: 68): "indicazione che la riga è incompleta.".

ii 54 – iii 2 "But (I), the king, Tabarna, [we]nt to the city of Zippašna, and (I), as a lion, **kept looking angrily** at the city of Ḫaḫḫa [...]."[61]

Ritual of Allaituraḫi

19 *na-at-ši-kán ar-ḫa an-šu-un* KUR-*e-an-da-aš* ***tar-ku-wa-an-da-ˀaš***ˀ
20 **IGI.ḪI.A**-*wa* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL URU-*aš* ˀÉˀ *ad-da-aš an-na-aš*
21 LÚ.MEŠ *RA-BU-TIM* ^{LÚ}*ḪA-AZ-*ˀ*ZI*ˀ*-YA-AN-NI*
22 ^{LÚ}*ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-ya-aš* EN-*aš* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$DUMU É.GAL
23 ***tar-ku-wa-an-da*** **IGI.ḪI.A**-*wa da-aḫ-ḫu-un pa-ga-u-wa-aš*
24 [*m*]*a-ni-in-ku-wa-an-da* ***tar-ˀku***ˀ***-wa-an-da*** **IGI.ḪI.A**-*wa*
25 *ŠA* É-*TIM* SAG.GÉME.ÌR.MEŠ ***tar-ku-wa-an-da***
26 [**I**]**GI.ḪI.A**-*wa da-aḫ-ḫu-un*

19–26 "And (I)[62] have wiped them from him! (I) have taken **the eyes of the furious** people, the **furious eyes** of the king, the queen, the city, the house, the father, the mother, the nobles, the mayors, the administrators, the palace servants! (I) have taken the [c]lose **furious eyes** of the multitude, the **furious** [**e**]**yes** of the house servants!"[63]

In the tale *The Sun God, the Cow, and the Fisherman*, also a 'cow' (GU_4-) 'looked angrily' (*tarkuwa aušta*) at the Sun God after giving birth to a human, ten months after being impregnated by the solar deity:

The Sun God, the Cow, and the Fisherman

20' GU_4-*uš-za-kán* EGIR-*pa ne-*[*pí*ˀ*-ši*ˀ *ḫal*ˀ*-za*ˀ*-iš*ˀ *nu*ˀ *A*ˀ*-NA*ˀ ^{d}UTUˀ]
21' *ar-ḫa* ***tar-ku-wa a-uš-ta***

61. CTH 4 (KBo 10.2 obv. ii 54 – rev. iii 2). Cf. Imparati 1965: 50–51, with translit. and Italian transl.; Galhano 2022: 609, with translit. and English transl.

62. The Old Woman (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI).

63. CTH 780 (KUB 24.13 iii 19–26). Cf. Marcuson 2016: 320–321 and n. 345, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 610, with translit. and English transl. Cf. also HT 94 iii 7–8 (CTH 780 *Ritual of Allaituraḫi*).

20'–21' "The cow [called] back to the s[ky and] **looked angrily** [at the Sun God]."[64]

Inversely, in the *Hymn and Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna*, the prayer begs the gods to look at the land of Ḫatti 'with good / kind eyes' (SIG_5-*it* IGI.ḪI.A-*it*):

Hymn and Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna

59' [...] ˹KUR˺ [U]RUKÙ.˹BABBAR-*ti*˺[(-*ma-aš-ta* DINGIR).MEŠ …]
60' [(**SIG_5-*i*]*t* IGI.ḪI.A-*it*** ˹*a*˺-*uš-te-en*)]

59'–60' "But, O god[s], look at the land of Ḫatti […] **with good eyes**!"[65]

A similar tone, for the benefit of the royal couple, can be found in an *Evocation Ritual*, where there is also reference to the 'thousand eyelashes' (*LIM laplipi-*) of the deity:

Evocation Ritual

10 *nu A-N*[*A* ...-(x)]
11 ***LI-IM la-ap-li-pu-uš*** *kar-ap-tén na-aš-ta* LUGAL MUNUS.[(LUGAL)]
12 *an-da* ***aš-šu-li a-uš-tén***

10–12 "And t[o the …], lift the **thousand eyelashes**, and **look** to the king (and) the queen **with kindness**."[66]

64. CTH 363 (KUB 24.7 rev. iii 20'–21'). Cf. Rieken *et al*. 2009g, with translit., transcr., and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 610, with translit. and English transl.

65. CTH 376 (KBo 51.18a + KBo 51.18b + KBo 71.20 + KUB 24.3 + KUB 31.144 obv. ii 59'–60'; (// KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 rev. 14; // KBo 58.6: 3'–4'). Cf. Lebrun 1980: 163 and 170, with translit. and French transl.); García Trabazo 2002: 302–303, with translit. and Spanish transl.; Singer 2002: 53, with English transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2017c, with translit., transc., and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 445, with translit. and English transl.

66. CTH 483 (KUB 15.34 obv. ii 10–12; // FHG 4: 4'–6'). Cf. García Trabazo 2002: 588–561, with translit. and Spanish transl.; Galhano 2022: 194, with translit. and English transl.

Within the somatic expressions of joy and happiness, notwithstanding the abundant use of the verb *tušk*(*iye*/*a*)- 'to rejoice',[67] frequently without defined somatic disclosure, Hittite texts recorded a particular kind of laughing through the use of the Hittite verb *ḫaḫḫarš*- 'to laugh out loud (at), to mock', with the corresponding imperfective («)*ḫaḫreške*/*a*- and the common *ḫaḫḫaršanant*- ('laughing, laughed at'). This last derivative is attested only twice in the *Vocabulary of the Series* erim.ḫuš = *anantu*,[68] being equated with Akkadian *ṣu-uḫ-ḫu* 'laughter, mirth' and "Sumerian zu_9 (written KAxUD), which is based on zu_2 'tooth'".[69] The kind of 'laugh' lexicalized by *ḫaḫḫarš*- and («)*ḫaḫreške*/*a*- is attested on the human level, but also Kumarbi 'laughs' that way after swallowing down the manhood of Anu in the *Song* entitled with his name:

Indictment of Madduwatta by Arnuwanda I of Ḫatti

72 *na-aš-ta* ^{m}⌜*Ki*⌝*[-iš-na]-*⌜*pí-li-in* ^{m}*Pár-ta-ḫu-ul*⌝*-la-an-*⌜*na*⌝ *ku-en-nir* ^{m}*Ma[-ad-du-wa-at-t]a-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán pa-ra-a* ***ḫa-aḫ-ḫar-aš-ke-et***

72 "They killed Ki[šna]pili and Partaḫulla. But Ma[dduwatt]a **laughed** out **loud** about them."[70]

Dreams of the Queen

x+1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.M]EŠ$^{?}$*-ya-wa*(-)⌜*mu*$^{?}$⌝ ⌜*ku-wa-at-ka*$_4$⌝$^{?}$
2' [...] x «*tar-ši-en-ti nu*$^{!}$*-za* MUNUS.LUGAL
3' *kat-ta iš-ḫa-ḫa-at*
4' *nu-wa tàš-ku-pí-iš-ke-u-wa-an* ⌜*ti*⌝*-ya-*⌜*nu*⌝*-un*
5' *nu-mu-kán* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*KAR-TAP-PU pa-ra-a*
6' «***ḫa-aḫ-re-eš-kán-zi***

67. For lexical and semantic analysis see Galhano 2022: 149 ff.

68. CTH 301 *Vocabulary of the Series* erim.ḫuš = *anantu* (KBo 1.50 + KUB 3.99 ii (r.) 8 and KBo 1.44 + KBo 13.1 + KBo 26.20 obv. ii 33').

69. Galhano 2022: 128.

70. CTH 147 (KBo 19.38 + KUB 14.1 obv. 72). Cf. Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011: 82–83, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 125, with translit. and English transl.

x+1–6’ “[…] and maybe [the hors]es […] will trample me. I, the queen, have laid me down (on the ground) and began to cry. There the charioteers **mock** me!”[71]

The Song of Kumarbi

26 […] *ma-a-an* ^{d}*Ku-mar-bi-iš ŠA* ^{dr}*A*˺*-nu* LÚ-˹*na*˺*-tar kat-ta pa-aš-ta*
27 *na-aš-za du-uš-kit$_{9}$-ta na-aš-˹za*˺ ***ḫa-aḫ-ḫar-aš-˹ta***˺

26–27 “When Kumarbi swallowed down the manhood of Anu, he rejoiced, and he **laughed**.”[72]

§ 3. *The body as an element for staging emotions*

From another analytical perspective, the body can be viewed as a narrative resource to a kind of *mise en scène* through which emotions or emotion related processes are textually displayed. In that sense, the body is an element, or a space, for enacting or staging emotions. For example, in *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, the ‘hands’ (ŠU.MEŠ) are associated with a moment of joy, where a dance includes the raising of hands, as well as shouting for joy (*palwae-*), in a typical performance[73] made to please the Hittite king:

The Hittite KI.LAM Festival

1’’ ˹*nu-kán pé-di*˺*-i*[*š-š*]*i*
2’’ *ú-e-ḫa-an-ta-ri*
3’’ *nu pár-ša-ni-li tár-ú-i-eš-˹kán*˺-[*zi*]
4’’ **ŠU.MEŠ-*ŠU-NU-ya ša-ra-a***
5’’ ***ap-pí-iš-kán-zi***

71. CTH 584 (KUB 31.71 + KUB 60.97 ii x+1–6’). Cf. Mouton 2007: 273 ff., with translit. and French transl.; Galhano 2022: 127, with translit. and English transl.

72. CTH 344 (KBo 52.10 + KUB 33.119 + KUB 33.120 + KUB 36.31 + KUB 48.97 obv. i 26–27). Cf. Daddi and Polvani 1990: 129–130, with Italian transl.; Hoffner 1998: 42–43, with English transl.; García Trabazo 2002: 166–167, with translit. and Spanish transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009h, with translit., transc. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 126, with translit. and English transl.

73. Cf. Mouton (2020: 119): “[...] in [...] ritual contexts, one can [...] observe what anthropology calls “institutionalized movements” - that is, ritual movements and gestures that are part of the ritual discourse itself [...].”

6'' *pal-ú-i-iš-kán-zi-ya*

7'' *nu-uš-ša-an ku-it-ma-an* LUGAL-*uš*
8'' É*ka-ta-<pu->uz-ni e-eš-zi*

1''–8'' "(They) turn themselves to [it]s plac[e] and danc[e] like a leopard. (They) **keep taking their hands up** and keep shouting for joy. Meanwhile the king is in the tribune??."[74]

Besides 'joy', Hittites related the 'hands' to 'love' in a certain sense. In a letter belonging to the *Correspondence of Dignitaries*, the desired gods protection to the father (or the mother) of the letter writer[75] is qualified as 'well-being', 'kindness', 'favour', or 'good esteem', almost 'love' (*aššul-*), being characterized as 'holding the hands lovingly around' the father (or the mother):

Correspondence of Dignitaries (Letter to His Father (Pallanna) and Mother from Tarḫunmiya)

1 *A-NA BE-LÍ A-BI* DÙG.GA-*YA Ù A-NA BE-<EL>-TI-YA* [AM]A DÙG.GA-*YA*
2 *QÍ-BÍ-MA* [*U*]*M-MA* m*Tar-ḫu-u*[*n-m*]*i-ya*
3 DUMU-*KA-MA*

4 *MA-ḪAR BE-LÍ ḫ*[*u*]*-u-ma-an* SI[G$_5$]-*in e-eš-du*
5 *nu-uš-ma-aš LI-IM* DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*an ḫa*[*r-ká*]*n-du*
6 *nu-ut-ta* **ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš a-ra-aḫ-za-an-*[*d*]*a***
7 *aš-šu-li* ***ḫar-kán-du*** *nu-ut-t*[*a*]
8 *pa-aḫ-*[*š*]*a-an-da-ru*

74. CTH 627 (KBo 10.22 + KBo 10.23 + KBo 11.67 obv. iii 1''–8''). Cf. Singer 1984: 12, with translit.; Galhano 2022: 141–142, with translit. and English transl.

75. The letter writer is Tarḫunmiya, his father Pallanna. About Imparati's suggestion that the 'father'(*A-BI*) and the 'mother' ([AM]A) mentioned in the text could have an "extended sense of senior colleagues" see Hoffner 2009: 241.

1–8 "Say to (my) lord, my dear father,[76] and to my lady, my dear [mo]ther: [th]us (speaks) Tarḫu[nm]iya, your son: 4–8 May everything be we[l]l with (my) lord. May the thousand gods k[ee]p you[77] alive. May they **hold (their) hands** lovingly **arou[n]d** you[78] and pr[o]tect yo[u][79]."[80]

Imparatti and de Martino suggested that the expression ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš araḫzanda aššuli ḫarkandu* "vuole indicare la protezione da parte di colui che compie questo atto", translating it into Italian 'ti tengano intorno le mani nel benessere'.[81] According to Hoffner, such expression (*nu=tta* ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš araḫzanda aššuli ḫarkandu*) "may suggest a looser meaning for *aššuli* than 'well-being, good health' in this phrase", because it "associates *aššuli* with holding arms[82] around the protected person", therefore Hoffner prefers "to render *aššuli* […] with the adverb 'lovingly,' describing the gods' attitude rather than as expressing a goal for the protected person".[83]

Quite strange in the text above quoted is the singular reference to the addressee of the desired protection (*=tta*, line 6; also *=tt*[*a*] in line 7 as object of *paḫ*[*š*]*andaru*), therefore he/she can be the father or the mother of Tarḫunmiya. The expressed wish for gods protection is frequent in letters, either Hittite, or not,[84] but

76. His father name is Pallanna (cf. HKM 81: 29).

77. Plural.

78. Singular.

79. Singular.

80. CTH 190 (HKM 81: 1–8). Cf. Karasu 2003: 234, with English transl.; Hoffner 2009: 240–241, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 64, with translit. and English transl.

81. Imparati and de Martino 2004: 797.

82. Hoffner translates ŠU.ḪI.A- into 'arms', however literally means 'hands'.

83. Hoffner (2009: 60).

84. "And may (the gods) lovingly protect you" (*nu–tta aššuli paḫšantaru*): HKM 2, 3, 10, 17, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 36, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 64, 67, 71, 73, etc. The only letters lacking this expressed wish are those from the king to his subordinates [...]. Even the queen uses it to the king (no. 89). And the reigning king himself uses it in a letter to his mother, the dowager queen (no. 106). This phrase is not limited to letters, but occurs also in treaties. For example, in the treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with Kurunt(iy)a of Tarḫuntašša there occurs: *tuk–ma kūš* DINGIR.MEŠ *aššuli paḫšantaru nu–kan ANA* ŠU ^{d}UTU-*ŠI meḫuntaḫḫut* "But may these gods keep you in good health, so that you may grow old in the service of (literally, 'in the hand of') His Majesty" (iv 14–15). / The exact equivalent is found in the Akkadian and Ugaritic letters from Ugarit. The Akkadian reads DINGIR.MEŠ *ana šulmāni liṣṣurūka* "may the gods keep you in good health" (see CAD Š/III, 244). Akkadian *ana šulmāni* 'in good health' corresponds to the literal meaning of Hittite *aššuli* 'in goodness' or 'in well-being.' (Hoffner 2009: 60).

in this particular letter (wherein, in Hoffner's opinion, the "well-wishes to this couple are among the longest and most beautiful in the entire Hittite letter corpus")[85] the expression of such desire has appealed to the body, in this case the 'hands' (ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš*, Hittite *kiššeruš*, from *keššar*, *kiššer-*, *kišr-*), to illustrate the narrative.

This literary device is found in other letters, e.g. in the *Letter to the Chief of the Guard from the Chief of the Palace Servants* (therefore a letter between dignitaries) and in the *Piggyback Letter to Uzzū from Mar-ešrē* (a letter from Mar-ešrē to his brother Uzzū),[86] but it is attested also in the *Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Ḫukkana of Ḫayaša*, where the adressee of such "love" or desired protection, provided by Ḫukkana of Ḫayaša, is the king, therefore in this case such narrative device has "political" purposes:

Correspondence of Dignitaries (Letter to the Chief of the Guard from the Chief of the Palace Servants)

1' [...] x x [...]
2' [... ^{m}x-*p*]*í-te-eš-šu-u-p*[*a*$^{?}$]-*an-na* [DINGI]R.MEŠ *pa*$^{?}$*-aḫ-ša-an-da-ru nu-uš-ma-aš*]
3' [Z]I-*aš ḫa-ad-du-la-a-tar* ZI-*aš la-a-lu-u*[*k*$^{?}$*-ki-ma-an pí-an-du*]
4' [*nu-u*]*š-ma-aš* **ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš a-ra-aḫ-za-an-t*[*a*** *aš-šu-ú-li* ***ḫar-kán-du***]

1'–4' "[May the go]ds [protect X] and [x-p]i-Teššup. 3'-4' [And may] (they) [give you] health of [so]ul (and) brigh[tness] of soul, [and may] (they) [lovingly **hold**] **(their) hands**[87] **around** you."[88]

Correspondence of Dignitaries (*Piggyback Letter to Uzzū from Mar-ešrē*)

19 *kat-ti-ti ḫu-u-ma-an* SIG$_5$*-in e-eš-du*
20 *nu-ut-ta* DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*an ḫar-kán-du*
21 *nu-ut-ta* **ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da***

85. Hoffner (2009: 241).

86. Other letters: HKM 89 obv. 3–6 (CTH 190); HHCTO 1 lower edge 18–21 (CTH 209); VBoT 2: 14–20 (CTH 152) (a letter from a Arzawan scribe to Egyptian scribe); Güterbock 1979: 142–144: 1–14.

87. Hoffner (2009: 90): 'arms'.

88. CTH 190 (KBo 18.95 rev. 1'–4'). Cf. Hoffner 2009: 90, with translit. and English transl.

22 *aš-šu-li* ***ḫar-kán-du***
23 *nu-ut-ta pa-aḫ-ša-an-da-ru*

19–23 "May all be well with you,[89] and may the gods keep you[90] alive, and lovingly **hold** (their) **hands**[91] **around** you,[92] and protect you[93]."[94]

Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Ḫukkana of Ḫayaša

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22 *nu-za ma-a-an tu-ʿelˀ ma-aḫ-ḫa-an A-NA* SAG.DU-*KA* ZI-*KA Ù A-NA RA-MA-NI-KA*
23 *ge-en-zu ḫar-ši* **ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš-za a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da ḫar-ši*** *nu ma-a-an ANA* SAG.DU ^{d}UTU-*ŠI*
24 ZI ^{d}UTU-*ŠI RA-MA-A-AN* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI ge-em-zu* (eras.) *QA-TAM-MA Ú-U*[*L*] *ḫar-ši*
25 **ŠU.ḪI.A-ʿ*KA*ˀ*-ya-*ʿ*mu*ˀ *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da QA-TAM-MA Ú-UL ḫar-ši***
26 *pí-ra-an-na-at-ta ŠA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI Ú-UL wa-aḫ-nu-wa-an ḫar-zi*
27 *na-aš-ma-kán ma-a-an* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI ku-e-da-ni an-da i-da-a-lu iš-ta-ma-aš-ti*
28 *na-at-mu-kán ma-a-an ša-an-na-at-ti na-at-mu Ú-UL me-ma-at-ti*
29 *a-pu-u-un-na-mu an-tu-uḫ-ša-an Ú-UL te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu*(eras.)*-ši*
30 *na-an an-da im-ma mu-un-na-a-ši*

22–30 "And if, as (you) have fondness for your own person, your soul, and your body and **hold your hands around them**, if (you) in the same way don'[t] have fondness for the person of My Majesty, the soul of My Majesty, (and) the body of My Majesty, **and don't hold your hands around me in the same way**, and (the matter) of My Majesty does not have precedence before you, or if (you) hear evil about My Majesty from someone and if (you) conceal it from me, and don't speak

89. Singular.
90. Singular.
91. Hoffner (2009: 233): 'arms'.
92. Singular.
93. Singular.
94. CTH 190 (HKM 73). Hoffner 2009: 233, with translit. and English transl.

of it to me, and do not present that person to me, and even hide him, (you will transgress the oath)[95].”[96]

In the *Apology of Ḫattušili III*, the expression ‘held by the hand’ (ŠU- *ḫar*(*k*)-) of a deity (Ištar) is a metaphor (and therefore a literary device) for the empowerment, protection and security provided by the divine aid, allowing to dispel fear and evil. According to Imparati and de Martino, such expression “è usata per indicare il conferimento del potere regio, qui però da parte di una divinità, a Ḫattušili: conferimento particolarmente enfatizzato da Ḫattušili”,[97] therefore the staging of emotions through the body has here also “political” purposes:

Apology of Ḫattušili III

36 [...] ^{d}*IŠTAR-*ˀ*ma*ˀ*-mu* GAŠAN-*YA* Ù-*a*[(*t*)]
37 *nu-mu* Ù-*it ki-i me-mi-iš-ta* DINGIR-*LIM-ni-wa-at-ta*
38 *am-mu-uk tar-na-aḫ-ḫi nu-wa le-e na-aḫ-ti*
39 *nu* DINGIR-*LIM-za pár-ku-u-e-eš-šu-un nu-mu* DINGIR-*LUM ku-it* GAŠAN-*YA* **ŠU-*za ḫar-*ˀ*ta*ˀ**
40 *nu-mu* «*ḫu-u-wa-ap-pí* DINGIR-*LIM-ni* «*ḫu-u-wa-ap-pí* DI-*eš-ni*
41 *pa-ra-a Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki tar-na-aš Ú-UL-ma-mu*
42 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ^{LÚ}KÚR *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki še-er wa-aḫ-nu-ut*

36–42 “But Ištar, my lady, appeared to me in a dream and, through the dream, (she) said this: ‘To the deity I will leave you and (so) do not fear!’ And (so) through the deity I was found innocent. (Since) the goddess, my lady, **held** me **by the hand**, (she) never abandoned me to an evil deity (nor) to an evil lawsuit. (She) has never swung the enemy’s weapon(s) over me.”[98]

95. Complement as proposed by Beckman (1996: 24).

96. CTH 42 (Bo 8138 + KBo 5.3 + KBo 5.12 + KBo 19.43 + KBo 19.43a + KUB 26.38 + KUB 40.35 obv. i 22–30). Cf. Beckman 1996: 24, with English transl.;Wilhelm 2013–2014, with translit., transc. and German transl.; Devecchi 2015: 102, with Italian transl.; Galhano 2022: 109, with translit. and English transl.

97. Imparati and de Martino 2004: 790.

98. CTH 81 (KUB 1.1++ obv. i 36–42; duplicates see Otten 1981: 43–44). Cf. Otten (1981: 6–7, translit. and German transl., 43–44, “Konkordanz”); Galhano (2022: 418–419, with translit. and English transl.).

The royal use of the *mise en scène* of emotions through textual references to the 'hand', with "political" (i.e., royal) purposes, is attested also in another passage of the *Apology of Ḫattušili III*, where a deity (Ištar) put the enemies (^{LÚ}KÚR.MEŠ) and the enviers ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*aršanatalluš*) 'in the hand' (ŠU-*i*) of the Hittite king. Therefore, the ultimate goal is the legitimization of royal power:

Apology of Ḫattušili III

58 [...] ^{LÚ}KÚR.MEŠ-*mu-kán*
59 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ar-ša-na-tal-lu-uš* ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA* **ŠU-*i da-a-iš***
60 *na-aš-za kat-ta-an ar-ḫa zi-en-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*

58–60 "Ištar, My Lady, **put** my enemies (and) enviers **in (my) hand**, and (I) destroyed them."[99]

The continuity of such narrative practice of staging emotions through the body, and especially the 'hand', with "political" purposes, is still visible in Neo-Hittite period, namely in the HL inscription ARSUZ 1 (AMUQ), where there is a reference to the 'mighty hand' (|FO[RTIS]-*wa/i-<ta->li-na* |MANUS-*tara/i-na*) of the Storm God, which is raised for the king:

ARSUZ 1 (AMUQ)

§19 |*za-sa-pa-wa*/*i*-[*mu*] ^{DEUS}[TONITRUS …] |[…]***-li-***[**…**] |PUGNUS-*ri*+*i-ta*
§20 **a-wa*/*i-mu* SUPER+*ra/i* |*pu-tà*
§21 **a-wa*/*i-mu* OMNIS-*mi* REX SUPER+*ra/i-li*||*-na* [|]*i-zi-i-tà*

99. CTH 81 (KUB 1.1++ obv. i 58–60). Cf. Otten 1981: 8–9, with translit. and German transl., 52, "Konkordanz"; Galhano 2022: 624, with translit. and English transl.. A similar passage in KUB 1.1++ rev. iv 43–47:

43 [...] *nam-ma-mu-kán* ^{d}*IŠTAR* [(GAŠAN-*YA*)]
44 **LÚ.MEŠ*ar-ša-na-a***[(***t-tal-lu-uš*** LÚ.)]ME.EŠ*ḫar-pa-na-al-li-uš* […]
45 *BE-LU*$^{ḪI.A}$ *DI-NI-YA* [(ŠU-*i da-*)]*a-iš nu ku-i-e-eš* [(*IŠ-TU* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *e-kir*)]
46 ˹*ku*˺*-i-e-eš* UD-*az-za* [(*e-kir na-aš-z*)]*a* [(*ḫu-u-ma-a*)]*n-*˹*te-eš-pát*˺ GAM-*an a*[(*r-ḫa*)]
47 ˹*zi*˺*-en-na-aḫ-ḫu*[(*-un*)]

43–47 „After that Ištar, My Lady, had put my enviers, enemies, (and) litigants in court **in (my) hand**. And (then) some died by the sword, others died on (their appointed) day. And (so) (I) destroyed them all."

ARSUZ 2 (AMUQ)
§19 […] |**FO[RTIS]-*wa/i-<ta->li-na* |MANUS-*tara/i-na*** || |PUGNUS-*ri*+*i-ta*
§20 ***a*-[*w*]*a*/*i-mu*** SUPER+*ra*/*i* VIA.PUGNUS-*tà*
§21 ***a-wa*/*i-mu*** [ ]-*m*[*i* …]-*na i-zi*[...]

§19 "But [for me] this [Storm] God raised the **m[igh]ty hand**, §20and he grasped[?] me §21and made me superior to every king."[100]

In this HL inscription, there is also a connection of the text to a certain kind of fear, namely to an 'awe-inspiring aura', corresponding to Hittite *muwa-*. The lexeme *muwa-* appears to have a basic semantics of "'power' either in its manifestations, or in its ability to produce effects on subjects (e.g. awe)".[101] The HL adjective *muwattall*(*a*/*i*)-, which is written in the accusative |FO[RTIS]-*wa*/*i-<ta->li-na* in ARSUZ 2 (AMUQ) §19, is cognate of Hittite *muwa-*, therefore underlying the 'mighty hand' there is also an 'awe-inspiring hand'.

On the HL inscription from SULTANHAN, also from the Neo-Hittite period, Wasusarma, a king from the Tabal region, recorded that the Storm God of the Vineyard gave him a 'mighty weapon' ([|*mu-w*]*a*/*i-ta-li-na-´* |*wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-pi-na*) and put his enemies 'under his feet' (|"PES"*pa*+*ra*/*i-za* |SUB-*na-na*). Therefore, in this case, the royal 'power' is textually displayed and metaphorically externalised through the reference to the 'feet' and to an 'awe-inspiring' weapon:

SULTANHAN

§8 |*a-wa/i* |*tu-wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-sà-sa* |DEUSTONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* ˹|*Wa*/*i*˺*-su-SARMA-ma-*[*ia*[?] …]-*´* […]-*ti-i* [|*mu-w*]*a*/*i-ta-li-na-´* |*wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-pi-na* |*pi-ia-ta*
§9 |*wa*/*i-tu-u* |*á-ru-ni-i-zi* |*á-pa-si-i-zi* |**"PES"*pa+ra*/*i-za*** |SUB-*na-na* |*tu-wa*/*i-ta*

§8 "And the Storm God of the Vineyard gave to Wasusarma […] a mighty weapon, §9and for him he put (his) enemies under his **feet**."[102]

100. Cf. Dinçol *et al*. 2015: 64–65, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 279–280, with translit. and English transl.

101. Galhano 2022: 288. For semantic discussin of *muwa-* see Galhano 2022: 285 ff.

102. Cf. Hawkins 2000: I, 2, 466–467, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 284, with translit. and English transl.

This kind of metaphor built with reference to the 'feet' of the king, being related to his 'fear', was already in use in the Bronze Age period. It is attested in a text of *The ḫišuwaš Festival*, where we can read that the Storm God put the enemies under the feet of the monarch, an act likely to drive away king's fear. In another variation of this theme, attested in the *Evocation Ritual for Tešub, Ḫebat and Šarruma*, the prayer begs for 'putting the vengeful enemy under the feet of the king':

The ḫišuwaš Festival

45 LUGAL-*uš-wa le-e na-aḫ-ti* ^{d}IM-*wa* LÚ.MEŠ ^{LÚ}KUR
46 KUR.KUR.MEŠ ^{LÚ}KÚR *tu-uk-pát A-NA* LUGAL ***ŠA-PAL*** **GÌR.MEŠ**
47 *zi-ik-ke-ez-zi nu-wa-*⌜*ru*⌝*-uš ar-ḫa dan-na-ru-uš*
48 ^{DUG}ÚTUL.ḪI.A *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an du-wa-ar-ni-iš-ke-*⌜*ši*⌝

45–48 "King, do not fear, the Storm God keeps putting the enemies (and) the lands of the enemies **under the feet** of you,[103] the king. (You) will break them like empty pots."[104]

Evocation Ritual for Tešub, Ḫebat and Šarruma

12' *nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR «*kat-ta-wa-at-na-li-en*
13' *A-NA* LUGAL ***ŠA-PAL*** **GÌR.MEŠ** *zi-ik-ki na-an* GUL-*aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-ed-du*

12'–13' "Yet keep putting the vengeful enemy **under the feet** of the king, and let (him) strike him."[105]

103. I.e., "under your feet".

104. Speaks a *purapši*-priest. CTH 628 (KBo 15.52 + KBo 15.55 + KBo 15.59 + KBo 16.95 + KBo 31.174 + KBo 33.197 + KBo 41.67 + KUB 34.116 + VBoT 116 rev. v 45–48; // ABoT 2.104 + KBo 15.54 + KBo 15.56 + KBo 15.64 + KBo 15.68 + KBo 20.60 + KBo 30.71 + KBo 30.133 + KBo 33.196 + KBo 34.183 + KBo 35.256 + KBo 40.62 + KBo 47.69a + KBo 47.69b + FHG 14 rev. v 5'–7'). Cf. Groddek 2010: 370–371, 378, with translit. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 324, with translit. and English transl.

105. CTH 485 (KUB 58.73 rev. iii? 12'–13'; // IBoT 3.148 rev. iv 45–46).

The staging of emotions through the body, either human, or divine, is attested also in some references to the 'lap'. In the *Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik*, the 'lap' (*genu-*) of the god Tešimi (literally his 'knees', therefore through metonymic use)[106] is qualified as 'beloved' (*ašš̃iyant-*), being a place where one can have 'pleasant sleeps':

Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik

56' ZI-*ni-wa-ra-za-an-kán tar-ni* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-ka$_4$-an* URU-*an* ^{d}*Te-ši-mi-wa-kán* ***a-aš-ši-ya-an-ti***
57' ***gi-nu-wa*** *ša-ni-iz-zi-uš ti-eš-ḫu-uš šu-up-pa-ri-ya-an-za e-eš-ta*

56'–57' "Leave her in (your) soul, Nerik, the city! In the **beloved lap** of Tešimi (you) slept pleasant sleeps."[107]

Such kind of staging of emotions through the 'lap' (*genu-*) is also readable in *The Song of Ullikummi*, a mythological text, and in the tale *Appu and His Two Sons*. In both texts, a child is placed in the 'lap' (*ginuwaš*), bringing joy (lexicalized with the imperfective *duškiške/a-*) to those who hold it:

The Song of Ullikummi

10 *ḫa-aš-ša-nu-e-ra-an* MUNUS.M[EŠ ...]
11 ⌜*nu* ^{d}⌝*Gul-šu-uš* DINGIR.M[AḪ.ḪI.A-*uš* DUMU-*an kar-pí-er na-an-kán A-NA* ^{d}*K*]*u-m*[*ar-bi*]
12 [***g***]***i-nu-wa-aš*** *ḫa-la-a-e*[*r* ^{d}*Ku-mar*]-⌜*bi-iš-za a*⌝-[*ši* D]UMU.NITA-*a*[*n*]
13 *du-uš-ki-iš-ke-u-wa-an da-*⌜*a*⌝-[*iš na*]*-an ku-un-ke-eš-ke-u-wa-an d*[*a-a-iš*]

10–13 "(They) brought him to birth, the wome[n …], and the Fate Goddesses and Mothe[r Goddesses lifted the child and] place[d him on K]um[arbi's **l**]**ap**. [Kumar]bi beg[an] to rejoice over th[at s]on. [And] he b[egan] to fondle him."[108]

106. HED (*k*: 146 ff.).
107. CTH 671 (KUB 36.89 rev. 56'–57'). Cf. Haas 1970: 156–157, with translit. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 80–81, translit. and English transl.

Appu and His Two Sons

5’ MUNUS[ÙMME]DA-*aš-za* DUMU.NITA-*an kar-ap-ta na-aš-ša-an* m*Ap-pu*
6’ ***gi-˹nu˺-[w]a-aš*** *ḫa-la-iš* m*Ap-pu-uš-za* DUMU.NITA-*an du-uš-ki-˹eš˺-ke-wa-an*
7’ *da-a-˹iš˺*

5’–7’ “The [nur]se lifted the boy and moved him to Appu’s **l**[**a**]**p**. Appu began to rejoice over the boy.”[109]

In a somehow similar passage, a fisherman of the tale *The Sun God, the Cow, and the Fisherman* holds a child close to (his) ‘body’ (ÚR), rejoicing over it. In this case, the body part is possibly the ‘chest’, because then the fisherman ‘carried [him] away’:

The Sun God, the Cow, and the Fisherman

38’’ […] LÚŠU.˹ḪA$_6$˺ DUMU-*an* KI-x x [*š*]*a*$^{?}$-˹*ra-a*$^{?}$˺
39’’ *kar-ap-ta na-an ku-un-ki-eš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš* x x x
40’’ *du-uš-ki-iš-ke-et na-an-za-kán* **ÚR**-*ši da-a-iš* [*na-an*] ˹*ar-ḫa*˺
41’’ *pé-e-da-aš*

38’’–41’’ “The fisherman lifted the child [u]p [from the] ground$^{?}$, began to look at him [and] rejoiced. He held him close to (his) **chest**, [and] carried [him] away.”[110]

108. CTH 345 (KBo 26.58 + KUB 17.7 + KUB 33.93 + KUB 33.95 + KUB 33.96 + KUB 36.7a + KUB 36.7b rev. iii 10–13). Cf. Daddi and Polvani 1990: 152, with Italian transl.; Hoffner 1998: 57–58, with English transl.; García Trabazo 2002: 192, with translit. and Spanish transl.; Haas 2006: 161, with German transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009c, with translit., transc. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 163, with translit. and English transl.

109. CTH 360 (KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 rev. iii 5’–7’; // KBo 7.18 + KBo 19.101 + KUB 36.59 obv. ii 2’–5’). Cf. Siegelová 1971: 10–11, with translit. and German transl.; Daddi and Polvani 1990: 169–170, with Italian transl.; Hoffner 1998: 84, with English transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009i, with translit., transc. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 165–166, with translit. and English transl.

110. CTH 363 (KUB 24.7 rev. iv 28’’–41’’). Cf. Ehelolf 1926: 767–768, with translit. and German transl. of lines 38 ff.; Hoffner 1998: 86–87, with English transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009g, with translit, transc. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 166, with translit. and English transl.

In a quite different emotional tone, not a joyful but a hateful one, the 'flesh of mankind' (*ŠA AMILUTTI* UZU), which is analogically represented by body parts of rams, must 'be hateful' (*puktaru*) for the responsible of the plague in the army, as recorded in the *Ritual of Ašḫella of Ḫapalla Against a Plague in the Army*:

Ritual of Ašḫella of Ḫapalla Against a Plague in the Army

37 *ki-nu-na-wa ka-a-ša* UDU.ŠIR.ḪI.A *a-ra-an-ta-ri*
38 *nu-wa-ra-at IŠ-TU* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ *Ù IŠ-TU* ^{UZU}ÚR
39 *me-ek-ki wa-ar-kán-te-eš nu-wa-aš-ši-kán* ***ŠA A-MI-LÚ-UT-TI*** **UZU**
40 *pu-uk-ta-r*[(*u nam-m*)]*a nu-wa-aš-ša-an kat-ta ke-e-da-aš* UDU.ŠIR.ḪI.A
41 *wa-ar-ši-y*[(*a-aḫ-ḫu-u*)]*t*

37–41 "Now, behold, the rams stand (here), and their liver, heart, and limbs (are) fat, and (so) may **the flesh of mankind** be hateful to him again! And may you, (O deity,) be appeased with these rams!"[111]

In another kind of *mise en scène* of emotions, the body is also a locus of punishment, which is carried out to prevent future emotional disturbances or to put an end to some emotional processes. For example, in the *Instructions for the Priests and Temple Officials*, if a servant makes his master angry (TUKU.TUKU-*nu*-), he will have his nose (KIR_{14}-), eyes (IGI.ḪI.A) and ears (GEŠTU.ḪI.A) maltreated:

Instructions for the Priests and Temple Officials

28' […] *ma-a-an* ⌜ÌR-*ŠU*?⌝ *ku-wa-pí* EN-⌜*ŠU*⌝
29' TUKU.TUKU-*nu-zi na-an-kán na-aš-šu ku-na-an-zi na-aš-ma-*⌜*kán*⌝ **KIR$_{14}$-***ŠÚ* **IGI.ḪI.A**-⌜*ŠU*⌝
30' **GEŠTU.ḪI.A**-*ŠU i-da-a-la-u-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi na-aš-ma-an-za-an-*⌜*kán*⌝ DAM-*ŠU* DUMU.MEŠ-*Š*[*U*]
31' ŠEŠ-*ŠU* NIN-*ŠU* ^{LÚ}*ka-i-na-aš* MÁŠ-*ŠU na-aš-šu* ÌR-*Š*[*U*] ⌜*na*⌝*-aš-ma* GÉME-*ŠU* x x x

111. CTH 394 (KUB 9.31 rev. iii 37–41; // HT 1 + KBo 13.312 rev. iii 30–34; // Bo 4445 + Bo 4511 + CHDS 2.150 + CHDS 2.83 + KUB 9.32 obv. 20–22; // KUB 41.18 rev. iii 10–15). Cf. Chrzanowska 2016, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 537, with translit. and English transl.

28'–31' "If a servant ever makes his master angry, either (they) kill him, or (they) maltreat his **nose**, his **eyes** (or) his **ears**, or (they) […] him, his wife, h[is] sons, his brother, his sister, (or) the family of his in-laws, either (if he is) h[is] male servant, or his maidservant."[112]

In a somehow similar passage of the *Fragments of Incantations*, the agents of intimidation, the fearsome and the frightening, shall pay with the eyes (IGI.ḪI.A) and the ears (GEŠTU.ḪI.A), in order to make them blind and deaf:

Fragments of Incantations

7 *nu* MUNUSŠU.GI *ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i na-aḫ-šar-nu-uš*!*-ke<-er>-w*[*a-ra-an ku-i-e-eš*]
8 *ú-ri-te-nu-uš-ke<-er>-wa-ra-an ku-i-e-eš nu-wa-aš-ma-aš* **IGI.ḪI.**⌜**A**⌝[*-wa da-šu-wa-an-da-aš*]
9 *da-at-tén* **GEŠTU.ḪI.A**-*ma-wa-aš-ma-aš du-ud-du-mi-ya-an-da-aš t*[*a-at-te-en*]
10 GEŠTU-*it iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni le-e* IGI-*it-ma-wa ša*![*-wa-ya-at-te-ni le-e*]
11(!) (eras.)

7–11 "The Old Woman speaks this way: "[Those who] kept intimidating [him] (and) those who kept frightening him, take the **eyes** from them (as) [from blind people], t[ake] the **ears** from them (as) from deaf people, (like who says:) 'Do not ear with the ears, [do not] s[ee] with the eyes!'"[113]

In a *Liver* (SU) *Oracle* we can find a slightly different example, where it is told that it may be required a body penalty self-inflicted to put an end to a deity's anger (which caused the king's illness), because the possible reason for the divine anger may be a previous quarreling between (wo)men:

112. CTH 264 (KUB 13.4 obv. i 28'–31'). Cf. McMahon 2003: 217–218, with English transl.; Miller 2013: 248–249, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 466, with translit. and English transl.

113. CTH 458 (KUB 60.157 iii 7–11). Cf. Groddek 2006: 166–167, with translit.; Galhano 2022: 321, with translit. and English transl.

Liver (SU) *Oracles*

45’ ^{d}*Za-wa-al-li-i-iš ku-it ŠA* ^{URU}*Zi-it-ḫa-ra A-NA* GIG ^{d}UTU-*ŠI še-er* TU-KU.TUKU-*at-ti* SIxSÁ-*at*
46’–48’ [...][114]
49’ [...][115] ***ḫal-lu-wa-er****-ra ku-i-e-eš na-aš PA-NI* DINGIR-*LIM* ˹*za-ḫa*˺[*-an-zi*]

45’–49’ “About the illness of His Majesty, (it) was established by oracle that the Zawallī̆ God of the city of Zitḫara (was) angry.[116] [...] And should (they), those who quarreled, **bea**[**t**] **(themselves)** before the deity?”[117]

This kind of staging of emotions through the body – as a locus of punishment – is also applied on the divine level, as seen in a *Luwian Incantation Against Illness*, where it is told that the ‘fearsome’ (*naḫḫuwaššienzi*) and ‘violent’ (*ḫattainzi*) Annarumi shall ‘devour violent blows’ (*ḫatta adandu*), *sc*. in their body:

Luwian Incantations Against Illness

4’ […] *nu kiš-an ḫu-uk-ki-eš-ke-ez-zi*
5’ *ku-i-in-zi zi-i-in-*˹*za*˺
6’ *ú-ša-an-da a-la-aš-ši-in-zi*
7’ *na-aḫ-ḫu-aš-ši-en<-zi> i-na-aš-ši-en-zi*
8’ *pa-ri-ya-an šar-ḫa-mi-in-*˹*zi*˺
9’ *An-na-ru-um-me-en-zi ḫa-at-*˹*ta*˺*-in-zi*
10’ *ḫa-at-ta a-da-an-du*

4’–10’ “And conjures in the following way: ‘Whoever carried these (evils) – the *alašši-* (ones), the fearsome (ones), the ones that bring pain, the (ones) exceedingly mauling, the violent Annarumi – let (them) devour violent blows.’”[118]

114. Not transliterated (and not translated) here.
115. Id.
116. Lit. ‘in anger’.
117. CTH 570 (KBo 53.103 + KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 + KUB 50.123 i 45’–49’). Cf. Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011: 186 ff., with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 490–491, with translit. and English transl.

§ 4. *The body as stimulus of emotions*

Usually, the perception of a stimulus induces a somatic response, which we may call 'emotion', then followed by the corresponding feeling (the mental perception of that somatic response). Therefore, the body is the privileged space where emotions lie. Nevertheless, the body can also be a stimulating source of emotions. In this section, we will present some Hittite textual attestations related to that, although within the scope of this paper, which is focused only on some emotions (mainly love, joy, fear, disgust, hate and anger).

In the *Myth of Telipinu*, the 'evil tongue' (*idālun* EME-*an*) stands as something apprehended by the deity, next to 'wrath' (*karpi*-), 'anger' (*kardimmiyatt*-), 'offense' (*uštul*-), 'sullenness' (*šāuwar*), and 'bad behaviour' (*idalun patalḫan*).[119] If 'wrath', 'anger', and 'sullenness' are emotions felt by the god (as conceived by the Hittites), therefore more *felt* that *apprehended*, 'offense', 'bad behaviour', and the 'evil tongue' appear to be objects of the divine perception, functioning as causes of the conceived emotional state of Telipinu.[120]

It seems clear that the 'evil tonge' (or 'bad tongue'), written EME, and corresponding to Hittite *lāla*-,[121] is a metonymy for the 'evil speech' or 'wrong words' of men. In fact, Sumerian eme, as Akkadian *lišānu*, already have such metonymy

118. CTH 765 (KBo 13.260 rev. iii 4'–10'). Cf. Starke 1985: 262, with translit.; Galhano 2022: 326, with translit. and English transl. "In this step, the Annarumi are not expressly indicated with the determinative of deity (^{d}), as in KUB 9.31 ii 22, thus the alternative translation of the segment *An-na-ru-um-me-en-zi ḫa-at-ʳta*ˀ*-in-zi* may be 'the forceful (and) the violent ones'. Although, the use of the determinative of deity was not mandatory in Anatolian scribal tradition, as seen e.g. in Hittite *A-ru-na-aš*, the Sea God (KUB 36.25 iv 1), or in the case of Hurrian deity Abade, written also simply *A-ba-te* (KBo 7.64 rev. 14'). The Annarumi are just an example of a deified quality, a process usual in the Ancient Near East to originate deities names. Those Annarumi are characterized in the *Ritual of Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna* as *aš-ḫa-nu-wa-an-ta ku-in-zi wa-aš-ša-an-ta-ri*, translated by Starke (then followed also by Görke) into German 'welche Blutrotes (als Kleidung) tragen', in a clear association of violence to its immediate consequence, terror." (Galhano 2022: 372).

119. CTH 324 (KBo 34.24 + KBo 38.162 + KUB 33.1 + KUB 33.2 + KUB 33.3 rev. iii 9'–12'); see translit. and transl. under chapter "The body as landscape of emotions" (§2).

120. Beckman translates [*ušdul*] (KBo 34.24++ rev. iii 11') of the *Myth of Telipinu* into '(perceived) offense' (Beckman 2003: 153), thus identifying it as an object of divine perception, although translates [*idālun*] EME-*an* (KBo 34.24++ rev. iii 12') only into '[evil] tongue', however it can be translated also into '(perceived) [evil] tongue', due to the abovementioned reasons.

121. Cf. EDHIL (516, s.v. *lāla*-) "It is not impossible that EME is used for another, neuter Hittite word that denotes 'tongue'".

well established, meaning primarily ‘tongue’ and then ‘language’ (in Sumerian) and ‘statement, wording, report, gossip, slander’ (in Akkadian).[122]

In the *Ritual for Muršili II*, the ‘evil tongue’ (ḪUL-*lu* EME-*an*) is explicitly qualified as ‘a terror’ (*ḫatugatar*), therefore as an emotion stimulus:

Ritual for Muršili II

1 [...-i]š[?] EGIR-*an*
2 [...] x x EGIR-*an-da*
3 [...-*z*]*i na-an-ši ki-iš-ša-an*
4 [...-*w*]*a*[?]*-ar-ta-an-zi ku-it-wa-aš-ša-an*
5 [... *I-NA*]KUR [URU]*Ḫa-at-ti še-er* **ḪUL-*lu***
6 [**EME-*an*** *k*]*ar*[*-pí-i*]*š kar-tim-mi-az ša-u-wa-ar*
7 [*e-eš-ḫar*] ˹*pa-ap*˺*-ra-tar-ra NI-EŠ* DINGIR-*LIM*
8 [*e-eš-ta*] (eras.) *ku-it ḫa-tu-ga-tar*

1–8 “[…] behind […] after that […] and (speaks) to him in the following way: ‘[…] what hovers over the land, the **evil** [**tongue**, w]ra[t]h, anger, sullenness, [bloodshed] and impurity, (and) perjury. What a terror!’”[123]

The ‘tongue’ (EME), without any adjective, although not a good one,[124] is identified also as a possible cause of divine ‘anger’ (TUKU.TUKU-*anza*) in a *Liver* (SU) *Oracle*:

Liver (SU) *Oracles*

16’ […] **EME** [m]*An-kal-li-ya* **EME** [MUNUS]*dam-ma-ra-ya* SIxSÁ-*at*
17’ [*na-aš pa-a*]-˹*ir*[?] *IŠ*˺*-TU* É.DINGIR-*LIM pa-ra-a pé-e-te-er*
18’ [...] x ˹*ma*˺*-a-an* DINGIR-*LUM ke-e-da-aš-pát wa-aš-ku-i-e-eš še-er* TUKU.TUKU-*an-za*

122. ePSD (s.v. eme [TONGUE]); CAD (*l*: 209, s.v. *lišānu*). See also the reference to the ‘evil words of the people’ (*antuḫšaš idālu* INIM.MEŠ-*ar*) in CTH 414 *Foundation Ritual* (KUB 29.1 ii 20–21), without metonymy.

123. CTH 462 (VSNF 12.7 rev. iv 1–8). Cf. Görke 2014, with translit., transc. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 448, with translit. and English transl.

124. Cf. Beckman, Bryce and Cline (2011: 189) translation of EME into ‘imprecation’.

19’ [*ma-a-an-ma* DINGIR-*LUM*] ˹*UL ku*˺*-it-ki* TUKU.TUKU-*an-za nu* MUŠEN.Ḫ̲I.A SIG$_5$-*an-te-eš*

16’–19’ “[…] an (evil) **tongue** by Ankalliya and an (evil) **tongue** by the *damma-ra*-woman (were) established by oracle. [Then] (they) [procee]ded to carry [them] forth from the temple. […]. If (you), O deity, (are) angry only because of these offenses, (or) [if] (you), [O deity], are not angry about anything, then the bird oracles (are) favourables.”[125]

By means of a lexical variation, in the *Rituals of Maštigga of Kummanni* there is an attestation of the ‘rancourous[?] tongues’, written *mantallīēš* EME.Ḫ̲I.A-*eš*, a word derived from the common noun *mant-*, which has an obscure semantics, meaning possibly something harming or perceived as negative.[126] The adjective *mantallīēš* is related also with the *mantalli*-rituals (^{SISKUR}*mantalli-*), that “seeks to heal an estrangement or antagonism between two persons, living or dead”.[127] The ‘tongue’ is here also a metonymy for ‘speech’:

Rituals of Maštigga of Kummanni

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22 *nu* 1 [NINDA.GU]R$_4$.RA GA.KIN.AK-*ya pár-ši-ya* GEŠTIN-*y*[*a*] *ši-pa-an-ti*
23 *nu* ˹*ki-iš*˺*-ša-an te-ez-zi* ^{d}UTU-*i iš-ḫ̲a-a-mi ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta*
24 *pa-ra-*[*a*] *ti-it-*[*t*]*a-nu-nu-un* ***ma-an-ta-al-li-i-e-eš***
25 **EME.Ḫ̲I.A-*eš*** *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ka-a-*˹*ša*˺ *ke-e-da-ni* U$_4$-*ti* ^{d}UTU-*i*
26 ˹*kat*˺-[*ta-an*] EME.Ḫ̲I.A ˹*a*˺-[*ni*]-*ya-an-zi*

22–26 “Then (she) [breaks] one [thi]ck-[bread] and cheese, and (she) libates wine. And (she) speaks this way: ‘O Sun God, my lord, behold, (I) have ins[ta]lled

125. CTH 570 (KBo 53.103 + KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 + KUB 50.123 ii 16’–19’). Cf. Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2011: 188–191, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 490–491, with translit. and English transl.

126. EDHIL (555); Scheucher 2012: 467 n. obv. 10’.

127. CHD (*l–n*: 176).

the **rancorous**[?] **tongues**, and behold, O Sun God, (we) tr[e]at their tongues on this day.'"[128]

There are other causes to divine anger related with the body, attested in Hittite texts. In a quite different tone, in a *Bird* (MUŠEN *ḪURRI*) *Oracle*, a straw used to drink beer can not be used in or by a deity, otherwise it is a profanement and a possible cause of divine anger (TUKU-*u-an-za*), suggesting that the human body, *sc*. the mouth, has not the required purity to share objects with deities:[129]

Bird (MUŠEN *ḪURRI*) *Oracles*

10' *na-an pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-iš-ta a*[*m-mu-uk-wa me-ma-a*]*ḫ-ḫu-un*
11' *nu-wa-kán* É ^{LÚ}KÚRUN.NA *pa-a-u-un wa-ar-pu-un-m*[*a-wa-z*]*a*[?] [*U*]*L*
12' ^{GI}*um-mi-ya-zi-ya-wa ku-e-ez* KAŠ-*eš-šar ḫu-it-ti-*ˈ*eš*ˋ*-ke-mi*
13' *nu-wa-ra-an-kán A-NA* GAL *an-da wa-al-ḫi-eš-ke-mi* ^{GI}*um-m*[*i-a*]*n-*ˈ*ma*ˋ*-wa ḫar-ku-un-pát*
14' *nu-wa a-ku-an-na a-pí-iz pé-eš-ke-mi* DINGIR-*LUM-za ke-e-da-ni mar-ša-aš-tar-ri še-er*
15' **TUKU-*u-an-za*** *nu* MUŠEN *ḪUR-RI* NU.SIG$_5$-*du* NU.SIG$_5$

10'–15' "(We) asked him and (he) spoke: 'I [have] (already) [spo]ken: (I) went there to the tavern, b[ut] (I) did [n]ot wash [myself]. The straw with which (I) keep sipping (my) beer, in the jar (I) keep shaking it, but (I) had only (that) st[ra]w. And (I) use to give (to the deity), to drink, with that (straw)'. (Is) the deity because of these profanement **angry**? Let the *ḫurri*-bird be unfavourable. Unfavourable."[130]

In contrast, at the human level, Hittite texts present other body related causes to human anger, some of them merely trivial. E.g., in *The Instructions for the Palace Servants* there is a reference to the anger (*kartimmiye*/*a*-) of the king caused by a hair (*tetana*-) found in a wash-basin. If in this case there may be perhaps a con-

128. CTH 404 (KBo 39.8 obv. i 22–26; // KBo 44.17 i 22'–26'). Cf. Mouton 2012, with translit., transcr. and French transl.; Galhano 2022: 527, with translit. and English transl.

129. About the relation of the mouth with ritual purity cf. also Mouton 2020: 123–124, with references to CTH 433 and CTH 406.

130. CTH 574 (KBo 13.64 obv. 10'–15'). Cf. Tognon (2005: 45); Galhano 2022: 492, with translit. and English transl.

cern for purity,[131] in the text entitled *Lunar Eclipse* it is just an irritation of the skin, therefore a minor physical ailment, that potentiates human anger:

Instructions for the Palace Servants

21 *an-da-ma-aš-ma-aš šu-me-eš ku-i-e-eš* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$A *ŠA* KUŠ.LÁ
22 *nu-uš-ma-aš ú-wi$_5$-te-na-aš na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén*
23 *nu ú-wi$_5$-ta-ar* ^{GIŠ}*še-ša-ru-li-it še-ša-ri-iš-ke-tén*
24 *ka-ru-ú-ša-an* LUGAL-*uš I-NA* ^{URU}*Ša-na-ḫu-it-ta*
25 ŠÀ ^{URUDU}ÁBxA ***te-e-da-na-an*** *ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un*
26 *nu* LUGAL-*aš* ZI-*an-za iš-ḫi-iz-zi-ta nu-kán A-NA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$A *ŠA* KUŠ.LÁ
27 *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-un* […]

21–27 "But furthermore you, who (are) water carriers, must be careful about the waters, and (you) must keep filtering the water with a wood filter. Earlier, (I), the king, in the city of Šanaḫuita, found **a hair** in the middle of the wash-basin, and (so) the king's soul was dominated and (I) became angry with the water carriers."[132]

Lunar Eclipse

18 [*ták-ku-uš*]-*ša-an an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* ^{GIŠ}NÁ-*aš*
19 [*še-eš-zi nu-u*]*š-ši-kán ma-a-an* ZAG-*na-aš*
20 [**ŠU-*aš*** *na-aš-m*]*a* **GÌR**-*ŠÚ ta-pa-an-ni-ta-ri*
21 [*a-pa-a-aš* UN]-*aš kar-tim-mi-ya-ta-ri*

18–21 "[If] a man [is sleeping] on (his) bed, if (his) right [**hand** o]r his **foot** itches[?][133], [that ma]n will become angry."[134]

131. Cf. Mouton (2020: 121): "The relationship between physical cleanliness and ritual purity is a central concept within the religious system of Hittite Anatolia, a system that involves several degrees of purity and impurity".

132. CTH 265 (IBoT 4.5 + KUB 13.3 rev. iii 21–27). Cf. Miller 2013: 80–83, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 309, with translit. and English transl.

133. Güterbock (1958: 79): "becomes numb".

Finally, a serious problem like the birth of a baby without a ear (GEŠTU), therefore having a body disability, may be a sign of something (even more) terrible (*ḫatuga*):

Series "If a Woman Gives Birth..."

10' [*t*]*ák-ku* MUNUS-*za ḫa-a-ši nu-uš-ši-i*[*š-ša-an*$^{?}$]
11' **GEŠTU**-*ŠU* NU.GÁL KUR-*e-kán an-d*[*a*]
12' *ḫa-tu-ga ku-it-ki ut-tar* [*ki-ša-r*]*i*$^{?}$
13' *nu* KUR-*e ta-na-at-te-eš-z*[*i*]

10'–13' "When a woman gives birth (to a baby) and he has not his **ear**, something terrible [will happe]n$^{?}$ in the land, and the land will become empty."[135]

In contrast, on the divine level, the 'skull of the head' (*ŠA* SAG.DU *GUL-GULLATU*) of a monster like Ullimummi may also generate terror, i.e., may terrify (*ḫatukēšš*-), as seen in *The Song of Ullikummi*:

The Song of Ullikummi

16' GAL-*iš ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-aš A-NA* ˹^{d}*IŠTAR*˺ *me-mi-iš-ke-ez-*˹*zi*˺
[...]
22' *ar-ḫa-wa i-ya-an-ni* ^{d}*IŠTAR nu-wa-za* ŠEŠ-*KA an-*˹*da*˺ [*ú*$^{?}$]-˹*e*$^{?}$˺*-mi*˺*-ya*
23' *ku-it-ma-an-wa-ra-aš na-a-wi*$_5$ *ḫa-aš-ta-li-iš-zi*
24' *ku-it-ma-an-wa-aš-ši* ***ŠA*** **SAG.DU** ***GUL-GUL-LA-DU*** *na-a-wi*$_5$
25' *ḫa-tu-ki-iš-zi*

16'-25'"The great wave speaks to Ištar: 17'–21' '[…] 22'–25' Go away, Ištar! [F]ind your brother, while he (Ullikummi) does not become warlike, while **the skull of** his **head** does not become terrible.'"[136]

134. CTH 532 (KUB 29.9 obv. i 18–21). Cf. Güterbock 1958: 79, with translit. and English transl.; Galhano 2022: 488–489, with translit. and English transl.

135. CTH 540 (KBo 13.34 rev.$^{?}$ iv 10'–13'). Cf. Riemschneider 1970: 28–29, with translit. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 218, with translit. and English transl.

§ 5. *Conclusions*

Hittites related the body with emotions, either divine, or human, at least in three ways: as a landscape of emotions, as a textual element used in order to stage emotions, including with "political" (*sc*. royal) purposes, and as a stimulus. Therefore, in this last case, the body stands as an agent, and not patient, of the emotional process. As a landscape, the lexicalization of the relation of the body with emotions was made through Hittite *tu*(*e*)*kk*(*a*)- (NÍ.TE) 'body, members', namely in some "vanishing gods" myths. However, some specific parts of the body were related with emotions by the Hittites, e.g. the 'head' (*ḫaršar*, SAG.DU), the 'heart' or 'innards' (written ŠÀ, which may represent $^{UZU)}$*kard*(*i*)- 'heart' or *karāt*- 'innards, inner being'), and the 'forehead' or 'face' (*ḫant*-). Bodily response to emotions, as recorded in Hittite texts, includes also 'trembling' (*katkattima*-) and involuntary movements of the mouth (KA×U-) and 'eyes' (IGI.ḪI.A-), leading to the extreme case of Muršili II, who lost the ability to speak when he heard the thunderstorm brought by the Storm God. The anger and fury of gods was especiallly connected with the eyes (*šākuwa*-, IGI.ḪI.A), a metonymy for the divine gaze, which was related with the verb *aršan*(*iye*/*a*)- 'to be angry' and with the adjective *karpiwāla*- 'furious'. In contrast, Hittite texts lexicalized the 'furious look' of humans, but not of deities, with words derived from an unattested **tarku*-. Sometimes Hittite *laplipi*- 'eyelashes' were used also as metonymy for the divine gaze.

From another perspective, some body parts are used in Hittites texts as elements for staging or enacting emotions. Such is the case of the 'hands' (ŠU.MEŠ), wich were associated with (shouting for) joy (*palwae*-) in a performance made to please the Hittite king. The 'hands' were also used in Hittite texts in some particular constructions in order to enact emotions or emotion related processes. It is the case of the expression ŠU.ḪI.A-*uš araḫzanda aššuli ḫarkandu* 'hold the hands lovingly around' with reference to god's favour (*aššul*-) in a sense almost similar to god's love. A Hittite expression used as a metaphor for the empowerment, protection and security provided by divine aid was ŠU-*i ḫar*(*k*)- 'to be held by the hand' (of a deity). The continuity of the narrative practice of staging emotions through the body, and especially the 'hand', with "political" purposes, is still readable in texts of the Neo-Hittite period. In this period and before, in the Empire period, the 'feet' (GÌR.MEŠ) were related also almost dramatically with emotions, especially

136. CTH 345 (KBo 26.64 + KUB 33.87 + KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 + KUB 36.14 obv. ii 16', 22'–25'). Cf. Hoffner 1998: 61, with English transl.; Rieken *et al*. 2009f, with translit., transcr. and German transl.; Galhano 2022: 208, with translit. and English transl.

through the expression *ŠA-PAL* GÌR.MEŠ 'under the feet', the metaphorical act with wich the king dominates his enemies, allowing him to drive away his fear. The staging of emotions through the body, either human, or divine, is attested also in some references to the 'lap', through a metonymic use of *genu-* 'knee(s)', which is qualified as 'beloved' (*aššiyant-*) and associated with joy.

Hittite texts have also references to the body as a stimulating source of emotions. It is the case of the metonymic use of the 'evil tonge' (*idalun* EME-), in the sense of 'evil speech' or 'wrong words' of (wo)men, which functions as one of the causes of the divine 'wrath', 'anger', and 'sullenness'. Another example can be found in a *Bird* (MUŠEN *ḪURRI*) *Oracle*, where it is suggested that the human body, *sc*. the mouth, has not the required purity to share objects with deities, potentially triggering divine anger. On the human level, Hittite texts present other body related causes to human anger, some of them merely trivial. On the other hand, signs of human 'terror' may arise from a body disability of a baby.

§ 6. *References*

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The cult of ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* in the Luwian and Hittite religious spheres

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§ 1. *The ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš

The category of the LAMMA deity is difficult and still not fully understood. The logogram stood for two deities: the first one is Inara, a goddess of nature, apparently equivalent to the Hattic god Inar; and the second deity is Kurunta/-tiya.[1] The latter reading, however, is restricted in the cuneiform sources to its use in personal names. Although Kuruntiya was mostly connected with the stag, the cuneiform for Inara / LAMMA could signify any of the Tutelary Deities. The Stag God may be represented anthropomorphically as a stag, or also symbolically as a 'Hunting bag'.[2]

The nature of the tutelary deities of LAMMA diversifies into different deities with the addition of an epithet, that can be a location, and adjective, deities of beings, divine beings or objects. The LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* belongs to the last category, probably being the most important deity of it.

The ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* is, in itself, the skin or fleece of an animal –possibly goats, cattle, as well as sheep– that would take on the appearance of some kind of bag or pouch. Hans Gustav Güterbock[3] remarked that *kuršaš* were not only made from sheep and goats' skins, but were also made also from other materials like wood,

1. McMahon, 1991: 23–27; Rutherford 2020: 33.
2. McMahon, 1991: 183; Archi 2015: 19–20.
3. Güterbock, 1989a: 139.

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reed, copper, and beads.[4] Piotr Taracha states that in the KI.LAM festival a *kurša* was made of linen,[5] and that the canvas bag was kept by the 'barbers' which may indicate its considerable size.

The *kurša* bag is represented by the iconography in cult scenes that shows it as a kind of "receptacle" of skin with a handle, hung on the wall along with other sacred objects, and located near a sitting divinity who receives a series of offerings. The *kurša* required a periodical renewal, as attested in the state cult festivals. Although the cause of this is not yet clear, maybe it is because of the ephemeral material that results of a bag made of an animal skin.

The Hittites perceived it as a deity but also as a kind of genious. There is no information about the process of creation, but in the *purulli* festival is described how they burn the old *kuršaš* and make new ones from six black billy goats and from two white billy goats.[6] Then the skins were processed in new *kuršaš* bags by the shepherds, the priest of Telipinu, the priest of ZA.BA.BA and the cowherd of the god.[7]

The *kuršaš* were displayed in a special location called the House of the *kurša*. It is possible that it was a temple, a special location called the place of the god, until they were officially installed in the festivals, when they received a new name. There, in their pegs, the old *kuršaš* were placed into a hierarchy:[8] first, that of Zithariya, which seems to have had a role as a military standard on campaigns, then those of the towns Ḫalenzuwa, Zapatiškuwa, Tashapuna, Katsma and Tatasuna.

LAMMA deities are clearly associated with the countryside and with hunting,[9] a major strand in Hittite religion, of which there are echoes in festivals such as the KI.LAM. From the Schimmel Rhyton,[10] shaped as a deer, it is likely that a *kurša* was used as a cult symbol for the hunt and the wild animals. In the inscription (Figs. 1 and 2), on the right, worshippers approach two LAMMA gods. The first figure is doing a libation, the second one is offering a round bread, and the third, in a kneeling position, is holding the vessel for libations. The larger seated goddess with a hawk and a bowl is labeled Ala. The male deity with a hawk on the back of a fallow deer is labeled DEUS.CERVUSx ('Divine Stag'). On the left, it shows the

4. Güterbock 1989a: 139.
5. Taracha 2009: 57.
6. Popko 1978: 114.
7. McMahon 1991: 185.
8. Haas 1994: 454; Rutherford 2020: 33.
9. Güterbock 1989a: 139.
10. The Schimmel Rhyton is on display at the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

implements of a *mugawar* invocation: the *eya* tree[11] and the *kurša* bag hanging on the wall, next to a quiver filled with arrows and two spears. On the ground the trophies of a hunt are being displayed: the head, skin, and hooves of a deer.[12]

Fig. 1 Photomosaic of the frieze on the stag vessel, as proposed by Muscarella 1974.

Fig. 2 Drawing of the frieze on the stag vessel, as proposed by Güterbock 1989b.

§ 2. *The ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš *in the Hittite State Cult*

The cult of the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* is closely related to the Land of Ḫatti, especially in Central Anatolia, in the towns of Zippalanda and Ḫattuša, the northern part of the basin of the Kizil Irmak and the mountain range of Nerik. The spread of the cult of LAMMA gods in central and northern Anatolia is attested by the high rank of the LAMMA god Kurunti(ya) in the Hittite pantheon.

11. Translated as 'the ever green tree' or post. The wood of this tree was used to made spears. Haas (1997: 269–270) believes it is an oak.

12. Bachvarova 2016: 246, fig. 8.

The *kurša* has a Hattic origin, as it can be seen in the topic of the disappearing god in the Hittite myths. Several Hittite texts narrate myths of deities who disappear, causing a cosmic crisis, and have to be persuaded by other gods and humans to come back. The best known is the one concerning Telipinu,[13] that is preserved in several versions, who becomes angry for some reason and vanishes, bringing about a collapse in nature.[14] The gods seek him in vain, and they also send a bee to look for him. In the first version of the myth, the goddess Kamrusepa performs a ritual to remove his anger and purify him. However, in the third version, a bee, sent by Ḫannaḫanna, found him in the town of Liḫzina, in a meadow or swamp.[15]

The return of the god is symbolized by the *kuršaš*, full of forms of prosperity hanging from the *eyan* tree, which is itself a symbol of him (first version of the myth).

KUB 17.10, IV[16] (ed. by Rieken *et al*. 2012)

27 ^{d}*te-li-pí-nu-uš-za* LUGAL-*un kap-pu-u-et* ^{d}*te-li-pí-nu-wa-aš pé-ra-an*
28 ^{GIŠ}*e-ya-az-kán* UDU-*aš* ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš kán-kán-za na-aš-ta*
29 *an-da* UDU-*aš* Ì-*an ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da ḫal-ki-aš* ^{d}GÌR-*aš*
30 [GEŠTIN]-*aš ki-it-ta na-aš-ta an-da* GU$_4$ UDU *ki-it-ta na-aš-ta*
31 [*a*]*n-da* MU^{KAM} GÍD.DA DUMU^{MEŠ}-*la-tar ki-it-ta*

27 Telipinu looked after the king. In front of Telipinu
28 there is an *eya* tree. From the *eya* tree hungs the ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*,
29 there lies the sheep fat, there is some grain, ^{d}GÌR,
30 wine, cattle and sheep lie therein,
31 therein lie long years and offspring.

§ 2.1. *The* EZEN$_4$ ḫurnayayaššar

A text regulating the cult of the tutelary deity of the town of Karahna mentions, among the festivals for this deity, one called EZEN$_4$ *ḫurnayayaššar*, a term

13. CTH 324.
14. García Trabazo 2002: 108.
15. Hoffner 1998: 14–20.
16. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are mine. Needless to say, any remaining shortcomings are my own responsibility.

that may be derived from the verb *hurn*(*iya*)-, 'to hunt', and might mean 'Festival of the Hunt'.[17]

The aim of the festival was to replace the 'Hunting bags' of the tutelary gods of Zitḫariya and of Ḫatenzuwa. The symbol of Zitḫariya and that of the Tutelary-god of Ḫatenzuwa, both in the form of a Hunting bag, were kept in Ḫattuša in the 'House of the Hunting bag' and had to be renewed every nine years.[18] The old bags were sent to a temple outside the capital, and have their names changed: the *kurša* of Zitḫariya is called 'protector god of the *kurša*' and in Ḫatenzuwa is called 'protector god of Zapatiskuwa'.

KUB 55. 43 Obv. I (ed. by McMahon, 1991: 144)

1 [*ma-a-an* ŠA] ^{D}*Zi-it-ḫa-ri-ya* Ù ^{D}LAMMA ^{URU}*Ḫa-te-en-zu-wa*
2 [2 ^{KU}]^{Š}*kur-šu-uš* EGIR-*pa ne-e-u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*
3 *ma-a-an I-NA* MU 9 KAM *ma-a-na-aš ku-wa-pí ku-wa-pí ne-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*
4 *me-ḫur Ú-UL du-uq-qa-a-ri*
5 *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* 2 ^{KUŠ}*kur-šu-uš* GIBIL-*TIM ŠA* ^{D}*Zi-it-ḫa-ri-ya*
6 *Ù ŠA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{URU}*Ḫa-te-en-zu-wa ú-da-an-zi*
7 *na-aš-kán I-NA* É ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš an-da pé-*e-*da-an-zi*
8 *na-aš-ta* 2 ^{KUŠ}*kur-šu-uš LA-BI-RU-TIM kat-ta da-an-zi*
9 *nu pé-e-da-an du-uq-qa-a-ri A-NA A-ŠAR* DINGIR-*LIM-pát*
10 *a-wa-an kat-ta* ^{GIŠ}KAK.ḪI.A *wa-al-ḫa-an-te-eš nu-uš a-pí-ya ga-an-kán-zi*

1 When of the god Zitḫariya and the Tutelary-god of Ḫatenzuwa,
2 they renew the two ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*.
3 Whether in the ninth year, or whenever they renew them,
4 the time is not prescribed.
5 When the two new ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, of Zitḫariya
6 and the Tutelary-god of Ḫatenzuwa, they bring,
7 they take them into the Temple of the ^{KUŠ}*kurša*.
8 They take down the two old ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš.*
9 The place is prescribed. To the place of the god,
10 the pegs are driven directly below (it). They hang them there. (Translated by McMahon, 1991: 145)

17. Güterbock 1989a: 118.
18. Archi 2015: 19.

As part of the festival for renewing the *kuršaš*, an old *kurša* is taken from Ḫattuša to the town of Durmitta, and there renamed "tutelary deity of Zapatiskuwa".[19] At the ritual in honor of this deity, the singers of Ḫattuša sing, and the "dog men" bark. "The singers of the place", who could be locals from Durmitta, "come in, go once around the hearth and sing."[20] McMahon[21] suggests than instead of the festival taking place in Ḫattuša, the elements needed to perform the ritual were brought from the capital to Durmitta, where it takes place. That ritual interaction between Ḫattuša and Durmitta is expressed with successive performances by two choruses. Therefore, the music is a relevant element of the rituals, which surely had a Hattic origin, but also remarked the importance of the hunting in the image of the Tutelary deities, by the dog men barking during the offerings as a dog would bark during a hunt.

§ 2.2. *The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival*

The festival prescribes that in spring the king must enter Ḫattuša, as he has to take possession of the capital for the inauguration of the new yearly cycle.[22] On the case that the king had already spent the winter in Ḫattuša, then the royal couple went to the capital from Taḫurpa. In the second day of the festival, the king finally enters Ḫattuša and descends from his chariot at the stele of the Sun-goddess of Arinna,[23] where he receives the ^{KUŠ}*kurša* of the god Zitḫariya.[24]

The next four days concern the journey of Zitḫariya's *kurša*: on the first day of its travels, it arrives from the holy city of Arinna, in Alaca Höyük, and then it departs to Tawiniya, east to Ḫattuša. During the fifth day, it goes to Ḫiyasna.[25] Finally, on the sixth day of the festival, the Hunting bag arrives at Ḫattuša and is taken to the temple of the Grain-Goddess, Ḫalki. The priests of Arinna take part in the celebration with bread offerings, as well as a lamb from Kasaya. During the year, Zitḫariya's Hunting bag was kept in a temple in Ḫattuša.[26]

19. Rutherford 2007: 79; Cammarosano 2018: 60.
20. McMahon1991: 155, 179.
21. McMahon 1991: 180.
22. Archi 2015: 17.
23. KUB 10.17 I 26'–28'.
24. KUB 10.18 II 1–12; KUB 10.17 II 2'–8'.
25. Sir Gavaz 2015:101.
26. Archi 2015: 17–18.

§ 2.3. *The* nuntarriyašḫaš *Festival*

In autumn, during the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival, the royal couple and the god Zitḫariya had to enter Ḫattuša from outside.[27] Therefore, Zitḫariya's journey consisted of:[28] on the first day, the god enters «the house of the grandfather» (É *ḫuḫḫaš*), at Katapa; on the second day, the god goes to Hakura; the following day, to Tatasuna; and finally, on the fourth and last day arrives at Ḫattuša, where there is a celebration for Zitḫariya in the Temple of the Hunting bag, É ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, during the tenth day of the festival.[29]

An oracle inquiry concerning the return of the king from a military campaign and the delivery of Zitḫariya to his temple, a reference to the second day of the *nuntarriyasḫaš* Festival, shows that this god, in the form of a ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, accompanied the king on his military campaigns as his tutelary god in war.[30] Zitḫariya had therefore the function of protecting the king in war, as well as in his daily life.

§ 3. *The* ^{D}*LAMMA* ^{KUŠ}kuršaš *in Luwian rituals*

Until today, there are no clay tablets written in Cuneiform Luwian that have been found in the Luwian territories. Therefore, the majority of the cuneiform texts dealing with Luwian religion come from the archives of Ḫattuša, and they were collected to serve Hittite needs. A part of these Luwians texts came from Arzawa, in western Anatolia, after the conquest of its territories by Muršili II.[31] Rituals from Arzawa and rituals presenting Arzawan traditions can be divided into three groups according to the specialists who were involved: rituals of female experts, rituals of women and augurs against unfavourable bird oracles, and rituals of augurs and other male experts ('plague rituals').[32] Not only the rituals of the augurs were directed against portentous bird oracles threatening the royal family, but also the 'private' rituals against impurity, disease and witchcraft appear to be executed out of the Hittite interest in successful Luwian ritual techniques. These are written either in Hittite or in Cuneiform Luwian.[33]

27. Nakamura 2002: 15–33, 78–139.
28. Archi 2015: 20.
29. Houwink ten Cate 1992: 98.
30. ABoT 14+ V 12'–16'. See Houwink ten Cate 1988: 180–181.
31. See Bryce 2005: 193–197.
32. See Bawanypeck 2013: 161–166.
33. Bawanypeck 2013: 159.

The Arzawan texts were the *kurša* is present are within the Rituals of Women and Augurs against unfavourable bird oracles. These rituals can be divided into two subgroups: rituals performed for private persons, and rituals for the king and the royal family.[34]

§ 3.1. *Anniwiyani's rituals* (*CTH 393*)

Anniwiyani's rituals consist of two rituals. The practitioner was Anniwiyani, an 'Old Woman', and her son, the augur Armati. The first ritual is addressed to the deity LAMMA *lulimi*, the Tutelary deity of Effeminacy**,** and performed for the recovery of the sexual and military potency of a high-ranking military officer.

The appearance in the ritual of a maiden suggests that the contaminated weapons symbolize the impairment of the sexual potency of the lord,[35] while the impurity of the chariot suggests that its combat effectiveness is also affected. The clay replicas of oracle birds prove that the loss of manhood and fighting power were caused by an unfavourable bird's oracle. The officer undergoes different purification rites with different materials for his weapons and chariot.

The ritual takes place in two locations: the first one is the home of the ritual patron, and the other is a remote location, where the client is not present. The two halves of the ritual are connected by the presence of the girl[36] and the bird made of dough, which she holds while reciting the incantation. In the second location occurs the sacrifice of a puppy, the sacrifice and offering of the goat to the Tutelary deity *lulimi*, the disposal of the model birds, the offerings of roasted seeds, and the passage, maybe by the augurs, through the gate. After the participants have destroyed the gate, symbolically blocked the road behind them, established by oracle divine consent for their reentry into the town, and cleansed themselves, the ritual concludes with a communal meal shared between the augurs and the Protective Deity *innarawant*.[37]

After that, the LAMMA god *lulimi*, who seems to be responsible for the bad condition, is sent away. Instead, the LAMMA god becomes *innarawant*-, "strong, vigorous, endowed with vitality".

34. Bawanypeck 2013: 162.

35. The role of the maiden in activating the sexual powers of male ritual clients is described in detail in the Paškuwatti's ritual against impotence (CTH 406.40).

36. See Bawanypeck 2005: 66.

37. Peled 2010: 624–625.

Finally, in the second ritual, there is an invocation of the god LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, the tutelary deity of oracle birds.[38] The second ritual of the Anniwiyani is a four-day ritual, consisting of offerings, a ritual meal and a girl reciting incantations. As the iconography testifies, the deity is responsible for the animal world as the protective god of nature. An anthropomorphic figure is shown standing on a stag, carrying a bird of prey with him as an attribute, and sometimes also holds a hare in his hand. Therefore, also the oracle birds and the results of their oracles are subject to his responsibility, binding him to the Augurs, who act as bird's oracles experts and are dependent on his benevolence. The successful ritual is concluded with a cult meal, which is a binding rite between the gods and the local community.

The two rituals of the Anniwiyani were written on the same tablet[39] and were aimed at a common purpose: the actions that turn to the LAMMA *lulimi* for the recovery and empowerment of the lord, while the invocation is intended to put the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, who is responsible for the oracle birds, in a forgiving mood for the future.[40]

KBo 12.104 (ed. by Bawanypeck 2005: 62)

Rs. III
37 *an-da-kán e-ḫu* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš*
38 *nu-un-na-aš-ša-an an-da mi-i-e-eš*
39 *nu-un-na-aš-ša-an an-da tal-li-i-e-eš*
40 *kar-pí-in-na kar-tim-mi-ya-at-ta-an*
41 *ša-a-u-wa-ar ar-ḫa tar-na*
42 *ke-e-ma-kán ḫa-aš-du-er ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* ^{LÚ}APIN.LÁ-*li*
43 *ar-ḫa me-er-ta tu-ga-kán A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš*
44 *kar-piš kar-tim-mi-az ša-a-u-wa-ar*
45 *ar-ḫa QA-TAM-MA me-er-tu*

37 "Come in, ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš,*
38 and be kind to us
39 and be pleasant to us.

38. Bawanypeck 2013: 163.

39. There is another copy that only contains the first ritual. It was found in the House on the Slope and is dated to the 13th century.

40. Barsacchi 2016: 11.

40 Fury, anger
41 and sullenness, let (them) go.
42 Just as this chaff, for the ploughman,
43 has ceased to exist, so let your, ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš,*
44. fury, anger, and sullenness
45 also cease to exist."

Rs. IV
1 [*na-aš-ta*] ⌈^{NA4}⌉*pa-aš-ši-lu-uš IŠ-TU* KAŠ *ki-iš-ta-nu-mi*
2 [*nu ki-i*]*š-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫi ke-e-ez ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*
3 [*ni-i*]*n-kir zi-ga-az* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš*
4 [*QA-TAM-MA*]*A ni-*⌈*ik*⌉ *nu-ut-ták-kán kar-pí-iš*
5 [*kar-tim*]*-mi-az ša-a-u-wa-ar* ⌈*ar*⌉*-ḫa me-er-du*

1 Then I douse the pebbles with beer
2 and I say as follows: "As these
3 have satisfied their thirst, may you too, ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*,
4 satisfy your thirst. Let your fury,
5 anger, and sullenness cease to exist."

§ 3.2. *Ritual for the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš (*CTH 433.1*)[41]

The five-day ritual for the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* is performed by a ritual expert and several augurs. The aim is finding, by a bird's oracle, what has triggered slanderous gossip, which is endangering the well-being of the lord. Since he gives eight sheep as an offering to the god, it can be assumed that he held a high social status.

In addition to the catharsis of the ritual lord, there is the ritual treatment of the augurs at the centre of the actions. In the rites of purification, there is a particular rite of purifying the mouth with fried pastries, that are used as a prevention from proclaiming unfavourable oracle decisions again. Instead, only positive words should be said. The LAMMA god, who himself does not let the slanderous gossip stir up against the lord, should be treated equally. Through the savoury pastries, his anger is appeased and the bad words are replaced by blessings.[42]

Not only the tutelary god receives a thanksgiving offering, but also the Sun God. This offering to the deity is rooted in the Babylonian traditions.[43]

41. Rosenkranz 1964: 238–256; Hoffner 1987: 281–282.
42. Bawanypeck 2013: 163; 2014: 29.
43. See Bawanypeck 2005: 217.

KBo 12.96 (ed. by Torri 2003: 96)

31’ [*an-da-ma-kán ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-*]*ḫi ku-i-iš A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KU}[^{Š}*Kur-ša-aš*]
32’ [*me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da wa-aš-ta*]*-iš ku-i-ša-an mu-ú*[*-ga-iz-zi*]
33’ *ku-u-un ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* UR.TUR *ar-ḫa ku-r*[*a-an-zi*]
34’ [*ar-ḫa QA-TA*]*M-MA ku-ra-an-du*
35’ [*nu-za ḫu-u-ma-an-za*] ŠU^{MEŠ}*-uš kat-ta a-an-*[*ši*]

31’ Meanwhile, I say this: “Whoever against the LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*
32’ that had sinned, the one who invokes it,
33’ how they cut up the puppy,
34’ they should cut it in the same way!”.
35’ Then everyone wash their hands.

§ 3.3 *Ritual for the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, Tutelary Deity of oracle birds, and his group of seven deities (CTH 433.2)*

The ritual for the royal family is performed by a MUNUS.ŠU.GI and some augurs, including the “superior of the augurs”. It was executed on the occasion of an unfavourable bird’s oracle, in order that the enraged deities may once again be favourable toward the king and his family for the appeasement of the LAMMA god and his group of seven deities.[44] The anger is directed towards the royal family and the augurs who issued the decision. In addition to cathartic rites for the augurs, other actions are included: invocations before the gods, the intercession of the royal family and a rite of transmuting the words effecting in the appeasement of the god. Various sacrifices and food offerings serve the same purpose for the LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, for the seven gods and the Mother goddess.[45]

The ritual is similar to the preceding text: both are addressed to the LAMMA god ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, whose wrath was aroused by the oracles of the augurs; both contain the rite of fat pastry and the offering to the LAMMA God,[46] and also to the Seven Gods; in both the catharsis focus on the augurs, who further angered the deities by their misinterpretation of the bird’s oracle, and are in need of being purified. In this case, they had committed not only a mistake but a religious transgression,[47] by

44. This divine group could have both negative and positive characteristics.
45. Bawanypeck 2014: 30.
46. Bawanypeck 2005: 226–227.
47. Ünal 1973: 47.

which the divine wrath was particularly aroused. The offerings of pastries transform the augur's words into favourable words.

KBo 17.105 + KBo 34.47, Vs. II (ed. by Bawanypeck 2005: 88)

19' *na-aš-ta zi-ig-ga ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI
20' Ù *A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš pa-ra-a-an-da a-aš-šu me-*˹*mi-iš-ki*˺
21' LUGAL-*wa-kán* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri A-NA* DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL *an-da aš-šu-ú-li ne-*˹*e-ya*˺*-an-te-eš*
22' *e-eš-tén nu-wa-aš-ma-aš* TI-*tar in-na-a-ra-u-wa-tar pí-iš-ki-tén*

19' Then you, Hearth, speak to the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, the Heptad
20' and only to all the good gods:
21' "turn honestly toward the king, queen and princes
22' and give them constant vitality (and) sprightliness!".

§ 3.4 *Ritual for the* ^{D}*LAMMA* ^{KUŠ}kuršaš *and the Šalawaneš gods* (*CTH 433.3*)

The ritual is performed by a MUNUS.ŠU.GI and some augurs for the royal family. It is aimed at the LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* and the Šalawaneš deities, who are responsible for guarding the city gate of Ḫattuša. Without the protection, the evil could come through the gates and endanger the royal residence, the capital and the entire country.[48]

There are unfavourable bird oracles that appear upon the royal couple. The god, that should be reconciled with the royal family, is called from all eligible surrounding countries and locations. Soothing foods are served to calm him down. Also, a human substitute, a prisoner, will absorb the calamity resulted from an unfavourable oracle.[49] In addition, they will roast seeds, which symbolize the negative oracles. By cutting off the seeds, the LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* separates himself from the ominous oracles and thus from his wrath. He is asked to bring positive bird oracles with him when he returns to the land of Ḫatti.

In addition, the Šalawaneš deities are enraged by the disappearance of the LAMMA god. Their anger seems to be directed at the royal couple, who, with the

48. Bawanypeck 2013: 164.
49. Bawanypeck 2005: 238.

bird's oracle, have set the occasion for their departure.[50] The deities that guard the city gate should be appeased by the return of the tutelary god, as well as by food offerings.

KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 + KBo 23.51 + KBo 34.46, Rs. III (ed. by Bawanypeck 2005: 112).

19' *BE-LÍ-YA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš an-da-kán mi-ú-wa-aš Ì-nu-an-ta-aš*
20' ^{TU7}*ḫur-ta-aš* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *še-eš ʾki*$^{?}$*-i-ma tar-ša-an-ta kar-aš*
21' *nu* EGIR-*pa pár-na ne-ya-an-za* EGIR-*pa*
22' *ne-ya ḫa-a-ši-ya-mi-iš ḫa-a-ši-ya šu-na-az-zi-ya-an-za*
23' EGIR-*pa šu-na-az-zi-ya A-NA* LUGAL *tu-el* ARAD-*KA*
24' Ù *A-NA* MUNUS.LUGAL *tu-el* GÉME-*KA A-NA* KUR ^{URU}*ḪA-AT-TI*
25' *tu-el* KUR-*KA* É LUGAL *tu-el* É-*KA*

19' "My lord, ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, rest with the pleasant ones,
20' oily *ḫurti* dishes and fatty pastries, but cut this roasted thing!
21' And turn toward home, turn back,
22' as the *ḫašiyami*-make …, as the *šunazziyant-*
23' Make, again..., to the king, your servant,
24' and to the queen, your servant, to the land of Ḫatti,
25' your land, to the palace, your house"

§ 4. *Conclusions*

Animal skins were probably a common symbol in ancient cultures, as they were associated with royal and divine power. In the Telipinu myth and in other myths that have vanishing deities, the *kurša* represented a god. Therefore, it became an attribute with a sacral meaning, which could vanish dramatically from nature and from society. So, all the gods, humans and animals tried, and succeed, that the *kurša* was active again in the kingdom of Ḫatti. The LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* had an important role in the Hittite State cults, as tutelary and protective deity of the royal family and the country. As well, it is associated with hunting activities, which is a major strand on the Hittite culture, and therefore with the wilderness and nature.

50. Bawanypeck 2014: 31.

In the Luwian rites, the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, as the protective god of nature, is also responsible for the bird's oracle. The clients do not have to be the royal family, but also lords or high officials who are in need of a prescription for a problem of their own. In the Luwian rituals, the augurs perform the cathartic rites on the clients. Also, the augurs take different positions. Because they, themselves, by pronouncing the negative oracles are contaminated, they become different, mostly subjected to cathartic rites. In their function as cult officials, various tasks can be traced back to their bird expertise, as watching the birds' flights or making the clay oracle birds.

The involvement of the augurs in the rituals propitiated that the kings and the elites of the Hittite Empire took advantage of their special knowledge and relationship with the god in charge of bird watching. This resulted in a new meaning and new spheres for the rituals involving the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, who evolved into a deity, not only consecrated to the well being of the kingdom, but also to the mundane problems of its subjects.

Meanwhile the Hittite rituals have a Hattian origin, ominous bird oracles are in some respects related to the Babylonian-Assyrian redemption rituals from the I millennium BC comparable to the defense of any future calamity, which was displayed by an ominous omen or oracle. Among them, rituals described to ward off evil by animals (such as snakes, dogs or birds) formed the largest groups.

Finally, no indications have been found for a profane use of the ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*. It is conceivable that it was used by shepherds and hunters in their daily life to keep food and tools, but also amulets and sacral stones.

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The *Āššiya-* Deities

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§ 1. *Introduction*[1]

These deities are of extremely limited attestation: they occur only in *KUB* 2.8 and duplicates (pre-NH/NS), as part of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival (per Steitler 2020: 327, likely days 25/26, but in any case in Tauriša in the temple of the ^{d}LAMMA of Tauriša).

The previous sparse discussion in the literature totally misrepresents the facts: per Laroche (1947: 72), this divine name is the participle of the Hittite verb *āššiya-*, thus 'beloved', but the latter could only be †^{d}*Āššiyant-*. Haas (1994: 309) in fact falsely cites the wholly unattested †^{d}*Aššiyant-* „Geliebte", with an aberrant comparison with Hurrian *Allani*. Starke (1990: 453–454) wrongly posits a stem †^{d}*Āšši-*, claimed to be a deification of the base of CLuw. *āššiwant-* = Hitt. *ašiwant-* 'poor' (though of indeterminate meaning). However, such a stem could only have as its accusative plural †^{d}*Āššinza*. Steitler (2020: 329–331), nonplussed by the determinative ^{d} on a Luwian plural, improbably against all syntactic evidence analyzes ^{d}*Āššiyanza* as a Hittite nominative singular participle used as a stem form!

1. I wish to thank multiple members of the Barcelona audience for their spirited objections to various aspects of the oral presentation of this paper, which identified the weak points requiring much stronger argumentation. Whether this heavily revised and augmented version persuades any doubters or not, it is much the better for their constructive interventions. I am indebted to Andrew Merritt for bringing my attention to the Slavic word for 'riverbank' that matches, in one way or another, the problematic CLuwian *papparkantaimman-*, and to José Virgilio García Trabazo for his assistance with loanwords into Basque. I naturally am solely responsible for the formulations presented here.

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§ 2. *Formal Aspects*

The actual attested forms show unequivocally that the word is a Luwian common gender stem in *-iya-*: Acc Pl ^{d}*A-aš-ši-ya-za KUB* 2.8 v 22; Nom Pl ^{d}*A-aš-ši-ya-zi* in direct object function *KBo* 13.176 RC 4; Dat-Loc Pl ^{d}*A-aš-ši-ya-an-za KUB* 2.8 ii 2, ^{d}*A-aš-ši-ya-za* ibid. i 22 and ii 40. As in Hittite, "nasal reduction" is commonplace in CLuwian in the sequence /-Vnt^{s}(V)/.

This divine name belongs to a well-attested class of Luwian deities of the same shape: ^{d}*Ḫilaššitiya-*, ^{d}*Immaršiya-*, ^{d}*Kināliya-*, ^{d}*Warwaliya-*. Even when the immediate base is less than transparent, these clearly show the appurtenance suffix **-iyo-* plus "individuating" (and substantivizing) **-eh$_2$*.[2] Thus ^{d}*Āššiya-* likewise points to a base **āšš*(*a*)-. *Pace* Steitler, use of the determinative ^{d} with a CLuwian plural is entirely normal: cf. Nom Pl ^{d}*I-it-ma-ri-in-zi KUB* 35.82 i 6 and Dat-Loc Pl ^{d}*I-it-ma-ri-an-za KUB* 6.37 Ro 16.17.[3]

§ 3. *Functional Profile*

The nature of the ^{d}*Āššiya-* deities is not immediately determinable from context, given their entirely passive role as recipients of drink and food offerings,[4] but their associations are highly consistent: in all occurrences they appear in the company of Ḫašamili and the Storm-god of the forest and in three also of the spring Kuwannaniya. In *KBo* 13.176 RC 3–6 they and the others are explicitly said to belong to the ^{d}LAMMA of Tauriša. Outside of this text and lists of tutelary deities the latter most notably appears in the mythologem of the feast of the Sun-god to which he fails to invite "the great god". ^{d}LAMMA of Tauriša reports to *his father* the Sun-god the unhappiness of the uninvited deity and its consequences (text in Steitler 2017: 388–399).

That the Luwian noun ^{d}*Āššiya-* is derived from the same base as the Hittite medio-passive verb *āššiya-* 'to be dear to' and its far more frequent participle *āšši-*

2. First identified by Hajnal (1994: 152). See further Melchert 2014: 262 and Sasseville 2014/2015.

3. Against the oral presentation of this paper, the Nom Pl ^{d}*I-it-ma-ri-in-zi* shows that the attested Luwian forms are adjectives in *-iya/i-* with "*i*-mutation", but cf. Hittitized ^{d}*Itmariuš* KUB 6.37 obv. 14. These divinized cult vessels appear only in the plural (van Gessel 1998: 208). The base stem in this case may be in *-i-* or *-iya-*.

4. Nor can we tell whether they are gods or goddesses. That they seem to occur only in the plural is at best a very weak indicator of the latter and by no means determining.

yant- 'dear, beloved' seems undeniable. The ambiguity of the appurtenance suffix allows for Luwian *āššiya-* either 'favored, dear, beloved' or 'favoring, bringing well-being'. The former is conceivable only if the referent is ^{d}LAMMA of Tauriša, but the position of plural ^{d}*Āššiya-* in lists among named individual deities argues against this: why should some otherwise unidentified subgroup of dependent deities alone be characterized as 'dear' to him?

That a class of deities would be described as 'dear, beloved' to humans is not credible. For the Hittites gods and humans did not stand in an equal, reciprocal relationship: gods were the source of all favor and well-being, and fortunate humans were the recipients. Per the narrative of Ḫattušili III, Ishtar chose him at her initiative. Likewise, Muwattalli was "recognized, exalted, and favored" by the Storm-god of Lightning (*KUB* 6.45 iii 74–75). As per Gérard (2004), the Empire and Iron Age HLuwian transitive verb *á-za-* 'to favor, love' is used exclusively of gods as subject and humans as object.[5] Finally, deities are asked to protect humans or to turn to them *āššuli* 'for well-being'; Anitta was *āššu-* 'dear' to the Storm-god and was successful due to the latter's favor. I assert that the *Āššiya-* deities are 'ones of good, weal, well-being' in the sense 'bringers of'.[6] For similar reasons the *Ilaliyant-* deities (associated with fate deities) are surely 'gods of desire' in the sense 'who bring one's desires', not 'the ones desired' (by humans). It would have been presumptuous, if not hubristic, for humans to define any gods as 'desired'. We have no reason for doubting that the speakers of Luwian or Lycian shared the same attitude.

§ 4. *Good and Bad as Bestowed by Gods and Received by Humans*

The *Āššiya-* deities are not the only reflex in Luwian of the world view that the gods are the source of good and bad for humans.[7] A frequent topos in the bles-

5. I should explicitly emphasize here that HLuw. *aza-* has no connection to *āššiya-* or *āššā-*^{ri}, *contra* Melchert (1987: 200). As seen by Gérard (2004: 306), the verb is not only transitive but is clearly a verb of seeing, having LITUUS or OCULUS as determinative (facts that cannot be set aside, *pace* Sasseville, eDiAna ID 1309). It thus means 'to have regard for', hence 'to favor', just like CLuw. *mimma-* (for which see Melchert 1988: 218–220).

6. One may compare the almost exclusively agent-noun sense of Hittite and Luwic substantives in **-é-leh₂* to appurtenance adjectives in **-é-lo-* (Sasseville 2014/2015).

7. For Hittite one need cite only *inter alia* the passage from the "Second Plague Prayer" of Muršili II, which describes how the Storm-god first supported his father Šuppiluliuma I against the Egyptians, but then punished him and the Hittites for having violated the treaty that the Storm-god had imposed (§§4–5, KUB 14.8 Ro 13–34; see Singer 2002: 58–59).

sing and curse formulas of Iron Age HLuwian inscriptions is that gods are 'to come well' (/wa:su(wa) awi:-/) or 'to come fatally (lit. for death)' (/wala awi:-/) for various individuals (see Hawkins 2000: 444 and 486 respectively with refs.).

In the Festival for All the Tutelary Deities we find among the many epithets of ^{d}*Āla-* that of *aššattaššiš* (*KUB* 2.1 iii 44). Laroche (1959: 33) correctly compared Lycian AB *ehetehi*/*esetesi*, including the latter as a paired epithet of the Storm-god: *trqq*[*i*]*z*: *esetesi*=[*k*]*e er*[*b*]*besi*=*ke*: (TL 44d, 12–13). Neumann (1984: 90) argued correctly that these epithets must likewise be antithetical ("polar") and cited similar expressions in the Bible, Homer, and elsewhere for the power of a supreme god to bestow good and bad. However, despite offering for *esete-* „Erfolg, Heil, Glück" (adopted in Hajnal 1994: 144), he then added specifically „Sieg", almost certainly influenced by his view that *erbbe-* meant „Niederlage, Mißerfolg", following Laroche. So while confusingly adducing the more general „Unheil, Schaden" for *erbbe-*, he tentatively concluded with „Trqqiz, der Besitzer der Macht über Sieg und Niederlage".[8] I argued in the oral presentation of this paper for the very general 'of good and bad fortune', but the antonymic relationship is hardly as strict as implied, and one must make due allowance for the possibility of a semantic shift in Lycian, the texts for which postdate both Bronze Age CLuwian and Hittite as well as Iron Age Luwian by centuries. A full review of the evidence is called for.

We may begin with the negative member of the opposition. Luwian *≺arpā-* is manifestly 'misfortune, adversity' with Puhvel (1984: 168) and Beal (1999: 50). It cannot mean 'tumult, confusion, strife' or 'strife, war, battle' (Melchert 1993: 30 and 2004: 16) or 'unrest' (Sasseville and Rieken eDiAna ID 2312, 3. Reconstruction). First of all, in the oracular inquiry KUB 5.1 iii 46, 49, and 67 the expression used is *ŠA* MÈ (DUGUD-*un*) *arpan* "(serious/heavy) misfortune in (lit. of) battle" (with Beal 1999: 50–51). Likewise ibid. iii 33: KARAŠ.ḪI.A TA MÈ *arpašāi* "will the troops suffer misfortune by/through battle? (with Beal, loc. cit.). It is clear that *arpa-* is a possible (negative) result of battle, but cannot itself mean 'war' or 'battle'. There is strikingly also no 'Storm-god of war/battle' (†*kururaš*, *zaḫḫa*/*iyaš* ^{d}10/IŠKUR or ^{d}10/IŠKUR ZÈ) anywhere in Hittite sources. Nor any †*arpaš*/*arpaššiš* ^{d}10/IŠKUR.[9]

8. Then in turn undercutting this with a citation of Hitt. *parā ḫandandatar* 'predestination, providence', which he interprets as having a general sense „das göttliche Walten". Neumann's wavering has led to his being cited as support for quite divergent interpretations of both *es*/*hete-* and *erbbe-*.

9. There is a *takšulaš* ^{d}10/IŠKUR, a minor avatar of the Storm-god attested only in the OH monthly festival (van Gessel 1998: 778 and 659). There is no evidence for a Luwian counterpart.

Furthermore, the same verb *arpaša-* is also used to describe how things went badly for Ḫattušili III when out of envy Arma-Tarḫunta and others made false accusations against him before his brother, King Muwattalli (text in Otten 1981: 6–7). The context is of a court case, and there is no reference whatsoever to battle or war. Since Ḫattušili III was in fact proven innocent, a sense 'to suffer defeat' and hence 'defeat' for the Luwian noun is also excluded (*contra HW*^{2} 1.339 et al.). Finally, *pace* Sasseville and Rieken, loc. cit., the figurative use of *arpa-* and *arpaša-* is in fact undoubtedly derived from the concrete sense of the base **arp-* 'to be steep, slanted, bent' (in *arpatta-* 'steep slope', *arpuwant-* 'steep', but also 'adverse' of omens, etc.). For the range of meanings, one need only compare German *schief*. The expression in Ḫattušili III's "Apology" may be idiomatically rendered as "Es ging mir schief". Nowhere is any explicit agent present, though the world view of the Hittites and Luwians cited above naturally implies that both good and bad events are the result of divine will.

In the face of this unequivocal evidence for Luwian *arpa-* one must critically reexamine that for Lycian *erbbe-*. One must first be clear that not a single attestation of the noun occurs in a passage where there is a consensus on the syntactic or semantic interpretation of the context. One need merely read and compare the works cited in Sasseville eDiAna ID 2312 under the sections 3. Meaning. Nevertheless, despite serious disagreement about identifying the subject(s) and object(s), there is unanimity that TL 44a, 46–48 (and surrounding text) is describing military actions, and the same is reasonably sure for TL 44b, 19. Thus for the issue at hand the motivation for the renderings of *qastte…erbbedi* and *erbbedi tubei*[*te*] as "crushed…in battle" and "defeated in battle" by Sasseville (2020: 234, 418) and similar interpretations by others is clear enough. We have seen that 'battle' is quite impossible for the CLuwian cognate, but since the actions described in the Lycian were committed by identifiable human agents, describing them as happening due to 'misfortune' sounds odd. However, a more concrete "destroyed through/struck with disaster/ruin(ation)" would fit, since disaster/ruin(ation) is often brought by human actions, including military ones.

The difficulty is that I and others have without justification extrapolated a sense 'battle' for Lycian *erbbe-* from the military contexts to others where there is no basis for such. *Pace* Sasseville, eDiAna ID 2312, 1.3. Meaning, and the authors cited (including me), there is *no* evidence to suggest a military context in TL 44b,

There is conversely a *ŠA Labarna zaḫḫiyaš* ^{d}LAMMA 'tutelary deity of battle of the L.' (van Gessel 1998: 695), but this clearly is a personal deity of the Hittite king. No evidence suggests paired avatars of 'war' and 'peace' for the Storm-god or any other deity.

35. To the extent that surrounding vocabulary is interpretable, we are facing rather building activities (*urubli*[*j*]*edi*, *qehñ*[*n*]*i m̃me*, *arawazija*).[10] There is also no obvious military context in TL 29, 3–4:

se ñtemlẽ: *qastte teli*: *erbbe*: *me=ti ñtẽmlẽ*: *przze*: *astte* [...] *se*(*j*)*=ahata*: *astte*:

As we will see below, the last clause cannot possibly mean "and made peace" (*contra* Sasseville 2020: 453). It is also far from obvious that Ikuwe, the author of the text, having described his building a burial chamber for his immediate family, would then with no transition say that he had committed the desecratory act of destroying a sanctuary "in battles". It seems rather more likely that he says that he replaced a sanctuary that had been "smashed to ruins" or similar.[11]

As properly emphasized by Schürr (2012: 125), the interpretation of *ahata* and related forms as 'peace' is entirely based on the false sense 'war' attributed to *erbbe-* (partly through misguided efforts of mine). I must further agree with him that a reference to a 'precinct of peace' and 'gods of peace' in TL 44b, 48–49 (thus Eichner 2005: 32) seems incongruous in an inscription glorifying the military exploits of a dynast.[12] There is a further reason for rejecting 'peace' for *ahata* in TL

10. The totally arbitrary emendatory insertion of <*tebe/ẽti*> in TL 44b, 36 by Schürr (2012: 114) has no justification. The unclear status of the immediately preceding word in the sequence *ñta*[.]°*m̃mezezi*: *erbbi*: *sttãti*: *teli*: precludes any definitive interpretation of *erbbi*. But *if m̃mezezi* is complete, then a relationship to *m̃me/i-* 'building' or similar (Melchert 2004: 42, Sasseville eDiAna ID 245) would allow for: "where the buildings/installations stand *in ruin*". But I must emphasize the very tentative status of such an analysis. I cite it merely to show that a viable alternative exists to the contextually entirely unsupported military interpretation.

11. I do not mean to claim that any Lycian verb showing the historically medio-passive preterite endings may be interpreted as a synchronic passive, but an impersonal "one had smashed/destroyed" would surely have been expressed as *qastte*. It would be clear enough to readers that Ikuwe had not committed such a sacrilege. I do not see how Sasseville, loc. cit., derives a sense "restored" from *przze astte*. The word *przze/i-* means fundamentally 'front-, foremost', but as suggested in Melchert 2004: 52, in this context one should also consider "prior ones", i.e., "forebears". The reflexive supports this interpretation. In any case, the second clause refers to Ikuwe having built a new sanctuary. We will return to the sense of the third clause below.

12. Nor can I accept the conclusion of Réveilhac (forthcoming, section 7) that first-millennium personal names in Greek transmission with second members in °ασητας/°ασατης/°ασατας argue for a sense 'peace'. First, it is hardly credible that such a variety of deities as Ea, the Moon-god Arma, the god(s) of the land Mira, various gods of might (*muwa-*), 'all (the gods)' (*puna-*) and still others appearing as first members would all be characterized as possessors or sources of peace. Second, such an association is decidedly implausible for first-member reflexes of 'armed one' or '(divine) weapon' (*warpalla*/*i-*) and the likely **tubar*(*i*)- 'comrade in arms, (divine) ally' (see for all these Réveilhac, section 5). I assert that it is far more plausible to suppose possessive compounds 'having the

29, 4 cited above. While 'to make peace' may seem natural to speakers of modern European languages, all direct objects of the Lycian verb *a*(*i*)- in clear contexts refer to concrete entities: physical objects (*adaije*-'sum of *ade*-', *a*/*erawazije*- 'monument', *hrm̃ma*- 'temenos', *isb*/*pazije*- 'bench', *qla*- 'precinct', *tama*- 'building', *sttala*- 'stele', *tukedri*- 'statue', *xupa*- 'grave'), or actions and their results (*mẽte*- 'harm', *tese*- 'oath', *xtta*- and *xtbba*- 'violence', *zum̃ma*/*e*- 'damage (or sim.)').[13] The parallelism with *s=ed=de ahata ha*[*de*/*ẽ*] *ẽnẽ* "he laid down/deposited *ahata*" in TL 44b, 47–48 likewise confirms a concrete sense for *ahata*: *astte*: in TL 29, 4.[14]

I concede at once that these facts argue equally against an abstract sense 'good fortune' for *ahata*, and the passages in TL 29, 3–4 and TL 44b, 47–49 in fact preclude it, since in both passages the agent of the action "he made *ahata*" is a human. However, this in no way refutes the idea that the reference is not to 'peace', but to '(what is) good'. The Hittites, as well as Luwian speakers of both the Bronze and Iron Age, regarded the gods as those "from whom all blessings flow", but they likewise firmly believed in and practiced the principle of *dō ut dēs*. In Iron Age Luwian the synonymous /wa:su-/ and its derivatives refer not only to the gods bringing weal/well-being to humans, but also to the latter reciprocating. In ŞIRZI, §2 (8thC, text in Hawkins 2000: 323) we find:

|*wa*/*i-ta* |*á-mi-i-na* DOMINUS-*ni-na i-mára*/*i* (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-na* ("LIGNUM")*ha-zi-wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-ti* |*u-sa-nu-sa-ha*
"I blessed my lord, Runtiya of the Open Country, with ritual."

The preceding context makes clear that the referents of "I blessed my lords well" in KULULU 4, §10 are also the gods (text in Hawkins 2000: 445).[15]

favor/blessing of X'. Likewise, Lycian *Ehetẽme*- is '(divinely) favored, blessed', not 'of (a/the god/goddess of) peace'.

13. It is also used twice in N320 (under Greek influence?) in the factitive sense 'to make X Y': of making someone a priest (lines 8–11) and of making objects sacred to gods (lines 22–25).

14. Restoration of *ha*[*de*/*ẽ*] after Schürr (2012: 124). Note that the geminate in *sedde* requires the presence of both a proleptic pronoun *and* the local particle *-de*. The latter confirms that the action is performed on something concrete.

15. Overly influenced by my having heard the English verb used of humans overwhelmingly in the context of a benediction, I find the translations given odd, but this very narrow view of the word's meaning is a matter of my idiolect. For the use of 'to bless' in the sense of 'to confer good (things) on', including humans as subjects and gifts as direct object, see *OED* s.v. III 7, especially III 7.b.

I therefore see no difficulty in supposing that likewise Lycian *ehete-* (for this as the likely stem see below) and its cognate **āššatta-* in CLuwian mean fundamentally 'good (thing)', with a range of usage similar to that of the English noun 'good' (for which see *OED* "good, adj., n., adv., int."). This may have included 'well-being', but I know of no attestation that proves this. It is arguably fitting for *xzzãtã=pe*: *trqqi*[*z*]: [*t*]*rmmile*: *zmpde eseti xerigazñ* in the Milyan (Lycian B) passage in TL 44d, 44–45. If Schürr (1997: 134 and 2012: 125) is correct in identifying *xzzãta-* as Xanthos, then we may suppose "The Storm-god (has) _ed the Xanthos of Keriga to/for the Lycians in well-being/for (their) good". As usual in Milyan, however, the opacity of most of the lexicon, in this instance that of the verb *zmpde*, leaves this as a mere hypothesis.[16]

We have a much more solid basis for supposing that it refers to something beneficial given by either gods or humans. As per above following Neumann, the paired epithets in *trqq*[*i*]*z*: *esetesi*=[*k*]*e er*[*b*]*besi=ke*: (TL 44d, 12–13) can only be antithetical: "the Storm-god of blessing(s)/good and misfortune". Lycian (A) *ehetehe*/*i-* as an epithet of the gods in *se mahãna*: *ehete*[*he*] in TL 44b, 48–49 also fits well as "and for the gods of blessing(s)/good"—because they are the recipients of the *ahata* offered by a grateful human (presumably Keriga). These 'good things, blessings' are effectively offerings/gifts (an obsolete but attested sense of English 'good', notably including 'God's good'; see *OED* s.v. "good, adj., n., adv., int." III.11): *s=ed=de*: *ahata ha*[*de*/*ẽ*] *ẽnẽ*: *qla=*(*e*)*bi*: *ehetehi*: *se mahãna*: *ehete*[*he*] *arñna*: *tuminehi*: *kerθθi*: *xãkbi*: "And he has laid down/deposited blessings in this precinct of blessings and for the gods of blessing(s) in Xanthos, Tymnessos, Kerθθi (and) Kandyba". I assert that this sense also fits TL 29, 3–4: *me=ti ñtẽmlẽ*: *przze*: *astte* [...] *se*(*j*)*=ahata*: *astte*: "He made himself a sanctuary for the *forebears*, and he made blessings" (for blessings as including quite concrete things bestowed see *OED* s.v. 4.a and 4.b). The use of the pluralactional stem *as-* suggests that these were habitual, as one would expect.[17] The provision in TL 118, 4 *se=ije*: *ahatahi*: *ñtata me ñtepi*: *ta*[*s*]*ñti* […] also likely means "and (there is) therein a chamber for giving/blessing. They shall put in […]", since an upper chamber for burial of the tomb builder and his wife has already been mentioned in the opening lines along

16. For reasons given in note 18, one also cannot entirely exclude "in/for victory". Whether *ahãma-* means 'occupation' or 'victory' is also indeterminate: see Melchert 2004: 2 for references to the equally plausible competing interpretations. The dynasty of Keriga was intrusive to Xanthos, but he also had great military success.

17. The parsing of *ehetehi* in TL 44a.33–34 is not fully clear, but the context is one of sacrifices and rites, so 'of giving, blessing' or similar is appropriate there as well.

with the usual prohibition on burying anyone else in it. If the second chamber were to bury further individuals, this would have been stated, and this provision would have preceded the curse formulas. This interpretation would also explain the unique form of the adjective: it is built directly on the Nom-Acc Pl *ahata*, assuredly attested thus far only in a concrete sense 'good things, blessings'.[18]

We may and should interpret ^{d}*Ālaš aššattaššiš* (*KUB* 2.1 iii 44) similarly as 'Āla of (= who brings) good/weal/blessing(s)'. McMahon (1991: 109) interprets ^{d}*Ālaš āššulaš* (*KUB* 2.1 iii 33) as 'Ala of favor', making it the direct Hittite match for the Luwian, but the use of *āššul* in greeting formulas suggests rather 'well-being', the result for humans. I admit that this may be mere hair-splitting: Āla is in any case a bringer of what is good.

Hajnal (1994: 144) correctly posits as the base the root **h₁es-* 'to be' in the derived sense 'real', 'true', thus 'good' (against Puhvel 1984: 205). Hajnal assumes a common gender stem in **-e/ot-*, but *asata* in TL 29, 4 is not a nominative singular, but nominative-accusative plural and object of *ade*. More likely then is a neuter stem with a secondary suffix **-to-* of the type of HLuw. /istarta-/ 'throne' (Starke 1987: 251 n. 33), CLuw. *ḫuipa*(*ya*)*tta-* 'wickedness, cruelty', *irḫatta-* 'circle', and *šarlātta-* 'exaltation' (see Melchert 1999: 370). The first example is clearly denominative, but the others may be denominative or deverbative (the last from /sarla/i-/ attested in HLuw. SUPER-*la*/*i-* or from the verb *šarl*(*ā*)*i-* 'to exalt'). As we shall see, the same ambiguity applies to CLuw. *āššatta-** = Lycian AB *ehete-/esete-* < **h₁és-o-to-* (the Nom-Acc Pl *ahata* naturally shows regular Lycian umlaut).

18. I do concede that, taken by itself, Neumann's alternative for *qla=*(*e*)*bi ehetehi se mahãna ehetehe* „im Heiligtum(?) hier des Sieges und bei den Göttern des Sieges" (1984: 91) would be entirely appropriate in a public inscription celebrating the military exploits of a dynast. However, the concrete sense of *s=ed=de: ahata ha*[*de*/*ẽ*] *ẽnẽ*: "laid down/deposited victories" would be odd, and I must insist that several contexts do not justify 'defeat' for *erbbe-*. Nor is a 'chamber of victory' likely in TL 118, 4. The complete absence of *ehete-* in *assured* military contexts is also unexpected, if the word meant 'victory'. However, what was stated above regarding the contexts of *erbbe-* applies equally to those for *ehete-* and its adjective. The arguments I have made are probabilistic, not ironclad: only knowledge of what "they shall put in" the chamber in 118, 4 would truly decide the matter, and whether *θurtta-* in TL 29, 2 refers to further family members or to members of a profession. Bronze Age *arpa-* and *arpaša-* are used where 'defeat' is the contextual sense, and the preoccupation of Hittite kings with military success and failure was surely shared by the lesser kings and local rulers of the Iron Age. I do not entirely exclude that high-profile use of both terms in such contexts led to a narrowing in Lycian to 'victory' and 'defeat' (cf. note 15). I insist only that the Bronze Age CLuwian cognates applied far more broadly to 'good' and 'bad'.

§ 5. *Further evidence for* *āšš- *'good' in CLuwian*

The verb *āššā-* is generally taken to be Hittite (Neu 1968: 19, Puhvel 1984: 189, Kloekhorst 2008: 215) and interpreted as 'to be good, dear, favored'. In view of the clear Luwian status of *aššattašši-* the separation from the morphologically parallel CLuw. *≺waššā-* 'to be pleasing' is entirely arbitrary, but the attested context of *āššā-* supports 'to be favorable', not 'to be dear':

KBo 22.126 Ro 4'–6' ?/NS (restored from parallel KUB 59.50 iii 3'–5'):[19]

[… (*maḫḫan* DINGIR.M)]EŠ-*aš antuḫšaš≠a āššantari* […DINGIR.M]EŠ-*aš* ZI-*anza anda QATAMMA* SIG$_5$-*anza ēštu* […*and*]*a*$^{?}$ *QATAMMA āššiyanza ēštu*

"As the [ ] are favorable to gods and humans, may the soul/will of the gods likewise be favorable towards […the king (cf. Ro 3')], and may he likewise be dear [to the gods]."

The fact that the immediate parallel to the *āššā-* clause is the favor of the will of the gods towards someone (almost certainly the king) requires likewise "are favorable" for *āššantari* in this simile.[20] With Oettinger (p. c.) both *āššā-* and *waššā-* are denominative, but the bases are likely **h$_1$és-o-* and **(h$_1$)wés-o-* 'good, favorable' (for the type see Nussbaum 2017a: 246), vs. expected **(h$_1$)us-ó-* 'idem', the base of factitive *ušā-* 'to make prosper' (Rieken eDiAna ID 3117) and of the derivatives of **ušant-* 'bountiful, prospering' (Starke 1990: 377). That base is likely attested in the substantivized neuter *≺u-ša-an* 'bounty' in KUB 21.15 iv 3 beside *miyatar* 'abundance'. Čop's Law explains the root vocalism and consonantism of the base adjectives **h$_1$és-o-* and **(h$_1$)wés-o-*, whose vocalism and consonantism are carried over to the medio-passive verbs accented on the suffix: (< merely virtual

19. KUB 59.50 directly follows KBo 22.126 and contains the same comparison with a missing singular comparandum and hence *āššāri* in the first clause.

20. The fact that the simile with *waššā-* points rather to 'may be dear to' (KUB 17.12 iii 13–15, text in Neu 1968: 192) makes it likely that the comparison to some concrete object that is 'good, beneficial' in the view of humans (and thus also their anthropomorphic gods) could be employed to illustrate either aspect of the 'favorable towards'/'dear to' relationship, just like Hitt. *āššu-*. See also Yakubovich 2002: 197–9 on the variable sense of derivatives of /wass-/ in HLuwian (but his arguments for this possibly reflecting a difference in diathesis are outdated).

**h₁es-ó-* and **(h₁)wes-ó-*). Note that for 'to be dear (to)' this passage uses the medio-passive of *āššiya-*.[21]

The incomplete Nom-Acc Sg Nt ˹*a*˺*-aš-šu-wa-al* in KUB 35.48 iii 18 supports its restoration also in the following:

KUB 35.108(+)35.87 iv 21'–23' (join per Rieken and Sasseville 2019: 525–6, but restorations and interpretation are mine):

ḪUR.SAG.ḪI.A-*in-zi ḫu-wa-al-pa-*[*ni*ʔ*-in*ʔ*-z*]*i* KI.MIN[1] *ḫa-a-pí-iš Ma-a-la-aš a-aš-š*[*u-wa*ʔ*-l*]*i*ʔ*-iš ar-ú-wa-a-li-iš* [*p*]*a*ʔ*-pár-kán-ta-a-im-ma* [--]

"The humpbacked mountains likewise. The beneficent Mala elevated with respect to its banks (likewise)."[22]

Against Rieken and Sasseville, loc. cit., all the other natural phenomena in the passage are *nouns*. Thus, I assume likewise 'mountains' with 'humpbacked' as an epithet (the precise form of the adjective is uncertain). The space between the two fragments also seems too large to restore just *a-aš-*[*šu*]*-*˹*ú*˺*-i-iš*. An adjective in *-ali-* is supported by ˹*a*˺*-aš-šu-wa-al* and following *ar-ú-wa-a-li-iš*. The word *paparkantaimma* is Nom-Acc Pl of an *n*-stem noun, an accusative of respect depending on *aruwāliš*, just like MUŠ-*iš ša-kal-da-am-ma* ibid. iv 19'. The reference is to the annual enriching seasonal flooding of the Euphrates.

The morphology of *āššuwāli-* is in strict terms ambiguous, given the presence in Luwian of both denominal possessive *-wali-* and a denominal *-ali-* that *inter alia* extends *u*-stem adjectives: *aru*(*w*)*ali-* 'elevated' cited above, *ḫuitwali-* 'alive' based on **ḫuitu-* = Hitt. *ḫuišu-*, and probably **ḫapa*(*n*)*zuwali-* 'obedient, loyal' seen in Hitt. *ḫapazuwalanni* 'in obedience'. But the likelihood that the base of an adjective

21. The Luwian status of the verb *āššā-* means that the noun *āšša/ātta-** may be denominal to the same base **āšša-* like the verb or deverbal to the latter. Lack of plene spelling of the first two vowels in *aššattaššiš* means nothing in a hapax.

22. The context demands '(river)bank' for *paparkantaimman-*, which may be analyzed as a neuter *men*-stem to an adjective derived from a reduplicated base noun **paparkant-* 'idem', which the derivative has likely replaced synchronically. A semantically plausible derivation from **bherĝʰ-* 'high' is hard to reconcile with loss or assimilation of the dorsal stop in *parraya*/*i-*, the attested CLuwian word for 'high'. The ultimate base **park*(*a*)*-* is a striking match for OCS *brěgъ* 'bank, shore, steep slope' and Slavic cognates, whose putative derivation from **bherĝʰ-o-* to **bherĝʰ-* 'high' presents similar problems (Derksen 2008: 37). One must either assume a suspiciously coincidental independent "Gutturalwechsel" or give up the respective derivations and posit a separate **bhergʰ-o-* 'riverbank'. For such an Anatolian-Slavic isogloss cf. Hitt. *dampu-* = OCS *tǫpъ* 'dull, blunt'.

in *-wali-* would be a thematic **h₁és-o-* or perhaps **h₁és-eh₂* (see Nussbaum 2017b: 241–245) argues against this alternative: cf. without deletion of the thematic vowel *taraššawali-* 'litigious' (or similar), almost certainly to a substantivized *-ašša/i-* adjective, and even CLuw. *zunauli-* 'hound master, hunter' and unsyncopated HLuw. /tˢunawali-/ 'idem', where the awkward sequence /-nw-/ was avoided by a "thematization" of the *n*-stem /tˢun-/.[23] Certainty is not achievable, but an extended *āššu*(*w*)*-āli-* like the others cited above seems more likely (the *hapax legomena a-aš-šu-u-ut-t*[*i*(-)] in *KUB* 35.100 Vo 3 and *a-aš-šu-ya-an-za* at *KBo* 39.179:5 obviously have no probative value). Finally, note that the alternative reading *āš*[*šuw*]*īš* to an extended *āššuw-iya*/*i-* would still assure a CLuwian base **āššu-*.

§ 6. *Hittite* āššu-

The clear presence of the root **h₁es-* in the sense 'good' in Luwian and the very likely existence of an adjective **āššu-* inevitably recall the extremely vexed issue of Hittite *āššu-* 'good'. No extant analysis has been able to provide a plausible account of either the root vocalism or geminate sibilant in native Hittite terms. Discussion is not required, and mere references will suffice: Eichner 1973: 54, Puhvel 1980, Weitenberg 1984: 96–97, Melchert 1994: 302–303, Kloekhorst 2008: 223–224. For further attempts see the references in Tischler 1983: 88–89 and Puhvel 1984: 204. While they are recessive, it is assured that Luwian had ablauting *u*-stem adjectives: cf. *mannu-*, *mannaw-* 'virile, fecundating' (sense with Rieken 2021: 467–468, but with a false denial, ibid. 468–469, of the ablauting adjective). Nothing precludes a prehistoric loanword into Hittite: the Luwian phonology is impeccable with Čop's Law: **h₁ésu-*, **h₁és-ow-* > *āššu-*, *āššaw-*. The mediopassive verb *āššiya-* 'to be dear, beloved' could also be a loanword (a Luwian factitive to the adjective **āššiya*/*i-*, the base of ^{d}*Āššiya-*) or an inner-Hittite creation.

Borrowing of such a basic item of vocabulary is manifestly exceptional, but it does occur. By one account Basque *on* 'good, goods' reflects Latin *bonus*, *bonum* (Agud and Tovar 1989–1995: 7.979). This derivation is by no means assured, but Basque *arbole* and *arbola* 'tree' as based on Latin *arbor* seems secure (Agud and Tovar 1989–1995: 1.908).[24] Such parallels merely permit and in no way prove the same for the very different circumstances of Luwo–Hittite contact. I can only point to other Luwian loanwords in the moral sphere: *nū*(*t*)- 'approval' and *tummantiya-*

23. There is also no deletion of the stem vowel in *maraḫšiwali-* 'stained, specked' or similar, for which cf. "Hittite" *mariḫši-* and variants (Puhvel 2004: 72).

24. Though a native word *zuhaitz* has now supplanted it (José Virgilio García Trabazo, p. c.).

'obedience' (with Rieken 2006: 284–297, against Kassian and Yakubovich 2007: 446–447). Likewise, clearly borrowed from Luwian is (𒀸)*tapar-*/*tapariya-* 'to rule, govern', regardless of how one etymologizes it. As Norbert Oettinger has suggested to me (p. c.), the native Hittite word for 'good' may be *lazzi-*, which is scarcely attested (once in the Nom Sg Com *lazziš* in KUB 31.143a iii 2, OH/OS), while the derived verb *lazziya-* 'to rectify' (active), 'to be good, favorable' (medio-passive) is well attested throughout the history of Hittite.[25] This discrepancy may well reflect entirely internal developments, but it is also characteristic of partial lexical replacement due to borrowing. The English verb 'to wield' (exercise control of) once had a matching noun 'wield', effectively non-existent in Modern English, supplanted by 'control', 'power', 'dominion' (all loanwords). The connection lives on only in that the three borrowed nouns are among the common direct objects that one wields. The most serious problem for the claim that Hittite *āššu-* 'good' is a loanword from Luwian is the verb *aš*(*ša*)*nu-*, which with Puhvel (1984: 192 and 205) definitely is fundamentally 'to make good' (against *HW²* 1.383 and Kloekhorst 2008: 217–218).[26] The very broad range of its attested usage presupposes a thorough integration into the language that in turn suggests a very early loan. I obviously cannot adequately treat here the issues of its derivation or semantics.

§ 7. *Conclusion*

I believe that I have presented strong evidence that the *Āššiya-* deities are merely one of an entire set of reflexes of a root **āšš-* 'good' in Luwian and in Lycian (whatever the synchronic sense may be in the latter): *āššā-* 'be good, favorable', *āššatta-** 'good, blessing', ^{d}*Āššiya-* 'bearer(s) of good/blessing', *āššuwali-* 'beneficent'. The claim in the preceding section that Hittite *āššu-* 'good' and all its

25. The suggestion of Kloekhorst (2008: 523) that the sparse attestation of *lazzi-* is due to use of SIG_5 to spell it is improbable. There is no evidence anywhere for an *i*-stem adjective †SIG_5-*i-*. Whether the military rank $^{LÚ}SIG_5$-*i-* represents a substantivization of *lazzi-* is unknowable (see for the word Beal 1992: 509–513). All other forms spelled with SIG_5 in OH/OS, MH/MS and NH as well as NS copies represent forms of the derived verb *lazziya-* or other verbal stems such as *lazziēšš-** or *lazziyaḫḫ-*. The frequent adverb *lazzin*/SIG_5-*in* 'well' is a lexicalized form of the syncopated Nom-Acc Sg Nt participle *lazziyan* (see Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 32). It patently cannot be a neuter form of the *i*-stem *lazzi-*.

26. However, the sense with 'gods' as object is not 'to propitiate' (Puhvel 1984: 192), but rather 'to benefit, bless, treat well', entirely like HLuw. /usnu-/ cited above.

derivatives reflect a prehistoric loan from Luwian remains merely an unverified and likely unverifiable hypothesis.

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Good gods and evil gods: the role of Hittite deities through their epithets[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Hittite cuneiform texts document different kinds of divine epithets such as laudatory epithets, those that define the geographical area of a deity, or epithets describing the role of the deity in a positive or negative way. For the purpose of this contribution, I have chosen to examine this latter group and, more specifically, the negative epithets, which are far less common than other kind of divine names. Thus, the aim of this study is to analyze these divine epithets in context with the attempt to answer several questions: 1. who are these deities? 2. why are they called in a negative way? 3. what are their functions? and 4. how to deal with their negative influence?

To establish the list of negative epithets that are documented in Hittite texts, I used the work of B. H. L. van Gessel,[2] that can now be complemented with the database of M. Cammarosano.[3] I have excluded from my research Hurrian and Hattian epithets because of the translation problems, and I have focused on those

1. This research has been possible thanks to a postdoctoral contract at the Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic (IPOA) of the University of Barcelona (modality 1. Margarita Salas), funded by the Ministerio de Universidades (Spanish government) and the Next Generation (EU). All the abbreviations used here can be found in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* L–N, xv–xxx, P, vii–xxix and Š, vii–viii.

2. Van Gessel (1998 and 2001).

3. laman.hittites.org (last time checked 19/01/2024).

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epithets whose negative connotation can be established without a doubt. The results can be summarized in the following chart:

Epithet		**Deity**
Evil	HUL / *huwappa-*	DINGIR(MEŠ) ^{D}GULša-goddess[4] ^{D}Wišuriyant ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI (divine Seven)
Terrible/ Terrifying	*hatuga-*	DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI (divine Seven)
Vengeful	*šarkiwali-*	*nakkiu-*/*nakkiwa-*
Bloody	*išharwant-*	^{D}U.GUR

Table 1: Negative epithets and associated deities.

As the vengeful *nakkiu-* and the bloody god U.GUR have been recently studied by A. Mouton[5] in the context of the *Luwili* project,[6] I will focus on the deities qualified as "evil" and "terrifying" and, more precisely, on the goddess Wišuriyant, the goddess GULša and the divine Seven.

4. For the logographic reading of this divine name, cf. Waal (2014 and 2019). Against it, cf. Archi (2013: 18), Yakubovich (2014) and Melchert (2016).

5. Mouton (2020).

6. "Luwili: Luwian Religious Discourse Between Anatolia and Syria" (ANR-17-FRAL-0007-01/YA 472/2–1), which is a Franco-German research project funded by the ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche) and the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), co-directed by Alice Mouton and Ilya Yakubovich.

§ 2. *The goddess Wišuriyant, the evil woman*

§ 2.1. *The ritual for Wišuriyant*

The goddess Wišuriyant is called "the evil woman" (*huwappa-* MUNUS) in the ritual text classified under the CTH 396.1.1.[7] This text is preserved in a single-column tablet dated as Middle Hittite.[8] Unfortunately, the exact reason for performing this ritual cannot be established because of the fragmentary state of the *incipit*, that says:[9]

"Thus (speaks) Hatiya, woman of the town Kanzapida: Whe[n] there is [… for a person, I bring an offering] (for) the ritual [of] Wišuriyant. I take this: three warm breads of half *ŠĀTU*, one jug of beer, one pitcher of wine, one pitcher of beer, one wicker[work] table […]"[10]

Although the colophon of the text is complete, it is an abbreviated version of the *incipit* that does not offer more information:

"One tablet. Finished. Word of Hatiya, woman of the town Kanzapida. When I bring an offering to Wišuriyant for a person".[11]

The steps of the ritual can be summarized as follows: first, the ritual expert carries the goddess (i.e. her divine representation) to the riverbank, pitches a tent and washes Wišuriyant uttering the following incantation (§2):[12]

"Herewith I have purified you. I have cleansed you d[ow]n. You, Wišuriyant, give back to the ritu[al] patron life, wellness, str[e]nght, long years, eye s[igh]t, power and (the hand) high raised!"[13]

7. For an edition of this text, cf. Carruba (1966) and Chrzanowska (2012).

8. S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus).

9. All the transcriptions and translations quoted in this paper come from my personal collation of the tablets' photographs (available in the Hethitologie Portal Mainz; www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php) and, thus, may differ from other authors' editions.

10. *UM-MA* ^{f}*Ha-ti-ya* MUNUS ^{URU}*Kán-za-*⌜*pí*⌝*-da ma-a-a*[*n an-tu-uh-ši* …] *ki-ša-ri nu* SÍSKUR ^{D}*Ú-i-*⌜*šu*⌝*-ri-ya-an-da-*[*aš ši-pa-an-dah-hi*] *nu ki-i da-ah-hi* 3 NINDA *a-a-*⌜*an*⌝ *ŠA* ½ *ŠA-A-TI* […] 1 DUG KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB*$^{(word\ over\ er.)}$ GEŠTIN$^{(word\ over\ er.)}$ 1 ^{DUG}⌜*KU-KU-UB*⌝ KAŠ 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.K[ID …] (KBo 15.25+ obv. 1–4).

11. DUB.1.KAM *QA-TI A-WA-AT* ^{f}*Ha-ti-ya* MUNUS ^{URU}*Kán-za-pí-da ma-a-an an-tu-uh-ši* ^{D}*Ú-i-šu-u-ri-an-da-an ši-pa-an-dah-hi* (KBo 15.25+ rev. 30–34).

12. KBo 15.25+ obv. 5–8.

The fact that the goddess is asked to "give back" (EGIR-*pa pai*-) all these positive things to the ritual patron seems to indicate that she is held responsible for the problem affecting the patient. After the washing of the deity, the ritual expert presents bread offerings to her and pronounces another incantation (§3):[14]

"Mighty deity, you shall eat! May [the rivers] be [b]ridged […]! May the valleys […]! May the greenery of the mountains (be) taken down […]!"[15]

Then, the ritual expert takes a fish, puts oil bread into his mouth and releases it in the watercourse again saying:[16]

"Go […] to the town, to the Šuppina mountain and to the Zippina river! Carry th[is …] to Wišuriyant!"[17]

As many scholars have noted, [18] the first of these two incantations has a parallel in the text of the invocation ritual CTH 483,[19] where a similar incantation aims to facilitate the path to the deities that are been invoked.

"Male cedar gods, herewith I have spread the trails for you with a kerchief of the *kušiši*-clothe, I have spread for you barley porridge and fine oil. Walk over there! May the greenery not ge[t] in the way of your feet! May the stones not im[p]ede your feet! May the mountains be levelled before you! May [*the rivers*] be bridged!"[20]

13. *ka-ʿa-šaˀ-*[*wa*]*-at-ta pár-ku-nu-nu-un nu-wa-at-ta k*[*at-t*]*a ša-ap-pí-ša-ra-ʿahˀ-hu-un* [*zi*]*-ga* ^{D}*Ú-i-šu-ri-ya-an-za A-NA* EN.SÍS[KUR] EGIR-*pa* TI-*tar ha-ad-du-la-a-tar in-*[*na*]*-ra-u-wa-tar* MU^{HÁ} GÍD.DA ʿIGIˀ^{HÁ}*-wa<-aš> u*[*š-ki-ya-u-wa-a*]*r* GÚ-*tar ša-ra-a ap-pa-a-tar-ʿraˀ pí-iš-ke* (KBo 15.25+ obv. 8–11).

14. KBo 15.25+ obv. 12–13.

15. *na-ak-ki-i-iš* DINGIR-*LUM zi-ik az-ʿzi-ikˀ-ki-i* [I$_7$*-wa … a*]*r-ʿmiˀ-iz-zi-ya-an-da-ru ha-re-e-eš-ma-wa-kán* […] x-ʿ*ru*ˀ HUR.SAG^{HÁ}*-ma-wa la-ah-hu-ur-nu-uz-zi kat-ta ap-pa-an-du* (KBo 15.25+ obv. 13–15).

16. KBo 15.25+ obv. 16–17.

17. [*i*]-ʿ*itˀ-wa*(-)[…] URU-*ri* $^{HUR.SAG}$*Šu-up-pí-ʿinˀ-na* ^{I7}*Zi-ip-pí-ra-ya ʿnuˀ-wa ku-u-u*[*n … -y*]*a/aʾ A-NA* ^{D}*Ú-i-šu-ri-ʿyaˀ-an-ti pé-e-da* (KBo 15.25+ obv. 18–19).

18. Cf., for instance, Hoffner (1994: 154) and García Trabazo (2002: 581 n. 45).

19. For an edition of this text, cf. García Trabazo (2002: 571–595), with previous bibliography.

20. DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*aš ka-a-ša-aš-ma-aš* KASKAL^{MEŠ} ^{TÚG}*ku-ši-ši-ʿya-aš*ˀ ^{TÚG}*ku-re-eš-ni-it iš-pár-hu-un nu-uš-ma-ša-aš* BA.BA.ZA Ì.ʿDÚG.GAˀ *iš-pár-hu-un nu-uš-ša-an a-pí-ya i-ya-ʿad-duˀ-ma-at nu-uš-ma-aš-kán ha-ah-hal A-NA* GÌR^{MEŠ}*-KU-NU le-ʿeˀ ti-i-e-ez-z*[*i*] *nu-uš-ma-aš*

In the case of Wišuriyant's ritual, however, I think that this incantation is not addressed to the deity, who is already there, but to the fish that has to carry the offering to the deity.[21] In the next paragraph (§4), the GULšeš-goddesses and DINGIR.MAH receive bread offerings by means of pits dug in front of the riverbank, and the ritual expert asks them to give blessings to the ritual patron:[22]

"Herewith the ritual patron gave you an offering. You, [GULšeš-goddesses (and) DINGIR.M]AH goddesses, [i]n the fu[ture, give] to the ritual patron life, wellness, [s]treng[ht, long years, ey]e sight, power and (the hand) high raised!"[23]

This time, however, the expression used is "to give in the future" (*INA* EGIR.U$_4$-*mi pai-*) instead of "to give back", contrary to the incantation addressed to Wišuriyant. Then, a fish with oil bread in his mouth is burnt in a hearth in front of the watercourse together with more bread offerings, likely addressed to the GULšeš and DINGIR.MAH goddesses (§5).[24] I think that the role of this fish is, once again, to bring the offerings to the goddesses in the Netherworld through the hearth,[25] as well as to be part of the offerings. Afterwards, the ritual expert offers bread to the Sun-god of heaven and invokes him as follows (§6):[26]

"Herewith I give an offering to Wi[š]uriyant, the evil woman. Y[o]u, Sun-god, shall be witness! (If) later she will somehow hi[de] it, then [y]ou, [Sun-god of] heav[en], shall know it!"[27]

NA$_4$^{HÁ} GÌR^{MEŠ}-*KU-NU le-e* ˹*ta-ma*˺-[*aš*]-˹*ša*˺-*an-z*[*i*] *nu-uš-ma-aš* HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *pé-ra-an ták-ša-at-ni-*˹*ya-an*˺*-ta-ru* [I$_7$$^{HÁ?}$]-*aš-ma-aš pé-ra-an ar-mi-iz-zi-ya-an-ta-ru* (KUB 15.34 i 40–46; MH).

21. Against Collins (2007:221) who considers that "nature prepares for the advent of the deity". About the role of this fish and its comparison with other ritual carriers, cf. Mouton (2014: 569).

22. KBo 15.25+ obv. 20–22.

23. ˹*ka-a*˺-*ša-wa-aš-ma-aš* EN.SÍSKUR SÍSKUR *pa-iš šu-me-ša-wa* [^{D}GUL-*ša-aš* DINGIR.M]AH^{MEŠ} ˹*A-NA*˺ EN.SÍSKUR TI-*tar ha-ad-du-la-a-tar* [*i*]*n-na-ra-u-*[*wa-tar* MU^{HÁ} GÍD.DA IG]I^{HÁ}-*aš uš-ki-ya-u-wa-ar* GÚ-*tar ša-ra-a ap-pa-a-tar-ra* [*I-N*]*A* EGI[R.U$_4$-*mi pí-iš-kat-tén*] (KBo 15.25+ obv. 22–25).

24. KBo 15.25+ obv. 26–31.

25. For more information on fire as a way to connect the human world with the gods' world, see Mouton (2006: 259–261).

26. KBo 15.25+ obv. 32–33.

27. *ka-a-ša-wa A-NA* ^{D}*Ú-*˹*i*˺-[*š*]*u-ri-ya-an-ti hu-wa-ap-pí* MUNUS-*ni* SÍSKUR *pé-eš-ke-mi nu-za z*[*i-i*]*k* ^{D}UTU-*uš ku-ut-ru-wa-aš e-eš ú-iz-zi-at ša-a*[*n-na-i ku-w*]*a-at-qa na*$^{(over\ er.)}$-*at*$^{(over\ er.)}$ EGIR-*an*$^{(word\ over\ er.)}$ [*z*]*i-ik ne-pí-*[*ša-aš* ^{D}UTU-*u*]*š ša-a-ak* (KBo 15.25+ obv. 34–37).

Here, the unreliable nature of the goddess is highlighted not only by the epithet "evil woman", but also by the fact that she needs to be watched by the Sun-god to prevent her from committing fraud with the offerings. Ch. Steitler[28] has studied the role of the Sun-god of heaven as witness in rituals. In his opinion, "the Sun-god was considered an ideal witness because of his all-seeing character."[29] The purpose of this was to assure the ritual's efficacy avoiding any dispute about the execution of the ritual.

Afterwards, the ritual expert places the image of Wišuriyant on a wickerwork table where bread had already been offered to the GULš-goddesses and DINGIR.MAH and bread is offered again to Wišuriyant (§7).[30] Then a palace attendant offers a sheep to the Sun-god of heaven; the liver and heart of the sheep are cooked and offered to the Sun-god upon bread, and beer is libated (§7).[31] Afterwards, they make more bread offerings and libations to the Storm-god, the Tutelary deity (likely) and the GULš-goddesses and DINGIR.MAH (§8),[32] following a drinking rite for the Storm-god, the Sun-god and the Tutelary deity (§9).[33] After this, the bones of the sheep are burnt and the deity is carried to her temple again. At the gate of the temple, the ritual patron bows down in front of her and then she is set up with more bread offerings.[34]

§ 2.2. *The goddess Wišuriyant*

The goddess Wišuriyant is only mentioned in this composition.[35] O. Carruba, the first editor of the text of the ritual for Wišuriyant, suggested that this text was derived from an Akkadian original through Hurrian transmission.[36] However, this hypothesis has been rejected last by J. Miller, who considers this ritual wholly Anatolian.[37] A chthonic nature has been suggested for Wišuriyant because of her association with the GULšeš and DINGIR.MAH goddesses, and because of her

28. Steitler (2017: 341–344).
29. Steitler (2017: 341).
30. KBo 15.25+ rev. 1–4.
31. KBo 15.25+ rev. 5–8.
32. KBo 15.25+ rev. 9–12.
33. KBo 15.25+ rev. 13–17.
34. KBo 15.25+ rev. 18–29.
35. For the attestation of this goddess, cf. van Gessel (1998: 562).
36. Carruba (1966: 25, 27, 56–57). Followed, for instance, by Strauß (2006: 200–201).
37. Miller (2004: 445–447).

ritual being performed at the riverbank, a place that can be associated with the Netherworld.[38]

Finally, Carruba[39] considers that the name of the deity derives from the verb *wešuriya-* "to press, to put under pressure",[40] which could be related to the negative effect that she might have provoked in the patient of the ritual.

§ 3. *The good GULša-goddess vs. the evil GULša-goddess*

§ 3.1. *A ritual against the evil GULša-goddess*

The epithet HUL-*lu-* (hit. *idalu-*) "evil" describes a GULša-goddess in the ritual text classified under the CTH 434.5. This ritual is preserved in two duplicates (KUB 58.108 and KUB 59.58).[41] Despite the tablets' poor state of preservation,[42] the aim of the ritual is almost completely preserved in the fragmentary *incipit*:

"[If] to any [person] the GULša-goddess […] the word of command […]. She[43] performs […] Whatev[er …] she establishes, it will not happen to him. I make offerings to the evil GULša-goddess for him as follows: I will take (her[44]) away (from him)".[45]

The next paragraph (§2) mentions a long list of paraphernalia.[46] In paragraph 3, the description of the ritual starts in a very fragmentary way.[47] The rest of the text is lost until the end of col. iv, where some offerings are described, followed by an incantation pronounced by the Old Woman:

38. Cf., for instance, Haas (1994: 156) and Carruba (1966: 49). For the association of watercourses, and thus, their riverbanks, with the Netherworld, cf. Erbil and Mouton (2012: 60–63) and Arroyo Cambronero (2014: 302–308).

39. Carruba (1966: 49–50).

40. Kloekhorst (2008: 1013–1014).

41. Both NH according to S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus). For a complete edition of this text, cf. Fuscagni (2014).

42. Only 3 paragraphs of col. i (25 lines) and 3 paragraphs of col. iv (22 lines), some of them very fragmentary, are preserved.

43. The ritual expert called "Old Woman".

44. The evil GULša-goddess.

45. […]x *ku-e-*ˀ*da*ˀ*-ni* ^{D}GUL-*š*[*a-* …] *ta-pár-ri-ya-aš me-mi-ya-a*[*š* …] ˀ*a*ˀ*-ni-ya-zi na-at-za-kán ku-it* ˀ*im*ˀ-[*m*(*a*) … (*zi-i*)]*k-ki-iz-zi na-at-ši Ú-UL ki-ik-ki-iš-*ˀ*ta-ri*ˀ [(*nu*)-*u*]*š-ši* HUL-*lu-un* ^{D}GUL-*ša-an kiš-an* BAL-*ah-hi* [EG]IR-*an a-wa-an ar-ha te-eh-hi* (KUB 58.108 i 1–6 with dupl.).

46. KUB 58.108 i 7–17 (with dupl.).

47. KUB 58.108 i 18–25.

"She offers one *:ušandar*[*i*-[48]] fat sheep to the [GUL]ša-goddess. [*She offers*] one sheep to the Sun-god of Heaven. The Old Woman says: "Herewith I have removed the evil GULša-goddess from the [rit]ual [patron …, the one] she, the *:ušandari-* G[ULša-]goddess, created. Herewith I, as an [*:uš*]*andari-* GULša-goddess,[49] have tied [i]t *the*[*re*][50] again. […] him as an *:ušandari-* GULša-goddess […] You, Sun-god of heaven shall be witness!"[51]

In paragraph 5, the ritual patron eats in front of the deity, prepares some cups and walks away, while the tables are brought somewhere.[52] The last paragraph (§6) corresponds to the very fragmentary colophon.[53]

As the *incipit* states, the main objective of the ritual is to take away (*awan arha dai-*) the evil goddess from the ritual patron. In the incantation uttered by the Old Woman, the expression used to describe this action is *awan arha tittanu-*, that means "to remove (someone) from (the place where he is installed)".[54] A close parallel of this can be found in the text of Hebattarakki's ritual for a bewitched person, where the same expression is employed referring to a divine entity related to the bewitchment affecting the patient. The sequence in question is as follows: the Old Woman makes out two figurines of dough, places them on the patient's

48. For the different translations suggested for this word, cf. for instance, the eDiAna Digital Dictionary *sub* ušantara/i- (last time checked 17/01/2024). However, I partially disagree with the eDiAna Digital Dictionary that translate this word as "fertile". I think that, in this text, a more general translation such as "bringing fertility, blessings" would be a better fit, as suggested by some scholars (Melchert 1993: 246; Melchert 2005: 450; Kloekhorst 2008: 929). I thank H. C. Melchert who pointed this out to me during the *1st Workshop "The Gods of Anatolia and their Names"* that took place in Barcelona in May 2023.

49. I follow here the translation suggested by Fuscagni (2014: §4').

50. The reading *a-pé-e*[*z*?] was suggested by García Trabazo and Groddek (2005: 274).

51. *nu-kán* 1 UDU.NIGA *u-ša-an-da-r*[*i-in* ^{D}GUL]-*ši* BAL-*ti* 1 UDU-*ma-kán A-NA* ^{D}UTU AN-*ʼE*ʾ [BAL?-*ti*? *n*]*u* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *me-ma-i ka-a-ša-wa* [*A-NA* EN.SIS]KUR HUL-*lu-un* ^{D}GUL-*ša-an* […*a-wa-an*] *ar-ha ti-it-ta-nu-un* [*nu-wa ku-in*] *ša-am-ni-ya-at :u-ša-an-da-ri-iš* ^{D}G[UL-*ša-aš nu-wa-ra-a*]*n-kán ka-a-ša* EGIR-*pa an-da a-pé-e*[*z*? *:u-š*]*a-an-da-ri-iš* ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš ha-ma-an-ku-un* [*nu-wa*]-*ra-an :u-ša-an-da-ri-iš* ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš šu-*[…]x *ku-ut-ru-wa-aš-ma-za zi-ik* ^{D}UTU AN-*E e-eš* (KUB 58.108 iv 5'–14').

52. [x x x] EN.SISKUR *PA-NI* DINGIR-*LIM e-ez-za-i nu-kán* GAL^{HÁ} [*a-aš-š*]*a-nu-wa-an-zi* GIM-*an-ma-kán* EN.SISKUR GAL^{HÁ} [*a-aš-š*]*a-nu-zi* ʼ*na*ʾ-[*aš a*]*r-*ʼ*ha*ʾ *pa-iz-zi* [x x ^{GI}]^{Š}BANŠUR [x?] *p*[*é-e-d*]*a-an-zi* (KUB 58.108 iv 15'–18').

53. KUB 58.108 iv 19'–22' (with dupl.).

54. HEG (III/I: 385); Kloekhorst (2008: 883).

shoulders, presses a mix of medicinal herbs and dough against the patient and says:[55]

"I have removed Agalmati (from) you. I have expelled Ānnamiluli from your head. I have [e]xtinguished the fire in your head and made it burn in the head of the bewitching person. I have dispelled from you the odor of the dog. I have burned as fumigation the *excrements* of the dog, the flesh of the dog and the bones of the dog. § Now I am pulling (it) out (from) you, throwing it away and throwing it (back) upon the bewitching person, who turned them up (as) evil upon you".[56]

In CTH 434.5, however, the GULša-goddess is not returned to a bewitching person, as seems to be Agalmati. Instead, the Old Woman ties her back to her place,[57] maybe the underworld,[58] to prevent her from coming back to the patient. To do so, the Old Woman acts, following her own words, "as an *:ušandari*-GULša-goddess". The ritual text classified under CTH 323.1[59] may provide a parallel of this. This ritual includes a long mythological narrative, where a deity, likely the Great goddess, says at some point:

"(It is) me (who) [s]peaks the wor[ds] of the deities, so that I invoke him".[60]

Later on, in the detailed description of the ritual procedure, the text states:

"The Old woman utters the conjurations of the "lord of the deity".[61]

55. KUB 24.14 i 1–17 (with dupl. KUB 24.15(+) i 5–16 and KBo 54.13 i 1–9; CTH 397). For an edition of this text, cf. Melzer and Görke (2016).

56. ^{D}*A-gal-ma-ti-in-ta* (dupl. ^{D}*A-kal-ma-ti-in-ta*) *a-wa-an ar-ha* ˹*ti*˺*-it-ta-nu-nu-un* ˹^{D}˺*A-an*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-na*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-mi*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-lu*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-li*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-in-ma-ták-kán* (dupl. ^{D}*A-an-na-lu-mi-in-ma-a*[*d-du*]) SAG.DU-*az a-wa-an ar-ha šu-wa-nu-un A-NA* SAG.DU-*KA-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-an pa-ah-hur* [*k*]*i-iš-ta-nu-nu*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-un na-at-ša-an al-wa-*<*an*>*-*˹*zé*˺*-ni* (dupl. *al-wa-an-z*[*é-ni*]) {*ni*}$^{(er.)}$ UN-˹*ši*˺ SAG.DU-*i wa-ar-nu-nu-un ŠA* UR.GI$_7$*-ma-at-ta wa-ar-šu*$^{(over\ er.)}$*-la-an* ˹*a*˺*-wa-an ar-ha pár-hu-un ŠA* UR.GI$_7$*-ma šal-pa-aš* (dupl. *šal-pa-an*) UZU UR.GI$_7$ ^{UZU}GÌR.PAD$^{(over\ er.)}$.DU UR.GI$_7$*-ya ši-mi-ši-ya-nu-nu-un* (dupl. *ši-me-še-e-nu-*[*un*]) § *nu-uš-du-uš-ša-an i-da-lu-wa-tar ku-iš ša-ra-a pí-ip-pa-aš ki-nu-na-ták-kán ar-ha hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-*˹*iš*˺*-ke-mi na-at ar-ha pé-eš-ši-iš-ke-mi na-at-ša-an ša-ra-a al-wa-an-zé-ni* UN-*ši pé-*˹*eš*˺*-ši-iš-ke-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 18–28; with dupl. KUB 24.15+ i 17–26; CTH 397). For an analysis of this incantation, cf. Puértolas Rubio (2019: 64–65).

57. Cf. the presence of EGIR-*pa*.

58. For the chthonic character of the Fate-deities, cf. Archi (2013).

59. For an edition of this text, cf. Rieken *et al*. (2009).

60. *ú-ga* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-aš ud-*[*da-a-ar me*]*-ma-ah-hi ta-an mu-ga-mi* (VBoT 58 iv 9–10; CTH 323.1).

In a recent paper, Alice Mouton has studied this sequence[62] and has suggested that "in this ritual, the Old Woman impersonates the Great goddess and utters the "words of the deities" which are also called the "conjurations of the 'lord of the deity'", i.e. the practitioner dealing with the deity, namely the Old Woman herself, in my view".[63] To impersonate a deity and reproduce his actions and words would increase the efficiency of the ritual as it would reinforce the ritual expert's legitimacy.[64] The *:ušandari-* GULša-goddess is also present during the ritual, as she receives offerings, likely as a way to ensure her divine help fighting the evil GULša-goddess. The exact nature of the relationship between the two GULša-goddesses is unclear. If the translation of the text suggested above is correct, the *:ušandari-* GULša-goddess seems to be responsible for the creation of the evil one.[65] This could possibly imply that she has some kind of power over her, explaining why the Old Woman impersonates her. However, this remains highly hypothetical as the text does not provide more details.

Finally, the other deity that receives an offering in the preserved part of the text is the Sun-god of heaven, who is invoked as a witness of the ritual.

§ 3.2. *A hostile GULša-goddess?*

Another GULša-goddess seems to be perceived in a negative way in the text classified under CTH 434.4,[66] a very fragmentary ritual text with a mythological narrative.[67] However, this time she is not called "evil", but *:šammi-* "hostile[?], sullen[?]".[68] This GULša-goddess appears for the first time at the end of the preserved part of col. i, where she is mentioned in a long and fragmentary incantation that seems to be addressed to the goddess Kamrušepa:

61. *nu* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *BE-EL* DINGIR-*LIM hu-uk-ma-a-uš hu-uk-zi* (VBoT 58 iv 37–38; CTH 323.1).

62. Mouton (2023: 31–32).

63. Mouton (2023: 32).

64. On this topic, cf. Mouton (2023).

65. For the relation between the GULšeš-deities and the verb *šamnai-/šamniya-* "to create", cf. Archi (2013: 11).

66. NH (S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus)).

67. I thank H. C. Melchert to whom I owe this example of a negative GULša-goddess (personal communication by email 21/05/2023). For an edition of this text, cf. Fuscagni (2015).

68. As Craig Melchert pointed out to me (personal communication by email 21/05/2023), the negative actions of the goddess in this text make preferable this translation suggested by the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* CHD (Š: 118b–119a). For a different opinion, cf. Fuscagni (2015: §11'' n. 7).

"[…] began to speak to [Kamr]ušepa: '[…] you hold heaven […]. He/she holds the lands […]. He/she […]' § '[…]. Why did the queen […] finish […] Speak well of me! […] of me. I carry […]. I [s]ay […] to him/her.' § '[…].[69] […] down to me[70] [… d]own, not in a good way […] alive. ['] § '[…] good […].[71] He/she goes […] the [*host*]*ile* GULša-goddess[72] […] to the GULša-goddess […]'"[73]

The end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii are lost. Then, the text continues as follows:

"[…] in front of […]. 'Then the good […] ancient GULša-goddess, you recognized […]. You [recognized] the courtyard […]. You recognized […]. You recognized the thick breads […'] § [… to the ki]ng (and) the queen, to (their) children, into life […].[74] […] he/she came […] § […] 'Afterwards, to me […]. I *prepared*[75] [the ki]ng (and) the queen […] well-being, *l*[*ife*[76] …]. *Sun-deity*, hasten […] to me!' The Sun-deity [ans]wers [*to him*/*her*]: [*I will be*][77] good to you. 'Look at the ox! It is *stro*[*n*]*g*.[78] Look at the sheep! It will become abundant.[79] From no[w] on, you,[80] do not (be) turned away! Be turned towards the k[in]g, the queen (and their) sons!' § (')Just as the ox *is strong*, may also the progeny [o]f the king (and) the queen *be strong* in the same way! Just as the sheep will become abu[nd]ant,

69. Probably a sentence with the verb in the 1st p. sg. of the preterit.

70. Or maybe "with me".

71. This sentence seems to have a verb in the 3rd p. sg. of the present-future.

72. In accusative.

73. […ᴰ*Kam-r*]*u-še-pí me-mi-iš-ke-u-wa-an da-iš* […] *ne-pí-iš har-ši* […] KURᴴᴬ *har-zi nu-wa* […]-*zi* § […]x MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-wa ku-wa-at* […] *túh-hu-uš-ta-ti nu-wa-ra-aš-ta* […*n*]*u*ˡ(WA)-*wa-mu a-aš-šu me-mi nu-wa-mu* […]x *pé-dah-hi nu-wa-aš-ši* […ᵗ]*e-mi* § […]-˹*un*ʔ˺ *nu-wa-mu-kán kat-ta* […*k*]*at-*˹*ta*˺ *a-aš-šu Ú-UL* […] *hu-iš-wa-an* § […]x-*ša-an* SIGₛ-*an-da-an* […*-z*]*i pa-iz-zi-wa* […*:ša-a*]*m-*˹*mi*˺*-in* ᴰGUL-*ša-an* […]x x ˹ᴰGUL˺*-ša-i* […]x-*wa* […]x (KBo 20.82 i 9'–26').

74. A verb in the 2nd p. pl. of the imperative. This verbal ending is attested, for instance, for the verbs *pe*(*š*)*šiya*/*e*- "to throw, to abandon, to reject" (cf. CHD P: 316ff.) and *uššiya*- "to raise, to lift, to unveil (something hidden)" (cf. HEG IV: 114–115). Nevertheless, it is difficult to suggest a restoration here due to the lack of context.

75. For the translation of this verb, cf. Miller (2013: 384, n. 431) with bibliography.

76. Following Oettinger (2002: 179).

77. This restoration follows Fuscagni (2015).

78. For this translation, cf. HW² (III: 263a) with previous bibliography.

79. In the sense of "covered with wool". For this translation, cf. Fuscagni (2015: §9'') following HW² (III: 263a).

80. The Sun-deity.

may also the years […] of the king, the queen (and their) children be abundant!(') § (')[May] their country be abund[ant] inside in the same way!(') The good [G]ULša-goddess came and she asked Kurwašu (for) the lif[e, …] of the king, the queen (and) of (their) children. She brought it to them. Hen[ceforth], may none contest it […] The word of Kurwašu, the Q[ueen].[81] She looked forward to the GULša-goddess (and said): 'Then, the deities [l]ed the ancient GULša-goddes [*bac*]*k*[82] [to me]. Then, the *hostile* G[ULš]a-goddess came back to me and she placed a burden upon my spirit.' § '(It is) me (who) mak[es] them, the deities, gla[d] again for you. The thick bread of cheese for the Solar deity. A sh[agg]y ram for the Storm-god.' The Solar deity replied to the Queen: 'A thick bread of cheese [for] m[e], a shaggy ra[m] for the Storm-god, and you also bring the [*h*]*ostile* GULša-goddess, (*that of*) *disgrace*![83] […] her/it […] The *ho*[*stile*] GULša-goddes[s[84] …]'"[85]

81. This reading was suggested to me by H. C. Melchert (personal communication by email 21/05/2023). For a different interpretation, cf. Fuscagni (2015: §11'').

82. Following Fuscagni (2015). The PA sign seems very clear in the photograph of the tablet.

83. For this translation of the noun *aša-*, cf. HW² (I: 369b) followed in Ünal (2007: 66). I tentatively interpret this word as a free-standing genitive referring to the GULša-goddess.

84. An accusative is also possible.

85. […]-˹*an*ʔ˺-*za-ta me-na-ah-ha-an-*˹*da*˺ […-*t*]*a*ʔ *nam-ma-wa a-aš-šu-uš* […] *ka-ru-ú-i-li-iš* ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš* […]x *ga-*˹*ne-eš-ta*˺ ˹*nu*ʔ*-za*ʔ˺ *pa-ra-a* ^{É}*hi-la-an* […-*ga-ne-eš*]*-ta* […](-)˹*nu*ʔ˺(-)*ša-al-li ga-ni-eš-ta* […]-*uš* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA^{HÁ} *ga-ni-eš-ta* § […-*NA* LU]GAL MUNUS.LUGAL *A-NA* DUMU^{MEŠ} TI-*an-ni* […-*š*]*i-ya-tén* […]x-*ta-at* […]x-*šu*$^{?(over\ er.)}$ *ú-it* […] § […-*i*]*š*ʔ EGIR-*an-wa-mu* ˹*ka-la*˺-[… LU]GAL MUNUS.LUGAL *ku-un-ku-uš-ke-nu-un a-aš-šu* T[Iʔ*-tar*ʔ …]x ˹*nu-wa-mu*˺ ^{D}˹UTUʔ˺-x[…]x *nu-un-tar-ri-ya* ^{D}UTU-*ša-a*[*š-šiʔ* EGI]R-*pa te-ez-zi* SIG[$_5$-*ah*ʔ*-m*]*i*ʔ *-ma-at-ta* GU$_4$-*un-wa-kán an-da a-ú-*˹*ut-ti*˺ *nu-wa-ra-aš ha-pu-ú-*[*it-t*]*a-ri* UDU-*ma-wa-kán an-da a-ú-ut-ti nu-wa-ra-aš wa-ar-hu-eš-zi* ˹*ki*˺-*n*[*u-n*]*a-wa-kán ar-ha nam-ma le-e ne-e-ya-an-za zi-ik nu-wa-kán A-NA* L[UGA]L MUNUS.LUGAL *A-NA* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *an-da ne-e-ya-an-za e-eš* § *nu* GU$_4$-*uš* ˹*ma-ah-ha*˺-*an ha-pu-it-ta-ri* DUMU-*tar-ra* [*Š*]*A* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *QA-TAM-MA ha-pu-it-ta-ru* UDU-*ma ma-ah-ha-an wa-a*[*r-hu*]-˹*eš*˺-*zi Ù ŠA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *ŠA* DUMU^{MEŠ} MU$^{(over\ er.)}$HÁ$^{(over\ er.)}$-*ŠU-NU* [x x x] *wa-ar-hu-eš-tu* § KUR-*aš-ma-ša-pa an-da QA-TAM-MA wa-ar-*˹*hu*˺-[*eš-tu nu* ^{D}G]UL-*ša-aš a-aš-šu-uš ú-it na-aš-ta ŠA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *ŠA* DUMU^{MEŠ} TI-*ta*[*r …*] ˹^{D}˺*Kur*¹-*wa-šu-i ú-e-ek-ta na-at-ša-ma-aš ú-da-aš na-at na*[*m-ma …*] *le-e ku-iš-ki hu-ul-li-zi* ^{D}*Kur-wa-šu-wa-aš ut-tar* MUN[US.LUGAL-*aš* ^{D}GUL]-*ša-an-kán me-na-ah-ha-an-ta a-uš-ta nam-ma-w*[*a-mu a-ap-p*]*a*ʔ DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ka-ru-ú-i-li-in* ^{D}GUL-*ša-an* [xʔ xʔ *u-w*]*a-te-er nam-ma-wa-mu a-ap-pa :ša-am-mi-iš* ^{D}G[UL-*š*]*a-aš ú-it nu-wa-mu A-NA* ZI-*YA a-ri-im-pa-an* […ʔ] *da-a-iš* § *ú-ug-ga-wa-ru-uš-za-ta a-ap-pa du-uš-g*[*a-x*] DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*uš* ^{D}UTU-*i ŠA* GA.KIN.AG NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA-*ŠU* ^{D}U-*ni-ma*¹ *wa-*[*ar-hu*]*-iš* UDU.NÍTA ^{D}UTU-*uš A-NA* MUNUS.LUGAL *a-ap-pa me-mi-iš-ta am-m*[*u-uk-waʔ*] *ŠA* GA.KIN.AG NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA ^{D}U-*ni-ma wa-ar-hu-iš* ˹UDU˺.N[ÍTA :*š*]*a-*˹*am*˺-*mi-in-na-wa* ^{D}GUL-

Several questions arise from the reading of these passages:

1. Who speaks to Kamrušepa and why?

The incantation is written in the 1st person sg. In my opinion, it is the patient who talks to the goddess, or the ritual expert in his behalf. Very likely, the patient is the Hittite king, as many times during the ritual, blessings for him, the queen and their children are asked. The thing that he carries could be the "evil" that is affecting him, which is often described as a burden.[86] He requests Kamrušepa to "speak well of him", i.e. to intercede for him, most probably before the deities that may be angry with him (about this point see below).

2. Who speaks to the Sun-deity and why?

The Sun-deity appears in col. ii in two different sequences that describe two different dialogues. In the first one, whoever talks to the deity claims to have prepared(?) the royal couple, urges the Sun-deity to come and, once the deity is present, pronounces an incantation seeking the well-being of the royal family through some formulae of analogical magic. This is a depiction of a very common ritual procedure. Thus, the person who invokes the Sun-deity is, most probably, the ritual expert. The role of the Sun-deity as witness in rituals has already been mentioned.[87] However, I think that the reason he is being requested in this passage is different. The fact that he must not be turned away "from now on" means that he was turned away before. Therefore, he would be one of the angry deities that had abandoned the royal family. In the second dialogue, the Sun-deity speaks with "the Queen", which leads to the next question:

3. Who is "the Queen"?

If we do not consider the mentions of the royal family as a whole (i.e. the king, the queen and their children), the queen is clearly mentioned alone in the text

ša-an pé-e-hu-te-ši a-ša-aš nu-wa-ra-an-za-kán du-uš-[…] x x x-˹*an*?*-du*˺*-u*[*š*?(-)…] : ˹*ša*˺-[*am-mi-iš*?] ^{D}GUL-*ša-a*[*š*?…] (KBo 20.82 ii 1–37).

86. About this topic, cf. Marcuson (2016: 363–365). For a parallel, cf. this passage from the text of Allī's ritual against witchcraft: "If a man has treated (ritually) this person, here, he carries that (i.e. the tongues) on (his) back. May he take them back (for himself)! He carries (dupl. "May he carry") that on (his) back". *nu ku-u-un* UN-*an* (dupl. *an-t*[*u-wa-ah-ha-an*]) *ma-a-an* LÚ-*iš i-ya-an har-zi* (dupl. LÚ-*aš i-e-*˹*et*˺) [(*na*)]-*at ka-a-ša iš-ki-ša-az kar-pa-an har-zi ne-za* EGIR-*pa ta*^{1}(ŠA)-*a-ú* (dupl. *da-*˹*a*˺-[*ú*]) [(*na*)]-*at iš-ki-ša-az kar-pa-an har-zi* (dupl. *har-du*) (KBo 12.126+ i 13–15; CTH 402.A; NS; with dupl. KBo 11.12+ i 15–17; CTH 402.D; MS; KBo 52.27+ i 12–14; CTH 402.G; NS).

87. Cf. § 2.1. of the present paper.

twice: in the incantation addressed to Kamrušepa in col. i and talking to the Sun-deity in col. ii. Let us start with the second mention. In his edition of the text, Francesco Fuscagni identifies this queen with the Hittite queen.[88] Craig Melchert, in turn, suggests the restoration of MUN[US.LUGAL-*aš*] in ii 27, as appositional of Kurwašu, thus identifying the queen, who talks to the Sun-deity as the goddess Kurwašu.[89] Although a conversation between a deity and the queen is not impossible,[90] I found Melchert's hypothesis more plausible for two reasons:

– I believe that the speech pronounced by Kurwašu in the previous paragraph, when she talks to the good GULša-goddess, continues until the intervention of the Sun-deity and, thus, the Sun-deity is answering her. According to Fuscagni's interpretation of the sentence: "(It is) me (who) mak[es] them, the deities, gla[d] again for you,"[91] a change of subject is justified by two elements: the paragraph line and the presence of the personal pronoun. Although a paragraph line is usually employed this way, it is not systematically the case. In my opinion, an example of an incantation finishing right after a paragraph line can actually be found in this text: the incantation of analogical magic addressed by the ritual expert to the Sun-deity which begins in the middle of §9'', continues in §10'' and ends at the beginning of §11'', where the next topic (the interaction between the good GULša-goddess and Kurwašu) directly follows the last sentence of the incantation.[92] As for the personal pronoun, it can also be used to emphasize who accomplishes an action. I think that the sentence under discussion can be included among the examples recently studied by Alice Mouton,[93] who identifies a pattern that "consists of designating someone as the author of a ritual action or utterance, usually using one or several independent personal pronouns."[94] Therefore, it would be stressing the agency of the ritual action, that would recall in Kurwašu, and not the change of the subject.

– The Sun-deity asks the queen to bring the hostile(?) GULša-goddess in addition to the offerings. In the previous paragraph, Kurwašu was telling the good GULša-goddess that the hostile(?) one came to her and placed a burden upon her

88. Fuscagni (2015: §12'').

89. Personal communication by email 21/05/2013. For examples of other goddesses called by the epithet MUNUS.LUGAL, cf. van Gessel (2001: 130–131).

90. Cf. the passage of KUB 15.1 (commented below) where the queen Puduhepa speaks with Kurwašu.

91. „Ich werde dich (und) sie für mich wieder erfreuen, die Götter (werde ich erfreuen folgendermaßen)" (Fuscagni 2015: §12'').

92. For a different interpretation, cf. Fuscagni (2015: §11'').

93. Mouton (2023: 18–24).

94. Mouton (2023: 18).

spirit. Therefore, it seems more logical to me that the hostile(?) GULša-goddess is still with Kurwašu rather than with the Hittite queen.

Let us examine now the first appearance of "the queen" in the incantation recorded in col. i., where Kamrušepa is asked why the queen finished something. If this queen is Kurwašu, as suggested, what she has finished doing would have something to do with the patient's suffering. Maybe she has stopped being favorable to him or has put the patient's life in danger somehow, as she is later requested to grant the life of the royal family. Very little is known about Kurwašu.[95] However, she appears in another text also in connection with the king's life. This text records the description of a dream of the queen Puduhepa, where Kurwašu says to the queen:

"(Concerning) the matter of your husband that you have in mind, he will live. I will grant him one hundred years".[96]

Then, Puduhepa answers promising the goddess some specific offerings.[97] Finally, coming back to CTH 434.4, the incantation addressed to Kamrušepa starts with the pair "[…] you (i.e. Kamrušepa) hold heaven […]. He/she holds the lands […]." We may wonder if the queen, that is mentioned very shortly afterwards, is the one who holds the lands. If this assumption is correct, on one hand, it will reinforce the hypothesis of the queen's divine nature, as she would be at the same level as Kamrušepa and, on the other hand, it could point to a chthonic character of Kurwašu. Unfortunately, all this remains highly hypothetical because of the fragmentary state of the text.

4. How many GULšeš-goddesses appear in the text and what is their role?

The text mentions the hostile(?) GULša-goddess, the good GULša-goddes and the ancient GULša-goddess. The identity of the latter is more difficult to ascertain. She appears twice. The first time, at the beginning of col. ii, the text explains that she recognized a list of things. Unfortunately, most of these things are lost in the text's gaps, but the courtyard and some offerings (thick breads) are among the elements recognized by the goddess. The next paragraph is even more fragmentary,

95. Cf. Otten (1980–1983: 374). For the list of attestations, cf. van Gessel (1998: 272).

96. *a-pu-u-un-wa ku-in ŠA* ^{LÚ}*MU-DI-KA* INIM-*an* ZI-*za har-ti nu-wa-ra-aš* TI-*an-za* 1 ME MU.KAM^{HÁ}-*ya-wa-aš-ši pí-ih-hi* (KUB 15.1 iii 8'–11'; CTH 584.1).

97. For an edition of the whole passage, cf. Mouton (2018: 37).

but it states that someone came. The following paragraphs seem to change the topic and the conversation between the ritual expert and the Sun-deity takes place. Although the interpretation of the begging of col. ii remains very difficult, I tend to believe that this ancient GULša-goddess may be the one that is later called "good". It seems possible to me that, before being sent to Kurwašu, the good GULša was called with offerings in order to earn her help. The second time the ancient GULša appears, she is mentioned by Kurwašu, who says to the good GULša: "Then, the deities led the ancient GULša-goddes *back* to me. Then, the *hostile* GULša-goddess came back to me and she placed a burden upon my spirit". This time, I think that the "ancient GULša" is the hostile(?) one.

If my interpretation is correct, the GULšeš-goddesses that take part in the action are only two, the hostile(?) one and the good one. Both are sent to speak to Kurwašu in behalf of others; one bringing bad news that "place a burden" in her spirit and the other begging for Kurwašu's favor towards the royal family.

5. What is the aim of the ritual?: An hypothetical scenario

The aim of the ritual is not indicated in the text, as the *incipit* and the colophon are lost. Nevertheless, besides all the aforementioned, some clues can also be found in the poorly preserved col. iii:

1) The mention of some kind of "evil thing" (*idāluš* […]) in line 11', followed by the passage: "May they stand behind the windows! […] May [*this* p]erson[98] not […]! May none say an [evil] word [*about him*…]!"[99] and the sentence "May they mention the [*good thing*]*s* of the king, the queen [*and* (*their*) *children*]!"[100] in the next paragraph (lines 16'–17').

2) The mention of an "evil person" ([*i*]*dāluš* UN-*aš*) in line 20'.

It seems that the "evil" affecting the patient was provoked by someone (maybe the "evil person") speaking badly of him in the presence of some deities, which has made these deities angry with the patient. Because the Sun-deity and the Storm-god are the deities that Kurwašu is making glad again through offerings, I suggest that

98. Fuscagni (2015: §16''') suggests that the form *antuwahha* could be a vocative. However, as he points out, this form is not attested elsewhere for this noun.

99. […] EGIR AB^{HÁ} *a-ra-an-da-ru* [… *a*]*n-tu-wa-ah-ha*<*-aš*> *le-e* [… *i-da-a-lu*] *ut-tar le-e ku-iš-ki me-ma-i* (KBo 20.82 iii 12'–14').

100. LUGAL *ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL [*ŠA* DUMU$^{MEŠ?}$ *a-aš-šu*$^{?}$ *ut-ta-a-a*]*r*$^{?}$ *me-mi-iš-kán-du* (KBo 20.82 iii 16'–17').

these two gods are the ones angry with the patient.[101] As a result of their anger, they may have sent a GULša-goddess to Kurwašu, maybe to inform her about the misdeeds of the patient. Then, the patient, suffering the consequences of this, asked Kamrušepa to intercede and a good GULša was sent in turn to Kurwašu,[102] who agreed to the petition and gave ritual instructions on how to solve the problem as well. These instructions were then confirmed by the Sun-deity, who added a new request concerning the hostile(?) GULša. The reason why he claims the GULša back is totally obscure to me. Unfortunately, all of this remains highly hypothetical as it cannot be confirmed due to the current state of the tablet.

§ 3.3. *Towards an explanation of the GULšeš-deities' negative role*

The GULšeš-deities are the Deities of Fate and appear mentioned in multiple texts.[103] The only text where they are associated with the epithet "evil" is the aforementioned CTH 434.5. However, in some Hittite texts, they are depicted in a negative way, as we have just seen, for instance, in CTH 434.4. As some scholars have already pointed out, this negative connotation is related to their main function, i.e. to draw human destiny.[104] In CTH 434.5, although the *incipit* is fragmentary, it seems quite clear that the aim of the ritual is to invalidate something negative that has been established by the Fate Deity affecting the ritual patron. In a similar way, in a letter from the queen Puduhepa to Tattamaru, the son-in-law of her sister, Puduhepa says:

"[Y]ou, Tattamaru, [h]a[d] taken my sister's daughter in marriage, (but) the GULša-goddess harmed you and she died on you."[105]

An allusion to a "bad decree of the GULša-goddess"[106] can be found in a ritual fragment classified under CTH 470.14. Finally, in a bilingual text, the Akkadian

101. For another example of a Storm-god and a Sun-deity being angry with the royal family because of someone speaking evil of them in their presence, cf. the text of the ritual against Ziplantawiya's witchcraft (CTH 443; Görke 2013a).

102. A parallel of a ritual where a deity is asked to intercede for the patient in front of the other deities, cf. the text of Ambazzi's ritual (CTH 391; Christiansen 2017).

103. For attestations of these deities, cf. van Gessel (1998: 249–255). For a general overview of the Fate-deities in Hittite Anatolia, cf. Archi 2013.

104. Archi (2013: 7), Yakubovich (2017: 535).

105. [*z*]*i-ik-ka* ^{1}*Ta-at-ta-ma-ru-uš* DUMU.MUNUS NIN-*YA* DAM-*an-ni da-*ˀ*a-an*ˀ [*ha*]*r-t*[*a n*]*u-ut-ta* ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš* HUL-*ah-da na-aš-ták-kán* BA.ÚŠ (KUB 23.85 obv.? 5''–6''; CTH 180; NH). For a complete edition of this letter, cf. Hoffner (2009: 364–365).

106. ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš i-da-a-lu* GUL-*aš-šu-wa-ar* (KUB 43.72 ii 11'; NH).

expression "in the day of your destiny"[107] is translated in Hittite as "When the days of the GULša-goddess befall you".[108] I partially follow here the translation of I. Yakubovich (suggested by C. Melchert),[109] however, I interpret ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš* as a singular due to the fact that, in all the attestations where the GULša-goddess has a negative connotation, she appears in singular.

The association of the Anatolian Fate-deities with evil seems to be restricted to the Indo-European tradition.[110] Actually, I. Yakubovich[111] has studied this aspect of some Indo-European Fate-deities that write or draw the human destiny, and has concluded that: "the comparison between distinct Indo-European traditions suggests that the divine "writers" were prone to undergo a progressive pejoration from destiny gods to angels of death and further to demonic figures."[112] It is difficult to determine to which extent the GULšeš-deities could have been perceived negatively by the Hittites, but it is true that the "evil one" in CTH 434.5 is treated as any other kind of evil and not as a deity that must be appeased, as it was the case for de goddess Wišuriyant. Nevertheless, the evil GULša- is confronted by her positive counterpart, the *:ušandari* GULša-. Similarly, the hostile(?) GULša- is counteracted by the good GULša-. Therefore, the negative character seems to be restricted to only one of the GULšes-deities, whereas the rest of them remains the guarantors of the human well-being.

§ 4. *The evil and terrifying divine Seven*

§ 4.1. *The negative epithets of the divine Seven*

The divine Seven (^{D}INIM.INIM.BI) are called "evil" (*ḫūwappaēš*) in a very fragmentary ritual against an epidemy in the army (CTH 425.5).[113] The passage states:

107. *A*-[*NA*] U$_4$-*MI* [*ŠI-MA*]-*TI-KA*.

108. GIM-*an-ma-ta* ^{D}GUL-*ša-aš* U$_4$.KAM-*uš ti-an-zi* (KBo 12.70 obv. 13'–14'; CTH 316; NH).

109. *Contra* Taracha (2000: 186, n. 89), who translates „Sobald aber dir die Schicksalsgöttinnen die Tage festsetzen." (When the GULša-deities determine your days).

110. For the Hattic and Hurrian Fate-deities, and their differences, cf. Archi (2013). In fact, the names of the Hurrian Fate-deities, Hutena and Hutellura, have been interpreted as deriving from the Hurrian verb *hut*(*e*/*i*)- "to favour", and thus, they are seen as benevolent deities, auguring well (Laroche 1948: 124–126; Haas 1994: 309).

111. Yakubovich (2017).

112. Yakubovich (2014: 282).

113. NH (Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus)). For a complete edition of this text, cf. Fuscagni (2016a).

"[…] sets of divine Seven, evil beings who eat [r]aw [*meat* …]"[114]

The likely allusion to the fact that they are eating raw meat may indicate that they are held responsible for the epidemy, but no further information appears in the text. Nevertheless, they appear in other ritual texts against a plague very likely performing a negative role. This is the case of Dandanku's ritual against a plague in the army (CTH 425.2).[115] The last sentence of the text states: "(Ritual) for Iyarri (and) the divine Seven".[116] During the ritual, the divine Seven receive offerings (§4),[117] and are mentioned together with Iyarri,[118] the god held responsible for the problem, as it is clearly stated in the following incantation addressed to him:

"You, Iyarri, have done evil in this land and in the army. May this donkey carry it! May it bring it into the enemy land!"[119]

In a duplicate of the text of Dandanku's ritual, the divine Seven are called "the Dark deities" (DINGIR^{MEŠ} *mar-wa-a-in-z*[*i*]),[120] an epithet that, in A. Archi's opinion has clearly a negative connotation.[121]

The divine Seven are also mentioned in the text of Uhhanuwa's ritual against a plague (CTH 410).[122] The deity responsible for the epidemy is an unknown deity from an enemy land, as shows the following incantation:

"Whoever (is) the deity of the enemy land (that) has m[a]de this plague."[123]

114. […] *TA-PAL* ^{D}INIM.INIM.BI *ḫu-u-wa-ap-pa-e-eš* […ḫ]*u-u-i-šu ku-i-e-eš* GU$_7$-*kán-zi* (KUB 46.54 obv. 11–12).

115. For an edition of the text, cf. Fuscagni (2016b).

116. [*A-N*]*A* ^{D}*I-ya-ar-ri-ya* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI (KUB 7.54 iv 8'; with dupl. IBoT 4.16+ iv 2'–3').

117. KUB 7.54 ii 20–24 with dupl. IBoT 4.16+ ii 16'–19'.

118. For the association between the god Iyarri and the divine Seven and its possible Mesopotamian origin, cf. Archi (2010: 24).

119. *zi-ik-wa* ^{D}*I-ya-ar-ri-iš ke-e-da-ni* KUR-*e* KARAŠ^{HÁ}-*ya i-da-lu i-ya-at nu-wa-ra-at ka-a-aš* ANŠE *kar-ap-du nu-wa-ra-at I-NA* KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *pé-e-da-a-u* (KUB 7.54 iii 15'-18'; with dupl. IBoT 4.16+ iii$^{!}$ 18'–20').

120. IBoT 4.16+ iii 29. For the translation of this Luwian name, cf. Melchert (1993: 142).

121. Archi (2010: 23), cf. also for the attestations of this epithet for the divine Seven.

122. NH (Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus)). For an edition of this text, cf. Görke (2013b).

123. *ku-iš-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *ki-i* ÚŠ-*an i*-[*y*]*a-an har-zi* (HT 1 ii 24–25).

However, the divine Seven, the Sun-deity and the deity of the path receive an offering each. The role of these deities is not explained in the text. A. Archi has suggested that "here also the Heptad represents adverse forces, whilst the Sun deity is involved possibly as a witness to the sacrifice of appeasement".[124] However, A. M. Polvani states that these deities are somehow involved in the protection of the royal family on a journey.[125] Finally, the divine Seven are also documented in a fragmentary text recording a ritual to be performed when "people, cattle (and) sheep continue to die horribly".[126] In Archi's opinion,[127] they are the deities responsible for the plague as the text mentions "Herewith, to the angry divine Seven […] concerning the plague (…)".[128]

Another negative epithet that is associated with this group of deities is "terrifying" (*hatuga-*). They are qualified this way in the text of a ritual for the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag (CTH 433.2).[129] This text is partially preserved in a four-column tablet dated as Middle Hittite.[130] The ritual is performed by an Old Woman and the beginning and the end of the text are lost. The text describes several rites aiming to purify the deities, as well as the augurs, that had been contaminated by evil words,[131] as the following passage shows:

"The Old Woman takes a small sweet bread, she crumbles it in her own hand and mixes it with sheep fat. She makes it into a fat bread. The Old Woman takes a bit of fat bread with her own hand and places (it) back (in front of) the tutelary deity of the *kurša*- bag. She places fat bread into the augurs' mouths too and speaks as follows: 'Tutelary deity of the *kurša*- bag and divine Seven, § throw away again the evil anger (and) rage! Let the fat bread be placed again in your mouths! Let the fat flow out of your mouths! If some augur has said an evil word in the presence of the deity or (if) someone has made you angry, § let your mouths and (those of) the augurs be entirely wiped with the fat bread!' The Old Woman takes the fat bread

124. Archi (2010: 23).

125. Polvani (2005: 189).

126. DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU GU$_4^{HÁ}$ UDU^{HÁ} KALA-*ga-az ak-kiš-kat-ta-ri* (KUB 17.16 i 4'; CTH 425.4). LNH (Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus)). For a complete edition of this text, cf. Fuscagni (2016c).

127. Archi (2010: 23).

128. *ka-a-ša A-NA* ^{D}INIM.INIM.BI TUKU.TUKU-*aš* x[…] ÚŠ-*ni še-er* (…) (KUB 17.16 i 15'–16').

129. For an edition of this text, cf. Bawanypeck (2008).

130. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus).

131. Cf. Puértolas Rubio (2023: 362–363).

that is laid in front of the tutelary deity of the *kurša*- bag and she throws it into the hearth. They (i.e. the augurs) also take out the fat bread that is placed in the augurs' mouths and they throw it into the hearth."[132]

Very likely, the evil words pronounced by the augurs in the presence of the deities are bad omens. Together with the purificatory rites, the Old Woman and the augurs make offerings to the deities accompanied by incantations. In one of these incantations the epithet "terrifying" appears:

"Herewith we have given you, the divine Seven, an offering. Eat (and) drink! May the terrifying divine Seven step out of the way again! To the tutelary deity of the *kurša*-bag give mildness! Turn to the king, queen (and) princes in kindness! Sh[ow] them the path! Turn also to the augurs in kindness […]! S[ho]w them the path!"[133]

According to this incantation, it seems that the divine Seven may have been responsible, somehow, for these evil words (i.e. bad omens) that have terrified the augurs and the royal family, and they are asked to turn to them in a favorable way, and show them the path (i.e. good omens).

132. *nu* 1 NINDA.KU$_7$ TUR ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *da-a-i na-an-za-kán ki-iš-ša-ri-i pár-ša-i-iz-zi na-an IŠ-TU* Ì.UDU *šal-ke-ez-zi na-an* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *i-e-ez-zi na-an-za-kán* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *ki-iš-ša-ra-az te-pu da-a-i nu-uš-ša-an A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš* EGIR-*pa da-a-i A-NA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUŠEN.DÙ-*ya-kán* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *PU-U-i-iš-mi da-a-i nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-*ʾ*i*ʾ ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI-*aš-ša* § *i-da-a-lu-un kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-an ša-a-u-wa-ar ar-ḫa nam-ma pé-eš-ši-ya-tén nu-uš-ma-aš-kán PU-U-i-ya-aš-mi* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *nam-ma ki-it-ta-ru na-aš-ma-aš-kán* KAxU-*az pa-ra-a* Ì-*an ar-aš-du ma-a-an* ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ *ku-iš-ki PA-NI* DINGIR-*LIM i-da-a-lu ut-tar me-mi-an ḫar-zi na-aš-ma-du-kán kar-di-ma-nu-wa-an ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi* § *na-aš-ta* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUŠEN.DÙ-*ya* ^{UZU}KAxU-*ŠU-NU IŠ-TU* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *ar-ḫa a-an-ša-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du nu* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *ku-iš A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš pé-ra-an ki-it-ta na-an* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *ša-ra-a da-a-i na-an-kán an-da ḫa-aš-ši-i pé-eš-ši-e-ez-zi A-NA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUŠEN.DÙ-*ya-kán ku-iš* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A KAxU-*iš-mi ki-it-ta na-an-za pa-ra-a da-an-zi na-an-kán an-da ḫa-aš-ši-i pé-eš-ši-ya-an-zi* (KBo 17.105+ ii 26'–42').

133. *ka-a-ša šu-ma-a-aš* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI-*aš* SÍSKUR *pí-ú-en* ˹*nu*˺-*za e-ez-za-tén e-ku-ut-tén ḫa-du-ga-e-eš-ma-kán* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN.BI-*eš* KASKAL-*az* ˹*ar-ḫa*˺ ˹*nam-ma*˺ *ti-en-du nu A-NA* ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš mi-i-nu-mar pi-iš-tén nu-kán A-NA* ˹LUGAL MUNUS.˺LUGAL DUMU.^{MEŠ}LUGAL *an-da aš-šu-li na-a-iš-tén nu-uš-ma-aš* KASKAL-*an pí-*˹*iš*˺-[*ki-tén*] *A-NA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUŠEN.DÙ^{HÁ}-*ya-kán an-da aš-šu-li* x x *na-a-iš-tén nu-uš-ma-aš* KASKAL-˹*an*˺ *p*[*í-iš-ki-tén*] (KBo 17.105+ iii 30–34).

§ 4.2. *Are the divine Seven evil deities?*

The divine Seven have been studied by several scholars.[134] The phonetic name that seems to be behind the logographic writing ^{D}INIM.INIM.BI is *Šeppitta*, which has been connected to Akkadian *ILĀNI SEBETTĪ-ŠUNU*.[135] Traditionally, they were identified as the Pleiades, but this hypothesis has already been rejected.[136] As noted by A. M. Polvani, they seem "to be part of specific divine circles in which appear divinities belonging to various local *panthea*,"[137] and they have their "own temple, priest, and a feast day."[138] Regarding their "terrifying" character documented in CTH 433.2, G. McMahon, presupposing the astral nature of these deities, considers "unusual to see the Heptade conceived as a malevolent force",[139] and wonders "if or how this might fit in with ancient Mediterranean ideas, which have survived into our age, of stars controlling our fate".[140] A. M. Polvani, in turn, thinks that these epithets "express a quality that is not only 'negative' but also may indicate a capacity for 'inspiring terror and doing harm' and therefore of arousing fear or bringing harm to the enemies of the king and his family, a concept that is well-attested in the religious structures of the Ancient Near East".[141] Therefore, their negative character would also have had a "positive" role, that she identifies in KBo 17.105 iii 30-32 (quoted and commented above).[142] For his part, A. Archi argues that "the gods of the Heptad are "terrifying" because they are negative; they must, therefore, be kept at bay".[143] He also believes that their association with the Tutelary deity must be understood "in terms of the principle of opposites".[144] In Archi's opinion, "the fact that in the month festival all the gods received a libation inside the temple, except the Heptad, for which "the steward pours a libation out of

134. Cf. for instance, Polvani (2005) and Archi (2010) with previous bibliography. For the list of attestation, cf. van Gessel (1998: 906–909).

135. Polvani (2005: 182).

136. Cf. Archi (2010) and Polvani (2005).

137. Polvani (2005: 187). Similarly, Archi (2010: 29).

138. Polvani (2005: 186).

139. He presupposes that "the only deities who are consistently construed as malevolent are the underworld gods while celestial gods seem to act toward humankind depending on how they are treated and ministered to" (McMahon 1995: 265).

140. McMahon (1995: 265).

141. Polvani (2005: 188). In the same way, cf. Archi (2010: 30), who points out that the divine Seven were some of the gods that "went before" the king Muršili in battle.

142. Polvani (2005: 188).

143. Archi (2010: 23).

144. Archi (2010: 30).

the window", makes sense in that this serves to exclude a dreadful entity from the sacred interior of the temple. The Heptad could, however, have its own chapel".[145]

In his article, Archi showed that the negative connotation associated with the divine Seven appears in ritual texts from a Hittite-Luwian tradition.[146] I agree with Polvani that the divine Seven's evil nature in the Hittite-Luwian tradition seems to be related to the association of these deities with the god Iyarri.[147] Therefore, I think we should be cautious and not assume systematically the evil character of the divine Seven. As proved by these scholars, they are attested in local *panthea* as well as in texts belonging to the Hurrian tradition, without any epithets or negative characteristics being clearly attributed to them.

Regarding the interpretation of his role in CTH 433.2, I do not believe that their participation in the ritual can be justified only for its opposition to the Tutelary deity.[148] I also do not believe that their presence here is due to a positive use of their evil character.[149] In my opinion, the fragments previously examined point to the involvement of these deities in the bad omens that are frightening the royal family and the augurs. Because of the close connection of the divine Seven with the god Iyarri and the origin of plagues in the Hittite-Luwian tradition, I wonder to which extent these bad omens could be related to a possible plague that would affect the army and/or the king and the royal family.[150]

§ 5. *Conclusions*

To conclude, in the three cases presented in this paper, the deities called with negative epithets seem to be considered responsible for some problem touching the patient. However, the treatment prescribed and the way to address each deity is quite different.

The goddess Wišuriyant, whose exact nature remains unknow, seems to have a character unreliable at least, as it is proved by both, the presence of the Sun-god to watch her and the epithet "evil woman". However, she is treated with respect: she receives many offerings, is washed, and purified, and the ritual patron bows

145. Archi (2010: 30).
146. Archi (2010: 25 and 28).
147. Polvani (2005: 189).
148. Against Archi (2010: 30).
149. Against Polvani (2005: 188).
150. Questions about possible plagues affecting the army are well documented in Hittite oracle reports, cf. for instance Beal (1999) and Haas (2008).

down in front of her at the gate of her temple. Furthermore, she is never called "evil woman" directly to her, but "mighty deity".

On the other hand, the nature of the evil GULša- is clearer as is one of the Fate Deities. Although most of the text is lost, it shows a discourse completely different to that of the Wišuriyant's ritual. The goddess is addressed as an enemy that must be removed from the patient and fought. Instead of trying to convince the deity to act differently, as was the case for Wišuriyant, a positive counterpart is invoked, the *:ušandari* GULša-. Then, the Sun-god is again called to witness the ritual, likely because of this evil and unreliable character of the deity. As for the hostile(?) GULša-, her role in the patient's suffering is quite different. Moreover, she seems not to be at the origin of the problem, but just involved in other deities' interactions.

Finally, the ritual in which the divine Seven are called "evil" shows their close connection with origin of plagues and, thus, with the god Iyarri. However, in the ritual for the augurs, the ritual expert aims to purify and appease them, in order to make them turn towards the royal family in kindness. A witness is not mentioned and the epithet "terrifying" seems not to be as serious as "evil", given that the deities are called directly this way in a context where the ritual expert is trying to appease their anger.

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Gods and rulers in Neo-Hittite Tabal

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The region of Tabal in central Anatolia, north of Cilicia, covered mostly the territory of the former Hittite province of the Lower Land.[1] The Hieroglyphic Luwian sources from Neo-Hittite Tabal are monumental inscriptions of local rulers and elite representatives, dating mainly to the 8th century BC. Most of these texts come from the area between the Kızılırmak River in the north and the Taurus Mountains in the south. Neo-Hittite sources usually mention various deities of the local panthea that can act both in the narrative part and the cursing formulae of the inscriptions. An important common feature of the entire Neo-Hittite tradition is the leading role of the Storm-God Tarḫunt: He is most frequently mentioned, and some of his hypostases, numerous relief representations, and theophoric personal names are known. In Tabal, too, the Storm-God is the head of the pantheon. This study aims to reconstruct the detailed sequence of deities in the Neo-Hittite pantheon of Tabal or, in other words, to answer the question of which deities may follow Tarḫunt. For this purpose, firstly, two texts with a list of deities (KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK) and afterwards, two further inscriptions (BULGARMADEN and BOHÇA) from Tabal are analyzed and compared to each other. The reason for choosing these texts is that they mention at least two different deities in their narrative part (not in the curse formula). Other textual sources so far known from Neo-

1. Hutter 2021: 292.

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Hittite Tabal either refer only to a single deity[2] or contain a list of gods that are not fully deciphered yet[3] or are highly fragmented[4] or, finally, include the generalized phrase "(all) the gods".[5] The iconographic evidence for the deities from Tabal is represented only by singular reliefs, the vast majority of which depict the Storm-God alone[6] and thus do not allow any conclusions to be drawn about the extended sequence of deities following him. Two known reliefs of other deities (the Stag-God from Kültepe and the sitting goddess from Tavşantepe)[7] can indicate the existence of local beliefs and complete the information from the texts but alone are not sufficiently informative for a reconstruction of a larger pantheon as well.

Afterwards, some Neo-Hittite parallels should be consulted for the pantheon models elaborated from the above-mentioned texts. The last part of this article gives an overview of the deities worshipped by the great Tabalian rulers Hartapu, Warpalawa and Wasu-Sarruma. These kings were chosen due to their political significance (note, for example, the title "Great King" of Hartapu and Wasu-Sarruma and mentions of Wasu-Sarruma and Warpalawa in the texts of their vassals) as well as because each of them has left at least one source himself.

§ 2. *The pantheon of KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK*[8]

The stela with the inscription KULULU 5 originates from the village of Kululu in the province of Kayseri (formerly the territory of northern Tabal); the text is dated to the 8th century BC.[9] In §3, it mentions an elite representative[10] named Hulasaya, but it is questionable whether he is also the author of the text. KULULU

2. E.g., AKSARAY, BURUNKAYA, KULULU 1, SULTANHAN (Tarḫunt); SUVASA B, KULULU 8, PORSUK (Šarruma); KULULU 2 (Santa).

3. TOPADA (see here § 5).

4. E.g., HİSARÇIK 2, where the divine Mountain Harhara and the Sun-God are mentioned, but no contiguous reading of the text is possible.

5. E.g., TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 (after Tarḫunt of Heaven); KULULU 4.

6. E.g., reliefs from İvriz, Keşlik Yayla, Gökbez, Niğde.

7. On Tavşantepe, see Lanaro 2015.

8. The spelling of the deity names follows the current study by Hutter (2021). Names already attested in the cuneiform sources are reproduced here according to this earlier spelling (Tarḫunt, Ḫebat), although they have a different orthography in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Tarhunza, Hiputa). Names (including toponyms) known solely from Neo-Hittite texts are written following their Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling (Harmana, Nikaruha).

9. Hawkins 2000: 485.

10. On Hulasaya's title CAPUT-*ti-sa*, see recently Peker 2022: 60; see also eDiAna s.v. CAPUT-*ti*-.

5 is apparently a foundation inscription for some houses which might be interpreted as sanctuaries[11] for the deities listed at the beginning of the text (§1):[12]

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa*	Tarḫunt
(DEUS)*hi-pu-ta-sa*	Ḫebat
[(DEUS) …]	[Ea][13]
(DEUS)[*ku*]-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa*	Kubaba
(DEUS)*hara*/*i-na-wa*/*i-ni-sa*	Šarruma of Ḫarrān
(DEUS)*SARMA-ma-sa*	
(DEUS)*á-la-zú-wa*/*i-sa*[14] *hara*/*i-ma-na*(URBS)	Alanzu in the city Harmana
(DEUS)*hara*/*i-na-wa*/*i-ni-sa*	Moon-God of Ḫarrān
(DEUS)LUNA+*MI*	
(DEUS)SO[L-…	Sun-God
[…][15]	…

The stela inscription ÇİFTLİK (found at the village of Ovaçiftlikköy, about 116 km southwest of Kululu) thematizes the construction of a building by the ruler Tuwati (§§2–18). The author of the inscription, however, is not Tuwati himself but a subordinate of him who calls himself "Tuwati's servant" (§1; his name is not preserved). Since this Tuwati is equated with Tuwati, the father of the Great King Wasu-Sarruma, the inscription dates to the middle of the 8th century BC.[16] The name of the established building is not legible, but it may have been a temple because of the content of the text.[17] ÇİFTLİK includes two sequences of deities: §6

11. Cf. Hutter 2021: 298.

12. Transliteration according to Hawkins 2000: 485, with a few changes. The case of all names is nom. sg., see Hawkins 2000: 486.

13. Reconstructed by Hawkins (2000: 485–486) by comparing this sequence with the deity list of ÇİFTLİK.

14. For the reading ‹zú› instead of ‹sù›, see Simon 2008: especially 21–26 with literature.

15. There is a gap in the size of several hieroglyphs following (DEUS)SOL; thus, it remains unclear whether the deity list of KULULU 5 ended with the Sun-God (cf. edition in Hawkins 2000: 485 and pl. 270–271).

16. Hawkins 2000: 448; see here n. 88.

17. Hawkins 2000: 449.

mentions Tarḫunt, Sarhunta, and Šarruma[18] (the form is gen. sg., though the passage cannot be reconstructed completely), §7 refers to the Storm-God, possibly with the epithet *u-ru*-x-*ha-sá*.[19] After that, the enumeration of three pairs of deities follows, perhaps referring to the decoration of a temple with statues of the respective divinities, or according to Hutter (2021: 298) to the construction of several shrines for these deities: "On this side Tarḫunt and Ḫebat sit, [and on this side] Ea and Ku[baba] sit, and on this side Šarruma and Alanzu sit" (§§8–10).[20] The male deities of §§8–10 (Tarḫunt – Ea – Šarruma) coincide with the sequence of §6 (Tarḫunt – Sarhunta – Šarruma), so one can assume that Sarhunta is a different name or an epithet of the god Ea.[21] The constellation of ÇİFTLİK §§8–10 can be outlined as follows:[22]

(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (DEUS)*hi-pu-tà-sa-ha*	Tarḫunt and Ḫebat
(DEUS)*i-ia-s*[*á*] (DEUS)*ku*-[AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha*]	Ea and Kubaba
(DEUS)*sa*$_5$+*ra*/*i-ru-ma-sá* (DEUS)*á-la-zú-wa*/*i-sa-ha*	Šarruma and Alanzu

Therefore, the lists of KULULU 5 §1 and ÇİFTLİK §§8–10 match on six deities:

KULULU 5 §1	**ÇİFTLİK §§8–10**
Tarḫunt	Tarḫunt
Ḫebat	Ḫebat
[Ea]	Ea
Kubaba	Kubaba
Šarruma of Ḫarrān	Šarruma
Alanzu in the city Harmana	Alanzu
Moon-God of Ḫarrān	
Sun-God	

18. §6: *a-wa*/*i pi-na*[… (obv.) …]‖ DARE[?]-*ta*[…] (rev.) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sa* (DEUS)*sa*$_5$+*ra*/*i-hu-tà-sa* (DEUS)*sa*$_5$+*ra*/*i-ru-ma-sá-ha*: "And […]they gave(?) […]of Tarḫunt, Sarhunta and Šarruma." (Transliteration according to Hawkins 2000: 449; translation by T. Frühwirt).

19. See the commentary on §7 in Hawkins 2000: 450 ("epithet of Tarhunzas?"); see also eDiAna s.v. *uru*-x-*ha*-.

20. §8 *zi-wa*/*i-ta* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (DEUS)*hi-pu-tà-sa-ha* [SOLIUM]-*MI*[…]
§9 [*zi*-(obv.?)*pa-wa*/*i-ta*] (DEUS)*i-ia-s*[*á*] ‖ (DEUS)*ku*-[AVIS-(rev.?)*pa-pa-sa-ha*] SOLIUM-*MI*
§10 |*zi-pa-wa*/*i-ta* (DEUS)*sa*$_5$+*ra*/*i-ru-ma-sá* (DEUS)*á-la-zú-wa*/*i-sa-ha* SOLIUM+*MI-i*
(Transliteration according to Hawkins 2000: 449, with a few changes; translation by T. Frühwirt. The verb is 3. sg. ("sits").)

21. Hawkins 2000: 450, also on the possible connection of *Sarhunta* to the deity name *Sarku* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §18d). See also Hutter-Braunsar 2015: 216–217.

22. On the transliteration, see above n. 20.

Ḫebat, Šarruma and Alanzu are initially the family (wife, son and daughter) of the Hurrian Storm-God Teššub; here, however, they are mentioned alongside the Luwian Tarḫunt – a cluster to which Demanuelli (2013: 96) has drawn attention.[23] Šarruma seems to have been the second most crucial male deity in Tabal after the Storm-God, as several textual sources[24] and theophoric names *Wasu-Sarruma*, *Piya-Sarruma* and *Huha-Sarruma*[25] attest. In contrast, Ḫebat and Alanzu (Hieroglyphic Luwian *Alanzuwa*)[26] are mentioned solely in KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK;[27] also, a female personal name *Tatuhapa*[28] is attested once. Teššub, Ḫebat, as well as their children Šarruma and Alanzu, form the core of the dynastic pantheon of the Hittite Empire period; they are also represented, for example, on the main relief in Yazılıkaya (Chamber A).[29] The reference "in the city Harmana" in KULULU 5 §1 parallels with two texts from Karkamiš: KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §10 and the inscription on the recently found funerary stela KH.16.O.378.[30] The regent Yariri claims, among other things, to have built the temple "of the Harmanean deity"[31] ((DEUS)*hara*/*i-ma-na-wa*/*i-na-sa*-).[32] The short funerary inscription KH.16.O.378 mentions a woman whose husband was a priest of the Harmanean deity. The Iron Age city Harmana is yet unlocated,[33] but considering the last two attestations, it seems more likely that it could be found somewhere not far away from Karkamiš.[34] Peker

23. See also Hutter 2021: 294.

24. Besides ÇİFTLİK and KULULU 5: TOPADA, SUVASA B, PORSUK, KULULU 8. For detailed information on Šarruma's role and functions in Tabal, see Demanuelli 2013: 117–121.

25. *Wasu-Sarruma*: TOPADA, SUVASA B and C, SULTANHAN, KAYSERİ; *Piya-Sarruma*: KULULU Lead Fragment 1; *Huha-Sarruma*: ERKİLET 1. For these names cf. Melchert 2013; on the reading *Sarruma* instead of *Sarma* cf. Simon 2020; on the survival of this theophoric element in Greek sources cf. Adiego 2019.

26. Hutter 2021: 294.

27. Hutter (2021: 294 n. 18) suspects both goddesses also appear in the TOPADA inscription (see here § 5).

28. EGRİKÖY.

29. See Hutter 2021: 294; Demanuelli 2013: 96. On the dynastic pantheon in the Hittite Empire, see Taracha 2009: 92–95; Hutter 2021: 192 with n. 35.

30. Cf. Peker 2023: 361–362.

31. Cf. "of the Harmanean god" in Hawkins 2000: 131; "of the Harmanean god(dess)" in Peker 2023: 361.

32. KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §10; transliteration according to Hawkins 2000: 131.

33. Peker 2023: 361.

34. Cf. Peker 2023: 361 n. 8 on the possible localization of the Bronze Age city of Harmana, which would correspond to this observation.

(2023: 362) points out that the equation of the Harmanean deity known from Karkamiš and Alanzu is possible due to KULULU 5 §1.

The deities Ea and Kubaba, referred to as a pair in ÇİFTLİK §9, have different backgrounds. The cult of Ea, the Mesopotamian god of wisdom and fresh water, was transmitted to Hittite Anatolia through the Hurrian religion.[35] Kubaba was the city goddess of Karkamiš; in the 2nd millennium BC, Kubaba belonged to the pantheon of Kizzuwatna but was never been integrated into the dynastic pantheon of the Hittite royal family.[36] The spread of her worship in the Neo-Hittite period was allowed to be influenced particularly by the political rise of Karkamiš after the fall of the Hittite Empire;[37] note, however, that only one text from Tabal explicitly associates Kubaba with this city.[38] In Tabal, Kubaba can be found among the most popular deities of the curse formulae.[39] In the curses of KARABURUN (§§8, 10) and SULTANHAN (§§31–32) inscriptions, she appears together with the Moon-God of Ḫarrān. Neither the Moon-God nor Ea, though, usually act as companions of Kubaba: in Karkamiš, the local god Karḫuḫa is her partner.[40] On the other hand, Ea is generally accompanied by Damkina as his wife.[41]

The Moon-God mentioned afterwards is also not a native Anatolian deity: His original place of worship is the city of Ḫarrān in northern Syria, where his cult has been attested since the Old Babylonian period.[42] After the incorporation of this city into the Neo-Assyrian Empire, the cult of the Moon-God became increasingly important, so that Sîn of Ḫarrān even took the second place in the Assyrian pantheon, following the main god Aššur.[43] His worship also spread to the western vassal states of Assyria.[44] The prominence of this deity in Tabal can be traced back to

35. See Taracha 2009: 86, 95 on Ea in the Hittite Empire period.

36. Hutter 2017: 114–115.

37. Hawkins 1981: 147.

38. SULTANHAN §32; Hutter (2017: 116) recognizes in Kubaba's worship in Tabal the continuation of the religious traditions of Kizzuwatna "without the interference of Karkamiš"; see also Lovejoy and Matessi 2023: 116.

39. Kubaba is invoked in the curses of KARABURUN, SULTANHAN and KAYSERİ; KULULU 1 §12 mentions the "*hasami*-dog of Kubaba" (on the meaning of *hasami* cf. Hawkins 2000: 444 with critique and discussion in Simon 2019: 593–594; see also eDiAna s.v. *has*(*s*)*a*-).

40. For the overview of the Empire period evidence for this deity pair, see Hutter 2017: 114; on Karḫuḫa in Neo-Hittite sources, see Frühwirt 2021: 229–232.

41. See Taracha 2009: 126; Hutter 2018: 168 with n. 5 and 6.

42. Krebernik 1993–1997: 368.

43. During the reign of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal; see Theuer 2000: 327 with n. 39.

44. Cf. the study of glyptics and reliefs with the symbols of this god in Theuer 2000: 330–351. Cf. the following monuments: the orthostate of Barrākib from Sam'al (Zinçirli) depicting the emblem

political and cultural contacts of this region with Assyria since the second half of the 9th century BC.[45] In northern Tabal, he displaced the indigenous Luwian Moon-God Arma.[46] For the spelling of the names of both deities in Hieroglyphic Luwian, the logogram LUNA (*193) was used. In the case of the Moon-God of Ḫarrān, it was supplemented by the epithet *Harranawan*(*ni*)- "of Ḫarrān, Ḫarrāne-an"; his name was therefore most likely "*Arma* of Ḫarrān" (not "*Sîn* of Ḫarrān").[47] The Moon-God of Ḫarrān occurs in Tabal mainly in the curse formulae of the inscriptions, very frequently together with Kubaba;[48] in the god list of KULULU 5, however, he is not mentioned alongside this goddess, which indicates his less prominent role. This case illustrates that the importance of the deities in the curse formulae does not necessarily correspond to their position in the pantheon. The epithet of the god Šarruma in KULULU 5 §1, "of Ḫarrān", is quite conspicuous as it is never attested elsewhere.[49] It gives the mountain- and bull-god Šarruma perhaps some lunar characteristics, which he already possesses in some sources from the 2nd millennium BC.[50] The list of KULULU 5 §1 concludes with the Sun-God (logographic spelling (DEUS)SOL), who may be understood as Luwian Tiwad. Thus, the last pair of deities of this list does not follow the pattern "male deity –

of Sîn of Ḫarrān and naming him; stelae from Kızkapanlı (Pazarcık) and Antakya (as boundary markers; see Theuer 2000: 354–355).

45. See Frühwirt (forthcoming). During the campaign of Shalmaneser III to Tabal (836 BC), Assyrian troops passed among others through the area of Kululu; in the 8th century BC, several Tabalian rulers became vassals of Assyria (see Hawkins 2000: 426–428).

46. BULGARMADEN (§15) is the only text from Tabal (southern part) mentioning Arma.

47. See ACLT s.v. *Arma*- and s.v. *Harranawan*(*ni*)-.

48. There are in total four sources for him from northern Tabal: the deity list in KULULU 5 §1; curse formulae in SULTANHAN §31 (with Kubaba in §32), KAYSERİ §16 (with Kubaba in §11), as well as KARABURUN §§8, 10 (together with Kubaba) and §§12–13 (only Moon-God of Ḫarrān). See the overview of the evidence for the Moon-God of Ḫarrān in the Neo-Hittite period in Hutter-Braunsar 2015: 209; on this god in Tabal, see in detail Frühwirt (forthcoming).

49. Hawkins 2000: 486.

50. See Tremouille 2009–2011: 82 on the mentions of Šarruma together with lunar gods Umpa and Kušuḫ. See also Demanuelli 2013: 120; Frühwirt (forthcoming). Hutter-Braunsar (2015: 209 n. 9), however, argues for seeing a mistake in KULULU 5 §1: According to her, the scribe originally wanted to mention here the Moon-God of Ḫarrān himself and placed his name by mistake instead of Ea's name, i.e., after Kubaba and before Šarruma. Nevertheless, in a pair of deities, the male one is always stated *before* his female partner, which makes the mention of Ea (or also of the Moon-God) *after* Kubaba rather unlikely; one should furthermore consider the reconstruction of Ea's name *before* that of Kubaba in KULULU 5 §1 based on a comparison with ÇİFTLİK §§8–10 (Hawkins 2000: 485–486). In any case, the sequence Šarruma of Ḫarrān – Alanzu in the city Harmana – Moon-God of Ḫarrān is quite striking because of three successive toponyms.

female deity", but it recalls precisely the juxtaposition of the Moon-God and the Sun-God which could be found, for example, on the reliefs from Yazılıkaya (Chamber A, nos. 34/35) depicting the Hurrian deities Kušuḫ and Šimige,[51] as well as on the Neo-Hittite reliefs from Karkamiš and Arslantepe-Malatya that follow the iconography of Yazılıkaya.[52] One might, therefore, recognize an influence or a remnant of the Hurrian dynastic pantheon also in the pair Moon-God – Sun-God at the end of the sequence of KULULU 5 §1, even if they cannot be interpreted as Kušuḫ and Šimige anymore.

The curse formula of KULULU 5 mentions in §8 "these gods", probably the deities of §1, as well as the "gods of *ataha*"[53] in §11. In the blessing (§14), "these gods" are invoked. In the blessing formula of ÇİFTLİK, "all the gods" (§§11, 18), "these gods" (§15), as well as the Storm-God (§§12, 13, 19(?)) appear.

The pantheon reflected by KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK thus includes deities of diverse origins: Luwian (Tarḫunt, Tiwad), Hurrian (Ḫebat, Šarruma, Alanzu) and Syro-Mesopotamian (Kubaba, Ea, Moon-God of Ḫarrān). The top of the pantheon is represented by three male (Tarḫunt – Ea – Šarruma) and three female (Ḫebat – Kubaba – Alanzu) deities that form a pair with each other.

§ 3. *The pantheon of BULGARMADEN and BOHÇA*

There are two more texts from Tabal which mention several deities but do not follow the sequence of KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK. BULGARMADEN is a rock inscription of Tarhunaza, a servant of the king Warpalawa; it is located in the Bolkar Mountains in the south of Tabal (Tuwana).[54] According to §§2–3, Warpalawa gave the deified mountain Muti to Tarhunaza in gratitude for his loyalty (§3: (DEUS)MONS-*ti-na mu-ti-na* (acc. sg.)). The deities Tarḫunt and Kubaba made this mountain thrive for Tarhunaza (§4).[55] Furthermore, the Stag-God Runtiya of the

51. On the Hurrian readings of the Hieroglyphic-Luwian deities' epithets in Yazılıkaya cf. Haas 1994, 633.

52. Karkamiš Bb/1 and Malatya A/6; see Frühwirt (forthcoming); Orthmann 1971, 253–258.

53. Cf. Hawkins 2000: 470–471; ACLT s.v. *attaHa-*.

54. Hawkins (2000: 522) dates BULGARMADEN to the reign of Warpalawa (738–710 BC).

55. §4 |*wa*/*i-ma-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za* (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha* |*pa*+*ra*/*i-na ARHA*|*la*+*ra*/*i-ta*: "And for me Tarhunza and Kubaba prospered it" (transliteration and translation according to Hawkins 2000: 523; cf. also the interpretation of *lara-* as "to enhance, bless (?)" in eDiAna (s.v. *lara-*$^{(i)}$)).

Countryside helped him on the hunt (§7).[56] The one who governs the divine Mountain Muti in the future should offer sheep as sacrifices for Tarhunaza's gods annually (§§10–11), and thus he will experience the mercy of the "Gods of Muti" (§12: *mu-ti-ia-wa/i-ni-zi* DEUS-*ni-zi*).[57] However, the one who neglects these sacrifices will be punished by Tarḫunt and "the gods", the Moon-God Arma, Nikaruha, and Kubaba (§§14–17).

The narrative part of BULGARMADEN refers to four deities: Muti, the divine Mountain; Tarḫunt and Kubaba; and Runtiya of the Countryside. Muti could be identified with the mountain(s) where the text is placed (Bolkar Dağları)[58] and also might be associated with the deity *Muli* belonging to the circle of the Luwian goddess Ḫuwassanna,[59] mentioned in CTH 694 (Fragments of a festival for Ḫuwassanna) and CTH 692 (Fragments of the *witassiya*-festival).[60] The cult of Muti should have been a local Luwian cult of a deified mountain that was also maybe thought to be inhabited by some deities called "Gods of Muti" (cf. §12). Runtiya of the Countryside is a manifestation of the Luwian Stag-God Runtiya attested in the 1st millennium BC primarily in eastern Anatolia[61] (BULGARMADEN is the only evidence from Tabal). Note that the Stag-God of the Countryside corresponds in his functions entirely to the "simple" Stag-God so that one can assume two different names of the same deity here.[62]

BULGARMADEN mentions neither Ḫebat, nor Šarruma, nor Ea. It seems that on the top of the local pantheon, the divine couple Tarḫunt and Kubaba stood, followed by the Stag-Gog Runtiya of the Countryside. The pantheon is, therefore, dominated by two male deities of Luwian origin. Kubaba is, besides the Storm-

56. §7 "*MÁRA/Γ*-*i-sa-pa-wa/i* (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti-ia-sá-ti-i* |(BONUS)*wa/i-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-ti-i* |*á-mi-i* |DOMINUS-*ni-i* (BESTIA)*HWI-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-'* |*pa(+ra/i*$^?$*)-ti-i* |*u-ta-ti-na-ha-'*: "And by the favour of Runtiya of the Countryside I *utatina*-ed the wild animals there(?) for my lord" (transliteration and translation according to Hawkins 2004: 361, in consideration of eDiAna at BULGARMADEN and Hawkins 2000: 523).

57. Or: "Muti-ean gods" (Hawkins 2000: 523).

58. Hawkins 2000: 432, 522. *Muti* should also be associated with the alabaster mountain called *Muli*, which Shalmaneser III visited in 837 BC (Hawkins 2000: 432).

59. See Hutter 2003: 273–274 with n. 52, 2021: 299.

60. Cf. evidence in van Gessel 1998: 314. In CTH 692, some tutelary deities (^{D}KAL) are also mentioned that might be connected to the Luwian Stag-God Runtiya (for this, see Hutter 2003: 229–230; Frühwirt 2021: 219–220).

61. Malatya, Kummuḫ, Gurgum. See the overview of sources in Frühwirt 2021: 223–227.

62. See Frühwirt 2021: 233 (with a reference to SḪIRZI). On the origin of Runtiya of the Countryside, see Hutter 2004: 384–385.

God, the only deity of BULGARMADEN who also appears in the god lists of KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK.

The stela inscription BOHÇA originates from a hill on the southern bank of the Kızılırmak River. Its author, the king named Kurti, tells about the extraordinary support of two gods he experienced: the Storm-God and the Stag-God. Tarḫunt helps Kurti to conquer new territories (§§2–3, 6–9), while Runtiya enables him to hunt successfully (§§4–5, 10–13); the areas of responsibility of both gods are separated from each other. Hunting is a famous royal activity and, like war, an essential issue for the self-representation of the Neo-Hittite rulers. A victorious warrior is also a successful hunter, and vice versa; hunting is the counterpart of war in times of peace.[63] Possibly, this fact is significant for the vital role of the Stag-God Runtiya because, in BOHÇA, he (and not Šarruma as usual) is the second most crucial deity after Tarḫunt. A parallel to BOHÇA can be found in the YALBURT inscription of Tudḫaliya IV, which mentions alternately the Storm-God and the Stag-God (YALBURT blocks 10 + 16). The pantheon headed by Tarḫunt and Runtiya may be traced back to some local panthea known from Hittite cult inventories (the "southern sector" according to Cammarosano 2021), where the Storm-God and the Stag-God are the most frequently attested deities.[64]

§ 4. *Two models of the pantheon in Tabal and their parallels*

Given the textual sources, one can assume two different pantheon models in Neo-Hittite Tabal (at least in the 9th–8th century BC):

(A) pantheon represented by the Luwian Tarḫunt, his Hurrian family (Ḫebat, Šarruma, Alanzu), as well as Ea and Kubaba on the top;

(B) pantheon led by Luwian gods Tarḫunt and Runtiya (of the Countryside), and likely also by Kubaba as Tarḫunt's partner.

The model (A) is much more common, and Šarruma is the second most popular deity in Tabal after the Storm-God. (A) reflects the Hurrian pantheon of the Hittite royal dynasty. One should consider that both texts with a detailed description of the pantheon (A), KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK, also very likely refer to the construction of shrines or temples for the deities of this pantheon: this may reflect some official installation of their cults. The model (B) seems to have been inspired by local (Luwian) beliefs, which are also attested in Hittite sources. Both models

63. See Payne 2012: 15; Frühwirt 2021: 220. On the connection between war and hunting, see Archi 2019: 53–54, 58–59 (Hittite); Hutter 2004: 386–388 (Neo-Hittite).

64. See Cammarosano 2021: 94, also 64–65, 72–73.

can also be identified in Neo-Hittite texts outside of Tabal. A "Luwian" pantheon (B) can be found in the inscription KARATEPE 1 from Cilicia, where Azatiwata refers to the help of the Storm-God and the Stag-God when building the fortress (§§38–40).[65] In the Phoenician version of the text, Baal and Rešep are equivalent to the Luwian gods. An iconographic embodiment of this model is provided by the famous relief Aleppo 7 from the Storm-God Temple in Aleppo, which represents the Storm-God followed by the Stag-God; the epigraph ALEPPO 4 identifies the gods as DEUS.MATTEA "divine mace" (Tarḫunt) and (DEUS) CERVUS$_2$-*ti* ((Ku)runti(ya)).[66] Two stelae from Gölpınar depicting both these gods should also reflect the local pantheon according to the model (B).

A unique constellation arises from the deity lists of the ANCOZ inscriptions (Kummuḫ, reign of Suppiluliuma, c. 805–773 BC).[67] The texts mention a total of three groups of deities:[68]

ANCOZ 1, 9	**ANCOZ 1, 7, 10&11**	**ANCOZ 5**
Tarḫunt of Heaven	Runtiya of the Countryside	Runtiya [of the Countryside]
Ḫebat[69]	the Lady Kubaba	the Lady Kubaba
Šarruma Mountain King	Sun-God	Tasku
Alanzu	Ikura	Hurtula the Mountain
(DEUS)CRUS+*MI*	Tasku	

The first group is led by the Luwian Storm-God of Heaven and Ḫebat, followed by other deities of the Hurrian Storm-God family: Šarruma Mountain King,[70] Alanzu, as well as the deity CRUS+*MI* (presumably Tašmišu, Teššub's brother).[71] Runtiya of the Countryside and Kubaba likely with the epithet *ala*/*i*- "Lady"[72] head the second group, the Sun-God (most likely Tiwad)[73] and two so far

65. See recently Frühwirt 2021: 220–222 on this passage. Unlike in BOHÇA, there is no distinction in the functions between Tarḫunt und Runtiya in KARATEPE 1.

66. Hawkins 2011: 38–40; see also Frühwirt 2021: 228.

67. Hawkins 2013: 73.

68. Cf. editions in Hawkins 2000: 345–351, 356–360, 2004: 358–360, 2013: 70–75.

69. Written with the logogram *529 and identified as Ḫebat by Hawkins (2013: 70).

70. This epithet of Šarruma is also attested in KULULU 8 and MALATYA 7.

71. On interpreting this deity as Tašmišu, see Frühwirt and Simon (2023).

72. From Hurr. *alla*- "lady" (German "Herrin"), see Simon 2014: 248; Hutter 2016: 30–32. On the other hand, Hawkins (2013: 71) interprets *á-la*/*i* of the ANCOZ texts as the name of the goddess Ala, the consort of the Stag-God Kuruntiya during the Hittite Empire Period; he argues for a syncretism of Ala and Kubaba in these sources and translates the whole name of the deity as "Ala-

unidentified deities Ikura und Tasku[74] follow them. The third list mentions the same deities on the top as the second one, but after them, there are only Tasku and Hurtula the Mountain in the sequence. Hurtula should be identified as the hill Han Mevkii, where the inscriptions were found.[75] Hurtula is not marked with the divine determinative (DEUS) in the ANCOZ texts, unlike the Mountain Muti in BULGARMADEN.[76]

The second and the third god lists of the ANCOZ group are reminiscent of BULGARMADEN, but it is noticeable that the Storm-God is not mentioned here. It is a local pantheon dominated by the Stag-God: to this circle of deities, the king Suppiluliuma, the author of the texts, donated territories with settlements and sanctuaries (cf. ANCOZ 7 §§4–5). This area could also have included the surroundings of Ancoz (modern Eskitaş).[77] The list of ANCOZ 1 and 9, on the other hand, shows similarities with the "Hurrian" model of the pantheon from Tabal (A) but omits Ea and Kubaba and adds the deity CRUS+*MI* to the sequence; if the latter one is Tašmišu as noted above, this list would include exclusively family members of the Hurrian Storm-God.[78] These deities were worshipped in Kummuḫ, perhaps, especially by the royal family, analogously to the dynastic pantheon of the Hittite Empire. Either way, also in ANCOZ texts, the distinction between Hurrian and Luwian deities is evident; for the moment, based on the entire Neo-Hittite textual evidence, one can observe that the gods Runtiya and Šarruma are almost mutually exclusive in the inscriptions. However, the different panthea may have smoothly

Kubaba" (Hawkins 2013: 71–72, 74). Peker (2023: 371 n. 59) also explains *á-la/i* as the deity name *Ala*. This interpretation cannot be rejected entirely yet; therefore, we might also deal with another sequence of deities here: Runtiya of the Countryside, Ala-Kubaba *or* Runtiya of the Countryside, Ala, Kubaba.

73. Note that the Sun-God is mentioned alone here, in contrast to the Hurrian-inspired list KULULU 5 §1 and to the reliefs from Yazılıkaya, Karkamiš and Arslantepe-Malatya (see §2), where he consequently appears following the Moon-God.

74. See Hawkins 2013: 71.

75. Hawkins 2013: 72.

76. Cf. BULGARMADEN §3: (DEUS)MONS-*ti-na mu-ti-na* (acc. sg.), §10: *mu-ti-ia* (DEUS)MONS-*ti* (dat. sg.) (see Hawkins 2000, 523); cf. ANCOZ 10&11 §6: *hu+ra/i-tu-la-wa/i-tá* (MONS)*wa/i-ti* (dat. sg.) (see Hawkins 2013, 72); cf. also ANCOZ 5 §§1–2; ANCOZ 8 §4.

77. Hawkins 2013: 75.

78. Cf. also the GÜRÜN inscription from Malatya mentioning the "reduced" Storm-God family as a triad Storm-God, Ḫebat, Šarruma (§§1a, 7).

coexisted in Tabal and other regions, as ANCOZ lists and the deity reliefs[79] from Arslantepe-Malatya illustrate.

Due to the similarities of the god lists of KULULU 5 and ÇİFTLİK as well as of the ANCOZ texts, Hutter (2021: 294–296) considers the possibility that the Hurrian pantheon might have been transmitted to Tabal from Kummuḫ and thus might not necessarily have been an immediate successor of the Empire dynastic pantheon: A significant argument favouring this idea is that Kubaba holds a prominent position in the deity sequence in Tabal and Kummuḫ, while she is absent from Yazılıkaya reliefs. It should be noted, on the other hand, that Kubaba's roles in the ANCOZ lists and the texts from Tabal are pretty different: In ANCOZ, the goddess is mentioned alongside the Luwian Stag-God but does not belong to the Storm-God's Hurrian circle. In contrast, in Tabal Kubaba has a fixed place in the pantheon (A) amid the Hurrian deities together with Ea (who does not appear in the ANCOZ texts); moreover, she may optionally be a part of the Luwian-inspired pantheon (B) with Tarḫunt and Runtiya (cf. BULGARMADEN). Therefore, the question of incorporating the Hurrian deities and Kubaba into the panthea of Tabal requires further investigation.

§ 5. *Local rulers and Great Kings of Tabal and their gods*

Let us now return to the inscriptions from Tabal discussed in §§ 2 and 3. Two of them (ÇİFTLİK and BULGARMADEN) are authored by local potentates, vassals of the rulers Tuwati and Warpalawa. The author of KULULU 5 is unknown; Kurti of BOHÇA may have been an independent king, but his exact domain cannot be determined, yet.[80]

The texts of the mighty kings of Tabal – Hartapu, Warpalawa and Wasu-Sarruma – do not contain detailed god lists. Inscriptions of the Great King Hartapu[81] from western Tabal mention almost exclusively the Storm-God. Hartapu calls

79. The reliefs represent, among others, Šarruma (Malatya A/10) and Runtiya of the Countryside standing on a stag (Malatya A/9b).

80. Although he is equated with the king Kurti of (A)tun(n)a mentioned by Sargon II (e.g., in Hawkins 2000: 478; Bryce 2012: 147), this identification is still not unproblematic (cf. Simon 2013: 279–283).

81. The dating of Hartapu's reign is highly controversial, cf. recently Goedegebuure *et al*. 2020; Hawkins and Weeden 2021; James 2021–2022; Massa and Osborne 2022.

himself "beloved of the Storm-God",[82] which should reveal his closeness to the highest god of the pantheon. Beyond the royal titulary, Tarḫunt bears the epithet "of Heaven" in Hartapu's texts.[83] Other deities are never mentioned by name but only generally as "all the gods".[84] The only exception is the inscription KARADAG 1: it refers to the divine Great Mountain ((DEUS) MAGNUS.MONS), which can be equated with Karadağ itself.[85] The king Warpalawa[86] of Tuwana mentions solely the Storm-God of the Vineyard in his inscriptions İVRİZ 1 and BOR; this hypostasis of Tarḫunt was also well-known in the north of Tabal.[87] Finally, there is the Great King Wasu-Sarruma[88] who ruled in northern Tabal and authored the long inscription TOPADA. In TOPADA, four deities appear at least five times (§§17, 30, 31, 36, 38):[89] Tarḫunt, Šarruma, (DEUS)*198-*sa*, (DEUS)BOS.*206.PANIS-*sa*. Some suggestions have already been made for the interpretation of the last two names.[90] Recently, Hutter (2021: 294 n. 18.) supposed that they could be so far unattested spellings for Ḫebat and Alanzu. In any case, because of the mention of Šarruma after the Storm-God, as well as not least because of the theophoric name of the Great King himself, one can assume that Wasu-Sarruma worshipped the Hurrian deities of the Storm-God family.

§ 6. *Summary*

Based on the written sources considered above, we were able to identify two models of the pantheon in Neo-Hittite Tabal. The model (A) is represented by the Luwian Storm-God Tarḫunt, Hurrian deities Ḫebat, Šarruma and Alanzu, as well as

82. (DEUS)TONITRUS AMPLECTI (KIZILDAG 4 §1; see Hawkins 2000: 438, 440). Hawkins (2000: 438–439, 442) reconstructs this epithet also in Hartapu's inscriptions KIZILDAG 2–3 and BURUNKAYA (§1).

83. (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM, see TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 §3; KIZILDAG 4 §2a, 3; KARADAG 1 §§1, 3.

84. KIZILDAG 4 §2a; KARADAG 1 §1; TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 §3.

85. Hawkins 2000: 441; Hutter 2021: 298.

86. C. 738–709 BC (Simon 2013: 291).

87. See SULTANHAN. Cf. reliefs from İvriz and Ambar Deresi depicting this deity together with Warpalawa.

88. Wasu-Sarruma is dated to c. 740–730 BC through the identification with Wassurme of the Assyrian sources (see, e.g., Hawkins 2000: 429–430, 452, 465, 472; Bryce 2012: 143–144; Aro 2016–2018: 257; on the problems of this dating, see d'Alfonso 2019: 145–148; Simon 2020: 193).

89. In §33, the text breaks off after Šarruma, cf. the reconstruction in Hawkins 2000: 454.

90. See the overview in Hawkins 2000: 457.

by Ea and Kubaba on the top. The god Šarruma enjoys great popularity in Tabal and is attested in several texts and theophoric names. The pantheon of the model (B) is headed by Tarḫunt, (perhaps) Kubaba and the Luwian Stag-God Runtiya; this kind of pantheon can be found in just two texts from Tabal. Due to the special connection of the Stag-God Runtiya to wild nature and natural phenomena like mountains, it is conceivable that this pantheon was especially widespread in rural areas outside the major centers of power in Tabal. This fact could also explain the lower textual evidence for Runtiya and thus for the pantheon model (B). The sources for the deities of the pantheon (A) are concentrated in the northern part of Tabal (KULULU 5 and 8, TOPADA, SUVASA B, ÇİFTLİK),[91] with the exception of PORSUK in the south; the pantheon (B) is represented by BULGARMADEN in the north and by BOHÇA in the south of the region.

The forerunner of the model (A) is the pantheon of the Hittite royal dynasty, while the model (B) can be traced back to the local Anatolian panthea. Furthermore, the two pantheon models from Tabal have parallels in the inscriptions from other Neo-Hittite regions, among which the ANCOZ deity lists are the most significant ones. By now, models (A) and (B) could be detected almost exclusively in the texts of local rulers; more powerful kings of Tabal (except Wasu-Sarruma) usually refer solely to the Storm-God in their inscriptions.

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91. Theophoric names with *Šarruma* (see n. 25) and *Ḫebat* (see n. 28) are also attested in the sources from the northern part of Tabal.

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Sonne Mond Sterne und *Kubaba*

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§ 1. *Bemerkungen zur ‚Himmelsscheibe'*

Die angeblich bei Nebra (Sachsen-Anhalt) von Raubgräbern entdeckte ‚Himmelsscheibe' soll „ein Schlüsselfund der Archäoastronomie" sein, so ihr Hauptpropagandist Harald Meller.[1] Sie zeigt Symbole aus Goldblech: eine Mondsichel, eine erheblich kleinere Scheibe, die Vollmond oder Sonne darstellen könnte, darum herum punktförmige Sterne, unter ihnen eine Rosette von sieben Punkten, die offenbar das Siebengestirn, die griechischen Plejaden, darstellen soll. Mit einer anderen Goldlegierung kam noch ein Bogen dazu, der als einziges eine Binnenzeichnung aufweist: Zwei parallele Linien unterteilen ihn so, daß der äußerste Streifen der breiteste ist, der innerste der schmalste. Das soll nach der kanonischen Deutung ein Schiff sein,[2] und daher wird die Scheibe immer so abgebildet, daß dieser Bogen unten ist. Plausibler ist aber, daß er auch ein Lichtphänomen am Himmel darstellen soll: den Regenbogen mit drei Farbbändern,[3] und daher oben und nach unten offen erscheinen sollte. Dann ist auch klar, daß nicht nur der Nachthimmel dargestellt ist, die Scheibe also wohl als

1. Meller (2004: 11). Für Auskünfte, Hinweise, Literatur danke ich Guy Bunnens, Rüdiger Krause, Clelia Mora, Massimo Poetto, Thomas Richter, Mark Weeden, Ran Zadok, Ilya Yakubovich und vor allem Zsolt Simon.

2. „Das Schiff ist in der Bronzezeit des Nordens seit etwa 1600 v. Chr. ein zentrales religiöses Symbol" (Meller 2004: 26), aber diese Schiffsbilder sehen völlig anders aus als das angebliche Schiff auf der Scheibe.

3. Pásztor – Roslund (2007: 271).

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Sonne aufzufassen ist. Sicher sekundär angebracht sind zwei große, einander gegenüberliegende Randstreifen, von denen einer später wieder entfernt wurde. Sie sollen nach der archäoastronomischen Deutung ‚Horizontbögen' sein, d. h. eine Verbindung einerseits aller Aufgangspunkte und andererseits aller Untergangspunkte der Sonne zwischen den Sonnwenden.[4] Das wäre also eine Konstruktion ohne reales Vorbild. Plausibler ist, daß es sich auch um ein Lichtphänomen handelt, nämlich Morgen- und Abendrot, die Tag und Nacht scheiden.[5]

Es ist keine Frage, daß diese Darstellung von Gestirnen und anderen Himmelsphänomenen in der europäischen Bronzezeit gänzlich isoliert wäre:

„Bei aller Phantasie hätte kein Archäologe ein entsprechendes bronzeitliches Bild erwartet."[6]

Andreas Müller-Karpe hat daher ihre „anatolischen Bezüge" herausgestellt, d. h. sie mit der Erwähnung von Astralsymbolen in hethitischen Texten verbunden. Am meisten erinnert die Beschreibung eines Brotlaibs in einem Geburtsritual an die Bronzescheibe von Nebra:

„And on the *naḫti*[-loaf] the moon, the sun and the star(s) are modelled".[7]

Allerdings ist unklar, wie so ein Brotlaib aussah und wie auf ihm die Gestirne dargestellt wurden. Und was die von den Hethitern verehrten Astralgötter und deren Symbole angeht, ist der starke mesopotamische Einfluß zu berücksichtigen, so daß man über die Hethiter hinaus zu diesen Quellen gehen müßte.[8]

Zudem ist die Datierung der Scheibe in die Bronzezeit fragwürdig, weil sie nur auf den Angaben von einem der beiden Raubgräber beruht und sich die Zusammengehörigkeit mit den angeblich mitgefundenen bronzezeitlichen Artefakten nicht erhärten läßt, auf denen die Annahme einer Deponierung um 1600 v. Chr. beruht: Siehe die Kritiken von Peter Schauer (2005) sowie von Rupert Gebhard und Rüdiger Krause (2020). Letztere datieren die Scheibe nach den Darstellungen in die Eisenzeit:

4. Siehe Schlosser (2004).
5. Pásztor – Roslund (2007: 270f).
6. Meller (2004: 11).
7. Müller-Karpe (2021: 13).
8. Siehe dazu auch Birgit Christiansen in ihrer ausführlichen Besprechung (online 2022): „Zu beachten ist jedoch, dass entsprechende Objekte auch in mesopotamischen Keilschrifttexten bezeugt sind. Zudem spiegeln sich in einem Teil der hethitischen Texte Traditionen der in Syrien und Obermesopotamien ansässigen Hurriter wieder".

„So gehören ‚[Sonne, Vollmond], Sterne, Mond' in Verbindung mit ‚Himmelsbögen' zum weitverbreiteten Symbolgut des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr., mit dem deutlichen Schwerpunkt in der späten Hallstatt- und Latènezeit".[9]

Das ist einleuchtend und läßt sich damit ergänzen, daß dieses „Symbolgut des ersten Jahrtausends" im Nahen Osten noch viel verbreiteter war. Vor allem das Siebengestirn und auch seine Darstellung durch Punkte spricht für eine von dort ausgehender Inspiration der ‚Himmelsscheibe'. Literarisch schlug sich eine solche orientalische Inspiration im Schild des Achilles nieder, wie er in der Ilias beschrieben wird: In dessen Mitte schuf Hephaistos „die unermüdliche Sonne und den Vollmond, schuf auch all die Sternbilder, die den Himmel umkränzen",[10] wobei an erster Stelle das Siebengestirn (Πληιάδας) genannt wird (Σ 484ff.).

§ 2. *Neuassyrische Astralsymbolik*

Könige des neuassyrischen Reiches ließen sich oft betend vor kleinen Göttersymbolen über und vor ihrem Kopf darstellen, so Salmanassar III. 855 v. Chr. in einem heute zerstörten Felsrelief an einem Euphrat-Übergang (Kenk Boğazı): Hörnerkappe des Stadtgotts Assur, Sonnenscheibe, liegende Mondsichel kombiniert mit der Vollmondscheibe, Blitz, Morgenstern und Siebengestirn in Form von dicken Punkten.[11] Auf neuassyrischen Siegeln erscheinen die Astralsymbole überaus häufig: die Sonne als Flügelsonne, manchmal auch mit dem Oberkörper des Gottes, die liegende Mondsichel oder auch die von ihr gekrönte Standarte des Mondgottes von Harran in Nordsyrien, den die Assyrer adoptiert hatten,[12] der gezackte Morgenstern und das Siebengestirn, in der Regel drei Punktpaare und ein Einzelpunkt.

Alle vier: Mondsichel und Morgenstern über der Flügelsonne und darunter das Siebengestirn, zeigt ein Scaraboid aus Nordsyrien.[13]

Dieser Astralgötterkult gelangte auch nach Juda, wo ihn unter anderem der Prophet Jeremia anprangerte:

9. Gebhard – Krause (2020: 338).
10. Schadewaldt (1959: 353).
11. Siehe Köroğlu (2018: 182 Fig. 15b).
12. Siehe zu seinem Kult bis in die Römerzeit nun Blömer (2023).
13. Staubli 2003, 85 Nr. 94, „8., ev. 7. Jh. v. Chr."

„Zu dieser Zeit, spricht der HERR, wird man die Gebeine der Könige von Juda, die Gebeine seiner Fürsten, die Gebeine der Priester, die Gebeine der Propheten und die Gebeine der Bürger Jerusalems aus ihren Gräbern werfen und wird sie hinstreuen der Sonne, dem Mond und dem ganzen Heer des Himmels, die sie geliebt und denen sie gedient haben, denen sie nachgelaufen sind, die sie befragt und angebetet haben.“ (Jer 8, 1–2)

Archäologisch faßbar ist die „starke Astralisierung des religiösen Symbolsystems in ganz Palästina“ ebenfalls auf Siegeln.[14]

Ein fernes Echo dieses Kultes könnte auch die ‚Himmelsscheibe‘ sein.

§ 3. *Vier* Kubaba-*Siegel*

In der Eisenzeit gibt es, ganz anders als in der Bronzezeit, „curiously few seals“ mit luwischer Hieroglyphenschrift.[15] Und von ihnen bietet ein Teil Götternamen, vor allem die Gruppe der *Kubaba*-Siegel, von denen Hawkins am Ende seines Corpus neun zusammengestellt hat.[16] Von ihnen haben vier nicht mehr als den Namen der vor allem mit der nordsyrischen Stadt Karkamiš verbundenen Göttin *Kubaba*,[17] fünf aber außer Hieroglyphen auch Symbole, wie sie auf den neuassyrischen Siegeln vorkommen. Sie stammen also aus der nordwestlichen Randzone des Assyrerreiches. Beachtung gefunden haben diese Symbole eigentlich gar nicht, und es ist bezeichnend, daß Hawkins von „filling motifs“ spricht.[18]

14. Keel – Uehlinger (2015: 363), mit reicher Dokumentation.

15. Hawkins (2000: 572).

16. Außerdem gibt es Siegelabdrücke aus Ninive und Chorsabad mit SIGILLUM TONITRUS-*pa-sá*, also dem Namen des hurritischen Wettergotttes Teššob im luwischen Genitiv (S. 582f.), und das BOSSERT-Siegel mit AUDIRE+*MA*/*I-sa* ^{d}SOL (S. 586), sicher kein „famous“ Sonnengott (Hawkins), sondern ein ‚erhörender‘, mit Nominativendung.

17. Eines von ihnen wurde in Ninive gefunden. Nur die Quelle für ein weiteres Siegel (Sternberg AG 1994: Nr. 677) ist S. 573 Anm. 6 angeführt. Es hat auch nicht mehr als ^{d}*Ku*-AVIS. Das ist die auch auf allen anderen Siegeln belegte Schreibung. Aber auf dem GULBENKIAN-Siegel wendet der Vogel ^{d}*Ku* den Rücken zu (siehe Hawkins 2000: pl. 331), was für mangelndes Verständnis der Hieroglyphenschrift sprechen dürfte.

18. Hawkins (2000: 579) zu HOGARTH 1, S. 578 „star filling motif“ und „crescent filling motif“ zu BOROWSKI 1. Keine Erwähnung dieser Siegel bei Lovejoy – Matessi (2023).

Ein Siegel aus der berühmten Sammlung des Kardinals Stefano Borgia gibt John David Hawkins nur im Text nach einer Skizze von 1817 wieder.[19] Es zeigt einen Beter in der typisch assyrischen Haltung vor ^{d}*Ku*-AVIS, hinter ihm wohl eine Variante des ägyptischen Henkelkreuzes (‚Leben‘), wie sie auch auf neuassyrischen Siegeln vorkommt,[20] und hinter dem Theonym den achtstrahligen Morgenstern.

Abb. 1. Das Borgia-Siegel

Auf dem HOGARTH-Siegel 1[21] ist ^{d}*Ku*-AVIS an den rechten Rand gerückt, und dahinter erscheinen fünf Symbolzeichen: oben die Mondsichel, darunter eine liegende, längsgeteilte Raute, die auf den neuassyrischen Siegeln ebenfalls oft vorkommt und wohl auch ein Heilszeichen ist wie das Henkelkreuz, das hier links daneben wiederkehrt.[22] Darunter der achstrahlige Morgenstern, dann der Siebenpunkt. Auf diesem Siegel dominieren also die neuassyrischen Symbolzeichen. Es wurde in Aleppo gekauft und sollte aus Maraş stammen, was die einzige Herkunftsangabe bei einem dieser Siegel ist. Verlaß ist darauf natürlich nicht.

Abb. 2. HOGARTH-Siegel 1

19. Hawkins (2000: 573 Fig. 1) nach einem Blatt, das einem Aufsatz von 1817 beigebunden war, im folgenden als Borgia-Siegel bezeichnet. Verbleib des Siegels unklar; nichts dazu in Nocca (2001) und Germano und Nocca (2001).

20. Als „ankh symbol“ z. B. bei Niederreiter (2020: 88) bezeichnet.

21. Hawkins (2000: 579 und pl. 331).

22. Black und Green (1992: 153): „The rhomb seems to have had a magically protective function“ .

Das BOROWSKI-Siegel 1[23] zeigt zwei Götternamen: ^{d}*Ku*-Avis ^{d}SOL, jeweils darüber ein zum Pluszeichen vereinfachter Stern bzw. die Mondsichel. Davor erscheint eine Auflösung des Henkelkreuzes in Punkt und Griff.

Abb. 3. BOROWSKI-Siegel 1

Das DELAPORTE-Siegel[24] zeigt die gleichen Götternamen und darüber die Flügelsonne mit dem Oberkörper des Gottes, der wie üblich eine Hand grüßend oder segnend erhebt.

Abb. 4. DELAPORTE-Siegel

Diese vier Siegel stellen also Götter luwisch durch Namenglyphen und assyrisch durch Symbole dar, sind aber in ihrem Mix von Symbolen und Götternamen sehr unterschiedlich. Luwische Sprache belegen sie nicht: Es bleibt offen, wie der Name des Sonnengottes lautete. Und nicht nur dieser Mix hat sonst keine Entsprechungen, auch die Paarung von *Kubaba* mit dem Sonnengott kommt sonst nicht vor. In KARKAMIŠ A6 werden zwar § 20 „Wettergott, Sonnengott und *Kubaba* und jeder Gott“ aufgezählt, aber das ist nur eine Erweiterung von § 2, wo nur Wettergott und Sonnengott erscheinen.[25] In der Kommagene ist zwar ANCOZ 1,[26] 7[27] § 4 und 10[28] sowie in dem Fragment KÂHTA 1[29] eine Götterliste mit „des

23. Hawkins (2000: 578 und pl. 330).
24. Hawkins (2000: 578 und pl. 331).
25. Hawkins (2000: 124 f.).
26. Hawkins (2000: 346).

Feldes Hirschgott, Herrin *Kubaba*, Sonnengott, *Ikura*, *Tašku*“ belegt, aber ANCOZ 5[30] und 7 § 9 sind der Sonnengott und *Ikura* ausgelassen.

Geläufig ist in den spätluwischen Inschriften die Paarung von Mondgott und Sonnengott wie schon in der Großreichszeit, wo sie in der Götterprozession von Yazılıkaya bereits in dieser Reihenfolge anthropomorph und mit Namenglyphen dargestellt sind.[31] Daran schließen zwei spätluwische Darstellungen an: In KARKAMIŠ B 33, einem monumentalen Relief, stehen sie auf einem Löwen, auch mit den Namenglyphen,[32] in MALATYA 12 opfert der König erst dem Mondgott, dann dem Sonnengott, beide nur durch Mondsichel und Flügelsonne auf dem Kopf charakterisiert.[33]

Eine ungewöhnliche Paarung ist in Kappadokien und in der Amuq-Ebene in Fluchformeln belegt: In SULTANHAN § 31f. der „Mondgott von Harran“ und „von Kar<ka>miš *Kubaba*“,[34] in KARABURUN § 10 zu „der von Harran mit *Kubaba* zusammen“ verkürzt,[35] in TULEIL 2 *Kubaba* und der Mondgott von Harran.[36] Da sind also die Hauptgötter zweier Städte am Nordrand Syriens (heute beide gerade noch in der Türkei) gepaart.

Auf den *Kubaba*-Siegeln ist nicht nur die Paarung mit dem Sonnengott, sondern auch die Assoziation mit weiteren Astralgottheiten auffallend: Mond, Morgenstern und Siebengestirn. Was hatte *Kubaba* mit ihnen zu tun? Nun repräsentiert das DELAPORTE-Siegel den Sonnengott einerseits durch seinen luwisch geschriebenen Namen, andererseits durch seine Personifizierung auf assyrische Weise. Ob er da auch in beiden Sprachen benannt war, also luwisch *Tiwaz* und assyrisch *Šamaš*, bleibt unklar. Diese Doppelung legt aber nahe, daß auf dem Borgia-Siegel der Name der *Kubaba* und der Morgenstern ebenfalls eine luwische und eine assyrische Repräsentation der gleichen Göttin sind, *Kubaba* also mit *Ištar* gleichgesetzt wurde. Und das würde auch die Paarung mit dem Sonnengott erklären: *Šamaš* und *Ištar* waren ja Geschwister. So erscheinen

27. Hawkins (2000: 356f.).
28. Hawkins (2000: 360); die beiden ersten Götter nicht erhalten.
29. Simon (2014); der erste und der letzte Gott nicht erhalten.
30. Hawkins (2000: 350).
31. Hier ^{D}SOL CAELUM, Seeher (2011: 57f. mit Fig. 52f.).
32. Hawkins (2000: pl. 77).
33. Hawkins (2000: pl. 151).
34. Hawkins (2000: 466). Zu ihrem Zusammenwirken Schürr (2020).
35. Hawkins (2000: 481).
36. Hawkins (2000: 383).

beispielsweise auf dem Schwarzen Obelisken Salmanassars III. (825 v. Chr.) Flügelsonne und Morgenstern über Herrschern, die sich unterwerfen.[37]

Eine solche Gleichsetzung ist auf den ersten Blick verblüffend, weil es sich ja um sehr unterschiedliche – und sehr verschieden dargestellte – Göttinnen handelt. Siehe für Kubaba weniger die große Stele von Karkamisch, deren nach Maraş verschlepptes Kopfteil 2015 aufgefunden wurde und die sie stehend zeigt, als ihr Sitzbild in MALATYA 13.[38] Für Ištar vor allem die Abbildungen bei Ornan (2001). Aber es könnten im assyrisch-luwischen Grenzgebiet einfach die jeweils prominentesten Göttinnen gleichgesetzt worden sein. Charon von Lampsakos hat im 5. Jh. bemerkt (wie spätere Quellen berichten), daß Phryger und Lyder die Aphrodite Κυβήβη nennen würden.[39] Da man von einer Gleichsetzung der Aphrodite mit Astarte und damit auch Ištar ausgehen kann, könnte das ein Reflex der assyrisch-luwischen Gleichsetzung sein – aber da der Kontext dieser Äußerung nicht bekannt ist, läßt sich ihr Zeugniswert nicht beurteilen.

§ 4. *Das PORADA-Siegel*

Das PORADA-Siegel unterscheidet sich in jeder Hinsicht von den übrigen *Kubaba*-Siegeln: Es handelt sich um ein Rollsiegel, der Stil und die Ordnung der Darstellungen ist anders, und es bietet auch eine ganz andere Zusammenstellung von Göttern: Zuerst mit ^{d}TONITRUS-*hu* den luwischen Namen des Wettergottes [Tarhus] oder [Tarhunzas], dann ^{d}*Ku*-AVIS, dann ein nur mit Silbenzeichen geschriebenes Wort mit luwischer Endung (Nom. Sg.): *na-wa/i+ra/i-li-sa*. Darauf folgt ein kurioses Emblem: auf einem Ständer eine Schlange mit Hirschkopf, deren Leib eine 8 bildet. Dieses Emblem ist größer als alle anderen Darstellungen oder Zeichensequenzen. Es wird von einem Mann dahinter berührt, was auch ungewöhnlich ist. Dieser Kontakt dürfte also für den Besitzer des Siegels eine besondere Bedeutung gehabt haben. Darauf folgt die Standarte des Mondgottes von Harran wie auf vielen neuassyrischen Siegeln.

37. Keel – Uehlinger 1994, 395 Abb. 4, wobei die wechselnde Position der Sonne die Herrschaft von Osten bis Westen signalisieren soll (ebenda, 403f.).

38. Marchetti – Peker (2018: 91 Fig. 16 und 92 Fig. 17d) sowie Hawkins (2000: pl. 164). Eine „Mistress of Wild Animals“ wie Artemis, wie Payne (2023: 249) aus der Schreibung mit AVIS schließen will, war Kubaba sicher nicht.

39. Siehe Bremmer (2020: 18).

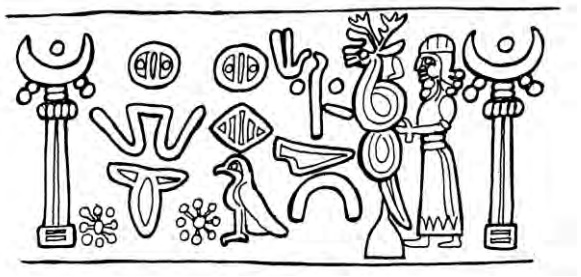


Abb. 5. PORADA-Siegel.

Suzanne Herbordt bemerkte unabhängig vom PORADA-Siegel: „Die Mondsichelstandarte tritt in neuassyrischer Zeit auch des öfteren zusammen mit einer Riesenschlange bei Rollsiegeln aus ganz unterschiedlichen Regionen auf“ – „Einmal als die gehörnte Riesenschlange (*bašmu*) zu erkennen“.[40] Dieses in Tarsos gefundene Rollsiegel mit sehr skizzenhafter Darstellung zeigt neben der Mondstandarte aber nur die übliche sich aufbäumende Schlange mit zwei einfachen Hörnern.[41]

Es sind also hier vier Gottheiten dargestellt, je zwei durch luwische Namenschreibungen und durch Embleme. Die Paarung von Wettergott und *Kubaba* ist auch inschriftlich belegt: KARKAMIŠ 4b,[42] 3[43] und weiter im Westen BULGARMADEN[44] sowie umgekehrt KÖRKÜN.[45] In dem darauf folgenden Wort hat Hawkins einen Beinamen der *Kubaba* angenommen, der keilschriftlich *ni-warallis* entsprechen würde: So ist in einem hethitischen Text die negative Haltung eines Schutzgottes bezeichnet, durch die Negation von *warallis*, das in einem keilschrift-luwischen Text die ‚leibliche‘ Mutter ist.[46] Das paßt aber gar nicht zu der Anführung einer Gottheit auf einem Siegel, und auch die Abschwächung zu ‚foreign‘ (Hawkins)[47] wäre bei einer so gut belegten Gottheit seltsam. Und *na-* für *ni-* ist sonst nirgendwo belegt, was auch entschieden gegen diese Deutung spricht.

40. Herbordt (1992: 101 mit Anm. 269).

41. Goldman (1963: 353, wohl „after 700 B.C.“, im Katalog S. 357 und pl. 163.19 Fotos).

42. Hawkins (2000: 80) mit der Dublette Dinçol *et al*. (2014).

43. Hawkins (2000: 110 § 23).

44. Hawkins (2000: 523). In der Fluchformel dieser Inschrift werden dann Tarhunzas und Götter, Mondgott, Nikaruhas und Kubaba (nur ^{D}*Ku* geschrieben) aufgeführt, so daß *Nikaruhas* theoretisch der Hirschkopfschlange entsprechen könnte.

45. Hawkins (2000: 172).

46. Melchert (1993: 160) setzte ‚alien, hostile‘ an.

47. So auch in Hawkins (2024: 293).

Nun muß es sich aber gar nicht um ein Beiwort handeln: Das könnte auch ein Personenname sein, der von je zwei Götternamen und Götteremblemen flankiert ist. Ein passender Personenname ist tatsächlich belegt, allerdings erheblich früher: hurritisch *Nawar-elli* ‚(die Göttin von) Nawar ist Schwester' zweimal in Mari und dann um 1500 in Nuzi als Frauenname.[48] Was die wenigen bisher bekannten Personennamen hurritischen Ursprungs in spätluwischen Inschriften angeht, nehmen Federico Giusfredi und Valerio Pisaniello an, daß sie auf die Großreichszeit zurückgehen, also in luwischer Überlieferung konserviert wurden.[49] Aber wenn von acht Söhnen des Jariri in KARKAMIŠ A7 vier Namen haben, die mit dem hurritischen Namen des Wettergottes gebildet sind,[50] scheint mir das recht unwahrscheinlich. Hurritische Personennamen sind auch sonst in neuassyrischer Zeit bezeugt,[51] so in Ziyaret Tepe östlich von Diyarbakır „about 700 BC, or maybe even later"[52] unter anderem ein Frauenname mit dem gleichen, allerdings hier *Nabar* geschriebenen Vorderglied.[53] Der *Nawarillis* des Siegels könnte ins luwische Gebiet zugewandert sein und daher seinen Namen an das Luwische angepaßt haben. Der Wettergott ist auf diesem Siegel ja mit seinem luwischen Namen und nicht mit dem hurritischen *Teššob* angeführt.

Das ist eines der spätesten Zeugnisse für die luwische Hieroglyphenschrift und auch luwische Sprache (Endung!): Edith Porada datierte es nach der Kleidung des Mannes, „which corresponds with the robe of the Babylonian crown prince, Shamash-shum-ukin, as portrayed on the stele of his father, Esarhaddon [681–669 v. Chr.], found at Zincirli", ins frühe 7. Jh.[54] Die anderen *Kubaba*-Siegel könnten theoretisch noch später sein; sie belegen ja weder den Gebrauch luwischer Sprache noch eine mehr als rudimentäre Kenntnis luwischer Schrift. Das PORADA-Siegel dürfte einem Ort zuzuordnen sein, wo die singuläre Hirschkopfschlange verehrt wurde, die weder luwisch noch assyrisch ist.

48. Richter (2016: 206).

49. Giusfredi und Pisaniello (2022: 206).

50. Siehe Hawkins (2000: 129). Einmal TONITRUS-*pa-śa*, dreimal *Ti-sa-pa-śa*/*sa* geschrieben.

51. „The northeastern part of Assyria had a sizable autochthonous Hurrian component" (Zadok 2019: 481).

52. Kaldhol (2018: 287).

53. Kaldhol (2018: 292).

54. Porada (1948: 156). Kubala (2015: 32) schließt sich dem an.

§ 5. *Zur Westwanderung der* Kubaba

Eine astrale Assoziation ist möglicherweise mit dem Namen der *Kubaba* zu den Griechen gelangt: Siehe die oben angeführte Gleichsetzung mit Aphrodite, die aber vereinzelt ist. Dagegen ist die Göttin in der Fluchformel einer lydischen Grabinschrift zusammen mit dem luwischen Gott *Santas* und den *Marwainzi*, den ‚dunklen' Göttern, angeführt, die beide schon in einer spätluwischen Inschrift in Kappadokien zusammen erscheinen. Aber die lydische Zusammenstellung *Sãntas Kufaw*(*s*)*-k Mariwda-k* ist neu. Und sie ist das gerade Gegenteil einer Assoziation mit astralen Göttern. Vermutlich sind diese und andere luwische Götter schon vor 700 aus Kappadokien nach Lydien gelangt, weil die Griechen Kubaba von den Lydern übernommen haben werden und das eine lydische Vorform **Kubábs* erfordern dürfte.[55] Herodot (V 102) führt die jonische Form Κυβήβη als eine „einheimische" Göttin in Sardes an, deren Tempel 499 v. Chr. zerstört worden sei. Aber schon im 6. Jh. taucht die nichtjonische Form ΦBABA im unteritalienischen Lokroi auf, wobei der durchstrichene Kreis offenbar ein Qoppa bezeichnen soll. Und bei Amisos an der Schwarzmeerküste ist um 500 v. Chr. Κυβηβώ belegt, das an die neo-assyrische Form *Kubābu* und die aramäische KBBW erinnert:[56] Also nicht durch die Lyder vermittelt? Allerdings wäre möglich, daß diese Form einfach auf das Anhängen einer anderen Feminin-Endung, -ώ statt -α oder -η, an die (früh-)lydische Form zurückgeht. Es sind jedenfalls drei verschiedene Gräzisierungen des Theonyms belegt. Aber wirklich heimisch ist diese Göttin bei den Griechen nicht geworden.

Interessant ist auch, daß in Balboura (Nordlykien) ein wohl von *Kubaba* abgeleiteter einheimischer Männername Κυβαιβιμις belegt ist; zu αι vergleiche dort Ερμαικοτης statt Ερμακοτας und Κενδαιβης neben Κενδηβης.[57] Da in dieser Gegend nach Strabo (13.4.17) auch lydisch gesprochen wurde, wäre hier lydische Vermittlung ebenfalls denkbar, aber dagegen sprechen die anderen Namen in der langen Namenliste: Eine Übernahme aus dem Osten ist wahrscheinlicher.

55. Siehe Schürr (2023: 91).

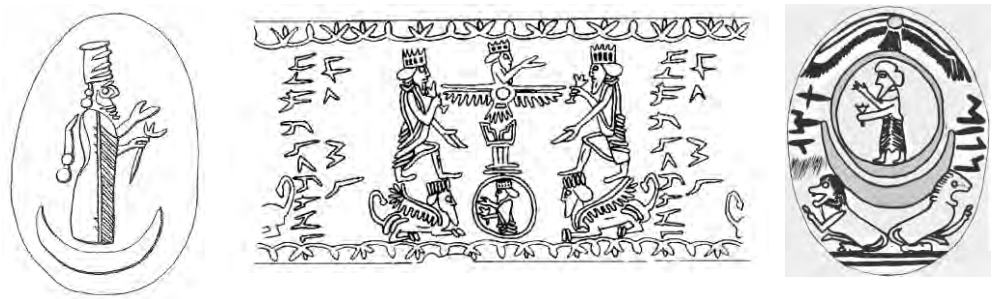
56. Schürr (2023: 84 Anm. 10). Das Theonym ist nur im Dativ belegt, aber die Annahme, daß der Nominativ „Kybebos" war (Şirin – Kolağasıoğlu 2016: 32), ist gänzlich unwahrscheinlich. Oreshko 2021, 158 will die lydische Göttin, folglich auch Κυβήβη und „Kybebos", von Kubaba trennen.

57. Hall und Coulton (1990: 124f.).

§ 6. *Eine astrale Westwanderung*

Ikonographisch läßt sich auch eine astrale Westwanderung fassen, in der Darstellung des Mondgottes:

„A unique depiction of an anthropomorphic deity, who became rather common on Late Babylonian stamp seals, is that of Sin in a crescent, sometimes seen as if in a boat; this depiction is especially common on sixth-century seals“.[58]



(a) (b) (c)

Abb. 6. Mondgott mit Blume nach (a) Ornan (2005), (b) Dusinberre (2008), (c) eigener Zeichnung.

Ein Siegel mit aramäischer Legende – der Besitzer hat den assyrischen Mondgott-Namen Sin-šarra-uṣur – zeigt den in der Sichel stehenden Mondgott mit segnend erhobener Hand und mit einer Blume in der anderen.[59] Diese Art der Darstellung des Mondgottes wurde von den Persern übernommen und auch nach Kleinasien gebracht.[60] So zeigt ein in Gordion gefundenes achämenidisches Siegel mit ebenfalls aramäischer Legende oben den aus der Flügelsonne ragenden Sonnengott, darunter einen Feueraltar und darunter in einem Kreis als Halbfigur den Mondgott, ebenfalls mit „a lotus flower“.[61] Und daran schließt ein Siegel an,

58. Ornan (2005: 68) aber besser neo-assyrisch und ins 7. Jh. datierend, siehe Kühne (1997).

59. Ornan (2005: 242 Fig. 729) nach Bordreuil (1986, Nr. 1099), wo das Siegel in die 2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. datiert ist.

60. Es sei hier auch nochmal an Koch (1996) erinnert, wo der achämenidische Mondgott Taf. 31 und 32 sowie S. 158 Abb. 157 als Goldblechapplike aus einem Grab in Sardes erscheint.

61. Dusinberre (2008: 90 und 91 Fig. 6). Die neo-assyrischen Astralsymbole wurden auch von den Persern übernommen: Flügelsonne, Mondsichel, teilweise mit dem Vollmond kombiniert, und Stern. Das Siegel der Irtašduna zeigt neben Mondsichel, Göttin in einem elaborierten Stern (und Raute) sogar das Siebengestirn (Garrison und Henkelman 2020: 60 Fig. 2.2).

das unter der Flügelsonne auch im Kreis, aber über der Mondsichel den Mondgott stehend mit Blume zeigt, übrigens auch mit Spitzbart. Er wird außerdem von Löwen flankiert. Hier ist die Aufschrift aber lydisch und lautet *Qλd*[*ã*]*nlim*.[62] Damit ist das Siegel als das des Mondgottes bezeichnet, aber mit dessen lydischem Namen. Er ist offenbar mit dem persischen Mondgott gleichgesetzt worden. An diesem Beispiel zeigt sich, daß Bilder für die Identität von Gottheiten aufschlußreicher sind als Namen, wie das mit Nachdruck Othmar Keel und Christoph Uehlinger in ihrem grundlegenden, zuerst 1992 erschienenen Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels anhand von Siegelbildern vertreten.[63]

Der persische Mondgottname *Māh-* dürfte bis Dorylaion (Eskişehir) gelangt sein, wo eine neuphrygische Inschrift drei Götter nennt, zuerst Μιτραφατα oder wohl besser der persische *Mitra* mit einem Beinamen Φατα, dann Μας Τεμρογειος mit einem Beinamen, der sich auf den dortigen Fluß Τεμβρι(ο)ς oder *Tembrogius* bezieht.[64] Da dürfte sich der Mondgott dem Sonnengott anschließen. In Sardes belegt der Stein mit der Inschrift des Persers Droaphernes,[65] römerzeitliche Kopie eines unter Artaxerxes I oder II geschriebenen Originals, auch den Kult von Sabazios, Angdistis und im Genitiv Μας: ebenfalls der persische Mondgott?

Sonst ist in Lydien die Verehrung des Mondgottes (griechisch Μήν/Μείς) vor allem in der Kaiserzeit belegt. Da kehrt auch in wenigen Belegen die Flankierung durch Löwen wieder,[66] doch wohl ein Nachklang der Darstellung auf dem Siegel. Und man wird annehmen dürfen, daß die Prominenz des Mondgottes in der Kaiserzeit etwas mit der Westwanderung des persischen Mondgottes zu tun hat.[67] Auch die persische Göttin *Anahita* wurde in Lydien ja noch in der Kaiserzeit erin-

62. Lemaire (1992), siehe dazu Schürr (demnächst), auch was die fortdauernden Bemühungen betrifft, den lydischen Namen auf Apollon zu beziehen oder gar auf den angeblich vergöttlichten König Kroisos. Siehe zu dem Siegel nun auch Labarre (2023: 318).

63. S. 453–455 in der digitalen Fassung von 2015.

64. Siehe dazu Lubotsky (1997: 122 mit Anm. 10), Obrador-Cursach (2022: 140), der allerdings „a Phrygian inherited name" annimmt. Im Gegensatz zum vorausgehenden Namen mit der phrygischen Nominativendung -ς. Die Variante *Tembrogius* könnte auf ein galatisches (keltisches) Kompositum **Tembri-brogi-* als Bezeichnung für die Flußregion zurückgehen, vergleiche Sowa (2017: 639f.). Der dritte Gott ist Πουντας Βας, wobei das Theonym Βας in den neuphrygischen Inschriften öfters belegt ist.

65. Siehe Briant 1998.

66. Labarre (2009: 394).

67. „If it could be proved that Mên was also of Iranian origin, the Persian influence on the religious outlook of this native Anatolian population would be even more striking" (Mitchell 2007, 169).

nert, mit Artemis gleichgesetzt und daher wie diese (in den lydischen Inschriften) mit dem Mondgott gepaart.[68]

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68. Siehe schon Heubeck 1959, 22, dazu Petzl 2019, Nr. 454-459: Weihungen an Artemis Anaeitis und Men Tiamou in Sardes.

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ADDENDUM: Ein weiteres Stempelsiegel, 1929 in Berlin erworben und im Museum des Oriental Institute in Chicago (OIM A6812), hat Ilya Yakubovich 2010, 209 No. 96 vorgestellt. In der Mitte ^{d}*Ku*-AVIS, rechts wohl eine Variante des Henkelkreuzes, links oben ein dicker Punkt, darunter eine sehr kleine Flügelsonne, dann eine Punktrosette für den Morgenstern.

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Nikarawas Reconsidered

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§ 1. *State of the Art*

The Neo-Hittite deity traditionally called Nikarawas is attested in the curse formula of a single Hieroglyphic Luwian text from Carchemish, dated to the period of Yariris, i.e. c. end of the 9th / beginning of the 8th c.:[1]

(1) *á-pa-pa-wa/i-a* (DEUS)*ni-ka+ra/i-wa/i-sá* CANIS-*ni-i-zi* *á-pa-si-na* |CAPUT-*hi-na* |*ARHA* EDERE-*tú* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §31)

'(…) the dogs of Nikarawas shall eat up his head'

There is no other attestation to this deity. Hawkins 2000: 525 called attention to the similar and equally hapax deity called *Nikaruhas* in the inscription BULGARMADEN §16 (who him/herself should eat up the criminal) from Tabal. The identity of Nikarawas and Nikaruhas was claimed by several scholars,[2] but this claim cannot be accepted due to the obvious formal difficulties (and which are left

1. The transcription follows Hawkins 2000: 125 and has been slightly modernized following the proposal of Vertegaal 2017. The translation is that of the author. The translation of ‹á-pa-›, which has no relevance in the present paper, has deliberately been avoided, on the ongoing discussion see Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 519 n. 3 with refs.

2. Meriggi 1934: 42 n. 1, Gelb 1938: 202, Masson 2010: 53, and Hutter 2021: 306 ('wohl').

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unexplained by all of these scholars).[3] Hawkins 2000: 474 restored the fragmentary divine name *ní-ka*-[…] in KAYSERİ §8 (also from Tabal) in a fragmentary curse formula as Nikaruhas, which is not impossible (both the identification and the restoration were classified as 'möglich' by Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 520).

While some translators have left Nikarawas without comment,[4] three different theories have been proposed as to its identification.

§ 1.1. *Ninkarrak?*

Based on the formal assonance of the name along with its association with dogs, the deity Nikarawas was identified with the Mesopotamian healing goddess Ninkarrak by Gelb 1938: 201–203 (cf. already 1935: 16; accepted by Westenholz 2010: 390).[5] However, this proposal is problematic both philologically and linguistically.

From a philological point of view, the problem is that Ninkarrak was not known in the Hittite and Neo-Hittite world. In this region, she is attested only in the Old Assyrian texts (twice) and once in the Hittite period, in a Middle Babylonian ritual (see the refs. in Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 523).[6] The latter one is obviously connected to the Hittite scribal practices and not to the living religion, as pointed out already by Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 523 ('ein Beispiel hethitischer Schreibergelehrsamkeit'). In other words, the identification of Nikarawas, attested at the end of the 9th / beginning of the 8th c. in Carchemish (as per above), requires a Mesopotamian religious influence in the early first millennium upon Carchemish, which is

3. Meriggi attributed the variation to 'weak articulation' of the laryngeal; however, as we know today, the articulation of the laryngeal was anything but weak (see in detail Simon 2014 and Kloekhorst 2018). Gelb's assumptions of an *-awa-* > *-uwa-* change and a laryngeal as a hiatus filler in the sequence *-ua-* (1935: 16, 1938: 202: *Nikarawas* > **Nikaru^{w}as* > **Nikaruwas* > **Nikaru'as* > *Nikaruḫas*) are *ad hoc* in Luwian. His alleged parallel change (*Tuwana* > **Tu^{w}ana* > **Tu'ana* > *Tuḫana*) is not helpful, because it does not show the assumed *-awa-* > *-uwa-* change and Tuḫana is a Neo-Assyrian form, and thus, there can be several other reasons for the change besides that of a Luwian sound change. Alternatively and cautiously, he proposed a *k* > *ḫ* change as well, for which there is no evidence and it would not solve the matter of the formal differences anyway.

4. Hawkins 2000: 125, 2017: 62; Payne 2012: 84; ACLT s.v. *Nikkarawa-* [*sic*]; Peker 2022: 56. Hrozný's cautious identification with Nergal (1934: 241 n. 4) was understandably based on his outdated reading as Nakāvas. Hutter's views are not clear, since in one case he identified Nikarawas with Ninkarrak (2021: 214), and in another case, some pages later, he identified Nikarawas with NGR of the KTMW-stele (2021: 306).

5. As an explanation of Nikarawas, G. Wilhelm *apud* Hawkins 2005: 154 n. 19 claims that the dog was the 'Symboltier' of Ninkarrak. The implications of this claim remain unclear.

6. Therefore, it does not have an entry in van Gessel 1998.

not impossible *a priori* (on Ninkarrak in Mesopotamia in the first millennium see Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 524 and esp. Westenholz 2010: 391–395), but it would be better supported if there was independent evidence for this assumption (Gelb 1938: 203 himself referred to the case of Marutikas, the alleged Tabalian form of Marduk, but this claim lacks evidence, cf. Simon 2023a: 337–339). Linguistic identity would be such a piece of evidence, but this is not the case.

Since preconsonantal nasals and geminates were not expressed in Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling,[7] the first half of the names can be identical, and thus, a linguistic identification of Nikarawas with Ninkarrak only needs to explain the different *Auslaut*s. Word-final stops were regularly deleted in Luwian (Melchert 2003: 182), and thus, her Luwian name would have been **Ninkarra*.[8] Then, however, one has to explain the additional syllable *-wa-* in Luwian, both formally and semantically. There is indeed a suffix *-wa-* in Luwian, which was used by Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 521 to explain the formal difference. Nevertheless, its meaning does not fit: it has both an 'equative' (Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 521 ['ausgestattet mit'], following Starke 1990: 183 ['versehen mit'], see also Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1998: 249) and a 'ranking' function ('equal to', Rieken and Sasseville 2014), but neither makes sense here.[9] Moreover, the usage of the suffix is not motivated at all, whichever meaning may be the correct one: It fails to work semantically (why a theonym should be suffixed with such a suffix at all, or in general, with any suffix that is not required morphophonologically or semantically?) or formally: **Ninkarra* would have perfectly fitted the *a*-stem declension in Luwian.

All in all, the equation with Ninkarrak is not impossible, but it is problematic both formally and from a religious studies point of view.

7. On alleged counterexamples regarding the geminates see the discussion in Simon 2016–2017: 262 n. 7.

8. Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 521 refers to spellings with omitted *-ak*, which, however, are restricted from Ur III to the Old Babylonian periods, and thus, setting aside the problematic issue of the underlying phonetical form, it could not have influenced an Iron Age form. Should one still prefer a Mesopotamian form **Ninkar*(*ra*), the issue of the derivation of Nikarawas from this form remains, see below.

9. Note that neither Hutter-Braunsar's claim (the suffix can be used without any discernible semantic evidence in the case of names, 2019: 521) nor her supporting examples are correct (*Innarawa* is a personal name derived from a theonym and *Warpalawas* is not derived from '*Ur-balla*' (*recte Urpallâ*), but the latter represents a Neo-Assyrian transcription of the former, Simon 2018: 128).

§ 1.2. *NGR?*

Masson 2010: 53 provided an alternative explanation. She proposed that Nikarawas is identical to the deity mentioned in the KTMW stele from Sam'al as NGR.[10] This was accepted by several scholars (Niehr 2014: 189, Pardee 2014: 47; Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 524–525), and Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 525–526 added the Aramaic deity NKR from the Sefire I A stela (a treaty written in Aramaic from the first half of the 8th c. between two Northern Syrian rulers). There are, however, numerous problems with the identification of Nikarawa as NKR/NGR:

First, in the KTMW stela, NGR may not even be the correct reading, since, due to the peculiarities of the ductus of the stele (Pardee 2009: 54–56), it can also be read as NGD. Accordingly, it also had a completely different interpretation as 'officer', as part of the epithet 'the officer (in charge) of provisions' or 'of the hunts' (Pardee 2009: 61, followed by Kottsieper 2011: 323 with n. 9), although this was later given up by its author (as per above). Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 525 called this interpretation 'sehr unwarscheinlich[e]', pointing out its unparalleled nature.

Second, assuming that NGR is the correct reading, the [g] needs an explanation if it is to be connected with NKR. Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 525 rightly called attention to NBŠ 'soul' in the same inscription, instead of the expected (non-Sam'alian) *NPŠ. Nevertheless, this (sporadic) voicing is restricted to **p* (see most recently Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021: 208 with ref.). In other words, although the identity of NGR and NKR cannot be excluded, this assumption is problematic phonologically.

Third, whichever form is chosen for the stem, the problem of the *-wa-* suffix discussed above remains unanswered in this case, too.

All in all, although the 'stem' of Nikarawas formally fits all three possibilities (NKR, NGR, and even NGD),[11] their identification cannot be taken as having been demonstrated given the unsolved morphophonological problems.

§ 1.3. *A Luwian deity?*

Finally, García Trabazo 2021[12] proposed an Indo-European etymology '**ni-g^{h}r̥(bh$_2$)-u̯ó-*/**ni-g^{h}or(-b/d^h)-u̯ó-* 'die (Gottheit) des Nieder- oder Hinabgreifens''

10. Since the vocalisation of KTMW is unknown (see the extensive discussion of Younger 2009: 159–166 with refs.), I prefer to refer to this text as KTMW stela instead of embracing unsubstantiated vocalisations ('Katumuwa', 'Kuttamuwa', etc.) present in the secondary literature.

11. The [d] of NGD would have undergone the regular Luwian process of rhotacism in the intervocalic position, the result of which can also be spelt with ‹r›.

based on concepts of Indo-European speaking peoples of the dog(s) of the underworld or of an underworld deity as well as possible alliteration in its context (he suspects that the underlying word for logographic *ARHA* EDERE is not the usual Luwian word 'to eat', i.e. *ad-* / *ād-*, but rather a Luwian cognate of Hittite *karāp-* / *kare*/*ip-* 'to devour').[13]

This proposal has two problems: one formal and one methodological. On the formal side, none of the proposed Proto-Indo-European roots (**g*^{h}*rebh*$_2$- 'ergreifen' and **ĝ*^{h}*er*- 'nehmen, holen') lead to Luwian °*kar*° for phonological reasons. But the methodological problem is more serious: assuming that one can find a formally fitting derivation, it is impossible to prove it as such, since we do not know the *meaning* of the word underlying the theonym. Therefore, one is absolutely free to find any root that can semantically be connected in any way to the theonym, and this leads to unlimited speculation. An illuminating example here is the case of Ἐνῡάλιος, a Greek war god, the original meaning of whose name is of course unknown: It has both a formally regular Indo-European etymology (most recently Schaffner 2019 [2021]: *(*h*$_1$)*enu-w̥l̥h*$_3$*-iyo-* 'one who is/acts along the battlefield') and a formally regular loanword etymology (Yakubovich 2021, from early Lydian **enuwalya*- '(a title)'). This clearly demonstrates the weakness of the etymologising method.

Therefore, before turning to etymologies, we should be certain that all of the possible solutions that (a) rely on a locally attested god, i.e. which are embedded in the Anatolian religious traditions (in other words, fitting from a religious studies point of view) and (b) that do not require unmotivated suffixes or any linguistic conjectures (in other words, that are linguistically fitting) are exhausted. In the next section, I propose that this is not the case.

§ 2. *A new proposal*

My starting point is the well-known fact that the Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling is ambiguous. I recall only four relevant features:

(1) Preconsonantal nasals are not expressed.
(2) Geminates and singletons are not distinguished.

12. I am very grateful to José Virgilio García Trabazo for kindly providing me with the files of his unpublished talk and permitting me to quote it.

13. Furthermore, he cautiously suggested explaining Nikaruha from '**ni-g*^{h}*r̥*(*b*)*h*$_2$*-u̯ó-*', which, however, requires not only the unexplained loss of *-b-* but also an irregular metathesis of the laryngeal.

(3) Voiceless and voiced consonants are not distinguished either. In other words, the consonant underlying ‹k› can be [k], [g], [kk], or [gg].[14] In order to avoid too complicated transcriptions, I will refer to these possibilities with the cover symbol *K*.
(4) All signs of the structure ‹Ca› and ‹Ca/i› can regularly express only the consonant without the vowel, too, i.e. their phonetic interpretation is [C] (except if the consonant is a glide).

In sum, the reading possibilities are as follows: Ni(n)K(a)r(r)(a/i)was.[15] It also means that the traditional reading ‘Nikarawas’ is only one among several equally regular possibilities. The situation is complex from a morphological point of view as well, since the gen. sg. form in °*was* can imply two different nominatives: first, obviously, it can be the gen. sg. of an *a*-stem, i.e. Ni(n)K(a)r(r)(a/i)wa-. Second, in theory, it could also be the gen. sg. of an *u*-stem, i.e. Ni(n)K(a)r(r)u-. *U*-stems receive a labial glide in spelling in the case of endings beginning with the vowel [a], such as the gen. sg. (Yakubovich 2015: §6.2), but it is hard to decide whether we are phonetically dealing with two syllables [°u.wa°] or this is only the graphic expression of a syllable with a glide in onset, i.e. [wa]. It is interesting to note that from a historical point of view there is a third possibility: an *a*-stem, which is, however, the result of the thematicisation of an earlier *u*-stem. For this trivial process in Indo-European languages the deity *Allanzu*(*wa*) provides a perfect example among the theonyms: its name was consistently used as an *u*-stem in the Empire period cuneiform sources (stem form *Allanzu*, nom. *Allanzuš*, see the attestations in van Gessel 1998: 20–21), but as a thematicised stem *Allanzuwa* in the Iron Age (hieroglyphic) sources ((DEUS)*Á-la-zú-wa*/*i-sa* [nom.] and (DEUS)*Á-la-zú-wa*/*i-ia* [dat.], see the attestations in ACLT s.v.).

Whichever form we choose, Ni(n)K(a)r(r)u- or Ni(n)K(a)r(r)(a/i)wa-, they lead us to another well-attested divine name: the regular reading *NiKarwas* (gen.) implies the nominative *NiKaru-* / *NiKarwa-*, among which *NiKaru-* is the regular Luwian rendering of *Nikkalu-*, the Hittite form of the Mesopotamian deity *Ningal*, which became an *u*-stem name via Hurrian (van Gessel 1998: 333–334; Imparati 1998–2001: 356), since intervocalic /l/ regularly undergoes rhotacism in Hiero-

14. Here I omit the unsubstantiated alternative phonetic interpretations of the Luwian stop system, as they are not relevant to the problem discussed here.

15. Note that the spelling ‹ra/i-wa/i› for the consonant sequence [rw] is fully regular, see, e.g. (VIA)*ha+ra*/*i-wa*/*i-ni* ‘to send, dispatch (2nd imp. act.)’ (AŠŠUR-letters d §6 §7, f+g §25), (BRACCHIUM)*i-sa*$_5$*+ra*/*i-wa*/*i-la*[…] ‘right (hand)’ (KARKAMIŠ A15a §9) (Bauer and Payne 2022; Bauer and Sasseville 2021, etc.).

glyphic Luwian, producing a sound spelt with signs containing ‹r› among others. In the case of a nominative *NiKarwa*-, the thematicisation of the earlier *u*-stem happened after the rhotacism.[16]

As mentioned above, the *u*-stem shows that we are dealing with a Hurrian form, which implies either a Hittite loan in Luwian or a Luwian loan in Hittite. Since Ningal was adopted into the Hittite pantheon via the Luwian-speaking Kizzuwatna (Haas 1994: 620; Imparati 1998–2001: 357; cf. Hutter 2021: 123), a Luwian loan in Hittite is more probable, and thus the Iron Age *NiKarus* / *Nikarwas* is a continuation of the Luwian **Nikkalus*. But even if it is a Hittite loan in Luwian, it does not pose a problem for the present analysis since the survival of Hittite gods in the Neo-Hittite world (including gods of ultimately Hurrian origin) does not need any demonstration.

In other words, the Luwian spelling allows the reading of a completely different divine name, too, which is, however, formally fitting, unlike the current proposals.

What can be said about the functional side? Unlike Ninkarrak, Ningal is well-attested in Hittite rituals and even in onomastics, usually connected with Kizzuwatna.[17] As mentioned above, the only characteristics of ‘Nikarawas’ we know of is that its dogs can attack as punishment. Interestingly enough, Ningal is associated with dogs in her ritual (CTH 494, Ritual für die Mondgöttin Ningal), in which the dogs of Ningal receive fat, fatty bread, bloody bread, and libation.

All in all, the identification with Hittite *Nikkalu*- provides a both formally and functionally fitting identification of the deity known as ‘Nikarawas’.

At this juncture we can briefly return to NGR/D and NKR and compare them to this result. NKR is probably a male deity,[18] so any connection with ‘Nikarawas’ must be ruled out. As far as NGR is concerned, the assumption that NGR is the

16. Note that this does not lead to any chronological problem, even though the exact date of Luwian rhotacism is debated. First, the thematicisation could have happened in the Iron Age. Second, there is clear evidence for rhotacism from the Empire period (the god *Mūlī* [Hittite transmission] from Mountain Muti [hieroglyphic spelling, see Hutter 2003: 273–274 with n. 52] and Luwian [cuneiform] *tiwariya*- ‘an epithet of the plant of the Sun-god’ [regardless of what the underlying word was, **tiwadiya*- ‘of the Sun-god’ or *tiwaliya*- ‘divine’, cf. esp. Yakubovich 2010: 35 with n. 26 with refs. and not dissimilation, *contra* Melchert forthcoming s.v.] and probably already from the Old Assyrian Colony period (*Tí-wa-li-is* [kt s/t 92 rev. 12] from **Tiwadis*, Giusfredi 2019: 249–250). On the date of Luwian rhotacism see the detailed discussion in Simon 2023b.

17. Haas 1994: *passim*; Imparati 1998–2001: 356–357; Taracha 2009: *passim*; Hutter 2021: 123.

18. Hutter-Braunsar 2019: 526 doubts this claiming that the scheme of the passage of NKR is not identical to those previous ones listing divine couples, but this is not the case, see Voigt 1994.

correct reading and not NGD does not suffice to connect it with *NiKarus* / *Nikarwas*: although the Luwian spelling is ambiguous regarding the value of the middle consonant, the Hittite and Ugaritic spellings (Nikkalu- and ‹nkl› [del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2003: 630], resp.) make it clear that it must have been voiceless. Accordingly, any connection to NGR (and NGD) must probably also be ruled out (on the improbability of a sporadic voicing in this case, see above). Furthermore, if *Nikarwa-* is the correct stem, it definitely rules out any connection to any of these deities, as they would have been spelt with a final °W.

§ 3. *Conclusions*

The traditional reading ‘Nikarawas’ of the name of a Neo-Hittite deity and its identification with the Mesopotamian goddess Ninkarrak are neither formally nor functionally satisfying, the identification with an Aramaic deity NGR/NKR is not satisfying formally, and the proposed Indo-European etymology is formally and methodologically problematic. Instead, the regular interpretation of its spelling as *NiKaru-* or *NiKarwa-* provides a both formally and functionally fitting identification with *Nikkalu-*, the Hittite form of the Mesopotamian goddess Ningal.

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Apollo Tyrimnos: origin, names, attributes, and cult of the patron god of Thyateira[1]

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Thyateira (modern Akhisar) was a city advantageously located in north-western Lydia, amidst the fertile plain of the Lycus river and at an important road junction between Pergamum at the north-east, Sardis at the south-east, and Magnesia and Smyrna at the south-west. Thanks to this location, the original Hellenistic settlement became a thriving trade hub in the 1st century CE: guilds of dyers, bakers, tanners, cobblers, wool-workers, leather-cutters, are all well-attested in an ample epigraphic evidence, mainly of an honorary character; and also, the presence of Roman businessmen is equally relevant as an indication that Thyateira was looking forward toward a prosperous future during the imperial period.[2] In contrast, as in

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2. On the site and the history of Thyateira, see Keil (1936), Magie (1950: 1.123, 2.972–973 and 977–978) and Cohen (1995: 238–241). For the community of "Roman businessmen" (πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι) in Thyateira, see Hatzfeld (1919: 165–166). For the craftsmen associations, see Dittmann-Schöne (2001: 174–187) and Arnatouglou (2011: 265–270). In the 2nd century CE, the geographer Ptolemy called Thyateira μητρόπολις Λυδίας (cf. 5.2.16), but this title was only officially held by Sardis, the former capital of the Lydian kingdom: ἡ πρωτόχθων | καὶ μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσ[ί]ας καὶ Λυδίας ἁπάσης κα[ὶ] | δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβασ|τῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱ|ερᾶς συγκλήτου, φίλη καὶ | σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων κ(αὶ) | οἰκεία τοῦ κυρίου αὐτο|κράτορος ἡ λαμπροτά|τη Σαρδιανῶν πόλις (*SEG* 36.1096, 5–14). The claim for the title of μητρόπολις was a common strategy for the cities to enhance their historical importance and place themselves at the same level as the

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many other cities in Roman Asia Minor, the members of the local aristocracy seemed to be well-anchored in a pre-Roman past, even embracing the native Anatolian heritage of the region as a way to establish the depth of the city history and increase its prestige before the Roman authorities. For instance, as some ancient traditions declared that Thyateira had borne the names of Semiramis and Pelopeia, one brief inscription from the Roman period also recorded these two names of the city, claiming such links to Assyrian and Lydian rulers.[3] More interesting, however, is the case of Tyrimnos, a native divinity assimilated to Apollo in Thyateira, who features in inscriptions as an "ancestral god" (προπάτωρ θεός) and was represented on different coin types of the imperial period with "indigenous" attributes such as the Lydian double-axe (λάβρυς). The local aristocrats presented themselves not only as pious believers of this god, but also as generous donors of his temple and the religious festival which was celebrated in his honour. One reason for such patronage was their interest in the revitalization of a prestigious past, typical of much of the Roman elite in the Greek East; but how much did they really know about this past in association with the god? and to what extent did they manipulate it to gain imperial favour? and how popular did they make the cult of Tyrimnos, even among the less affluent classes of Thyateira?[4]

Thyateira was originally a Lydian fortress town at the very edge of the territory of the Mysians, its first inhabitants being probably distributed in villages and

largest cities in the Greek East. See Puech (2004). However, Thyateira was not designated as a seat of a judicial district (or *conventus*) until the reign of Caracalla, having previously remained attached to the district of Pergamum (cf. Pliny, *NH* 5.33.126 and *TAM* V.2 943).

3. Σεμίραμις | Πελωπία | Θυάτειρα (*TAM* V.2 1177). For the ancient names of Thyateira, cf. also Plin. *NH* 5.31.115, and St. Byz. s.v. Θυάτειρα. For other minorasiatic cities being founded on the mound of Semiramis (ἐπὶ χώματι Σεμιράμιδος), cf. Strab. 12. 2.7 (Tyana), and 12.3. 37 (Zela). In the Imperial Basilica of Roman Aphrodisias, Semiramis was also depicted alongside other legendary figures as founder of the city. See Jones (1999: 139–143). For the legendary kingdom of Pelops (*Pelopeia arva*) in Lydia or Phrygia, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8. 621–623. Tantalus and Pelops were claimed to be founders of Smyrna, and Pelops was also depicted on Roman coins of Magnesia on-the-Sipylus, Smyrma and Sardes. See Gruen (2011: 227–229) and Sánchez Hernández (2016: 231–234).

4. On this "reconfigured" past of the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, mostly used to justify imperial favours, see Alcock (2001) and Heller (2006). For the representation of old myths on coins of the Roman period, see Price (2005). For athletic and musical performances as a way to reassert links to a mythical past before the Roman authorities, see van Nijf (1999–2000) and (2001), and Klose (2005). For example, a coin depicted the city of Thyateira offering a statuette of Apollo Tyrimnos to Caracalla after his visit in 214 CE. See Harl (1987) 56 with plate 22.8.

hamlets around it.[5] In the early Hellenistic period, this stronghold welcomed a colony of Macedonian veterans who owed allegiance to Seleucus I –they might have been installed there not long after the battle of Curupedium in 281 BC–, and perhaps they felt impelled to stress their own identity and religious traditions there.[6] Actually, some have argued that the name Τύριμνος would not have specific Seleucid associations, but would be related to a legendary Macedonian king called Τυρίμμας, who was first represented on coins as an Anatolian axe-bearing horseman and later re-emerged in Greek garb as Apollo (see further below).[7] However, it is hard to believe that a legendary king, who was not demonstrably worshipped in Macedonia and was barely mentioned in the ancient sources —the first occurrence of the name is in a fragment of the historian Satyrus (cf. *FGrHist* nº 631 F1)—, would have been elevated to the top position in the pantheon of a colony. Besides, the earliest epigraphic evidence of Thyateira was a dedication to Ἀπόλλων Πιτυαηνός (i.e., an Apollo presumably worshipped at a place called Πιτύαια or Πιτυαία) and also, in these earlier times, Ἀπόλλων Τύριμνος was coupled with a local Ἄρτεμις Βορειτήνη (i.e., an Artemis venerated at Βορειτα), which rather points to a) the integration of rural areas into the civic territory of Thyateira and b) the incorporation of native religious traditions into the Greek belief system imported into Thyateira by the Macedonians.[8] On the other hand, Τύριμνος could be

5. For -τειρα supposedly signifying the "fortress" in Lydian, see Magie (1950: 2.977), Cohen (1995: 238). See also Zgusta (1984: 83 §80 Απατειρα, 187 §349 Θυάτειρα and 607 §1311 Τειρ⁄α⁄). We have evidence for locations within the territory of Thyateria, such as *Azaphyta* (*TAM* V.2 859), Μερνούφυτα (*TAM* V.2 959), the colony of the Ταβειρηνοί (*TAM* V.2 967), and the villages of the Ἀρηνοί and the Ναγδημοί (*TAM* V.2 974). See Magie (1950: 2.1023) and Cohen (1995: 241–242).

6. Macedonian settlers: κατοικία Μακεδόνων (Strab. 13.4.4), Μενέδημος | Νεοπτολέμου | Μακεδών (*TAM* V.2 1109), [οἱ π]ερὶ Θυάτειρ[α] | [Μ]ακεδόνες (*TAM* V.2 1166). Seleucid military colony: βασιλεῖ Σελεύκω<ι> | τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις | Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡ|γεμόνες καὶ οἱ στ|ρατιῶται (*TAM* V.2 901). For the establishment of the colony after Seleucus's victory over Lysimachus, cf. St. Byz. s.v. Θυάτειρα (claiming that it was named Θυγάτειρα for a daughter of Seleucus born there). Mitchell (2018, 20) suggested that the Macedonian presence at Thyateira was pre-Seleucid, arguing for an early dating of these inscriptions. On Macedonian colonies in Lydia and western Phrygia, see Mitchell (2018): 16–28. When later settlers came to a neighbouring village in the 2nd century BCE, this ancestry was no longer asserted: οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέων | Ἀττάλου | καὶ Εὐμένους | κατοικοῦντες | Μερνουφυτα (*TAM* V.2 959, 2–6).

7. Tyrimnos "tire son origine […] du roi légendaire macédonien Tyrimnas, et qu'il a subi une influence lydienne pour la double hache et pour le cheval; ce serait une synthèse de macédonien et de lydien" (Robert 1978a: 247 n. 36).

8. In general, on these processes of borrowing and transimission between urban and rural cultic centres in Asia Minor, see Dignas (2002: 224–246). The suffix *-enos*/*-ene* indicates the place where a

connected to τύραννος, a loan-word in Greek from the Lydian language designating the "absolute ruler", which was also used as an epithet of the Anatolian moon-god Men in Lydia.[9] In other words, the hypothesis of a Macedonian origin of the god Tyrimnos may be safely discarded in favour of a native Anatolian one.

The theonym Τύριμνος is more likely to be a derivative of the root *τύρ(ι)-, which was also present in indigenous names of Anatolian settlements, such as Τύρος, Τύρρα, Τυρεῖν in Lydia, and also Τυριά(ε)ιον in southern Phrygia and Lycaonia.[10] Following Ilya Yakubovich's interpretation of the Lydian *mλimn-* in a decree from Sardes (cf. *LW* 22) as the counterpart of the Greek Μερμνάδαι (i.e., the ruling dynasty of the Lydian kingdom), the word element -μν- in Τύριμνος could be interpreted as the Lydian suffix *-mv(i)-* which was similar to the Hittite *-(u)mna-*, being both used for the construction of ethnic names from toponyms.[11] Τύριμνος would be thus explained as the name of the god "coming from" or "be-

given deity was venerated: not far from Sardes, see an Ἄρτεμις Κολοηνή (at the lake Koloe, in Lydia) with an Ἀπόλλων Πλευρηνός (at the πλευρά, the "side" of the lake Koloe). For Ἀπόλλων Πιτυαηνός, cf. *TAM* V.2 881 (dated to the year 37 of the Seleucid era, i.e., 276/5 BCE). For the etimology of the epithet Πιτυαηνός, see Zgusta (1984: 498 §1067–5). For a connection with πίτυς ("pine"), see also De Hoz (1999: 51). For the pairing of Ἀπόλλων Τύριμνος with Ἄρτεμις Βορειτήνη, cf. *TAM* V.2 882 and 884 (dedications by the same person) and *BMC* Lydia CXXI and 292 plate XXIX nº 1 (bronze coins with Artemis bust / standing Apollo). The epithet Βορειτήνη is also presumed to derive from a toponym. See Zgusta (1984: 125 §160 Βορειτ⁄α⁄). For this "einheimische Artemis" also paired with the Mother Goddess, see De Hoz (1999: 34, 95–96). Coins of the imperial period with the inscription ΒΟΡΕΙΤΗΝΗ show a bust of Artemis with quiver and bow. Cf., for instance, *RPC* IV.2,1559, 9780, 9781 (with eagle on reverse), 2502, 17491 (with river-god Lycus on reverse). See also Hermann and Malay (2007: 46 nº 29 with fig. 29).

9. For Τύραν(ν)ος as epithet of Men in Lydian inscriptions, cf. *TAM* V.1,255 (Kula), 350 (Kollyda), 536, 537 (Maeonia). See De Hoz (1999: 42, 98–100). For Τύριμνος as a non-Greek name, see also Parker (1999: 192, 224). For the connection between Τύριμνος and τύραννος, see also De Hoz (1999: 54).

10. The Lydian settlement of Τυριά(ε)ιον was granted the status of a polis by the Attalid king Eumenes II: cf. *SEG* 47.1745 βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Τοριαιτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι χαίρειν, etc. with Jonnes and Ricl (1997: 7–11). For another Τυριά(ε)ιον in Lycaonia, cf. Robert (1967[2]) 123–126. See also Zgusta (1984: 643–645 § 1387–1 Τυρεῖν, § 1387–2 Τυριάειον/Τυριαῖον, § 1387–3 Τύρος, § 1387–4 Τύρρα).

11. For *-(u)mna-,* see, for instance, *Hattusumna* ("inhabitant from Hattusa") and *Luiumna* ("Luwian"). For *-mv(i)-*, see *ipšimvav* (gen. pl. of *ipsimš(i)-,* "of Ephesus"), *kulumvav* (gen. pl. of *kulumš(i)*, "of [lake] Koloe"). On these linguistic analogies, apart from Yakubovich (2017: 288–289), see Sayce (1925: 32 and 1932: 11) and Schürr (1997: 207).

longing to" a Lydian locality near Thyateira.[12] This local god was first assimilated to Apollo, and then, in the Imperial period, to the sun-god Helios, being thus venerated as Ἥλιος Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυριμναῖος.[13] This merging of Anatolian and Greek traditions was very common in Asia Minor: in Lydia, a rural sanctuary in southwest Saittae was devoted to a god who was called Ἀπόλλων Ἀξυρ(ε)ός or Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων Ἀξυρεός throughout the imperial period,[14] and in neighbouring Phrygia, some 40 kilometes north of Hierapolis, Apollo was worshipped under the name of Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων Λαιρβηνός.[15] Moreover, Apollo was clearly one of the most multifaceted deities of the Greek pantheon: his identification with the sun-god goes back to the 5th century BCE and the epithet Πύθιος derives from Πυθώ, the ancient epic name of Delphi where Apollo killed the serpent Pytho with his arch.[16] Most probably, the Macedonian colonists introduced the cult of Apollo into Thyateira emulating Seleucus I, himself a worshipper of Apollo, who promoted the cult of this god in his eastern dominions.[17] As for the epithet Τυριμναῖος, it is clearly a derivative of the native theonym Τύριμνος, created by analogy to other Greek

12. See Zgusta (1984: 646 § 1387–5 *Τύριμνα with map 518) for an hypothesis of the name and location of this town.

13. Cf. *TAM* V.2 956, 976, 984, 997, and 1025. According to Robert, this assimilation to Apollo and Helios occurred "très tardivement" (1978a: 247) and "pas avant le IIIe siècle" (1948: 72 n.6); but Mazzei (2022: 115) dates it to the reign of emperor Hadrian.

14. For the dedications to this local cult of Apollo, see Hermann and Malay (2007: 70–71 nºs 46–47), and Malay and Peltz (2017: 129–133 nºs 117–122, especially n.º 120, where Ἀπόλλων Ἀξυρεός is qualified as Ἥλιος for the first time). For the location of this and other rural shrines of Lydian deities, later assimilated to Greek ones, see Ricl (2003: 78 n.3).

15. In inscriptions, the form Λαιρμηνός is common, but Λερμηνός, Λερβηνός, Λειμηνός, and Λυαρμηνός are also found. See Miller (1985), Ricl (1995), and Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız (2000: 72–75). Coins of Hierapolis from the imperial period with the inscription ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟC stereotypically show a draped bust of Apollo wearing radiate crown. Cf., for instance, *RPC* IV.2,2069–2070 (reign of Antoninus Pius), and VI 5467–5472 (reign of Elagabalus).

16. Apollo left the body of the snake (πύθω) to rot in the heat of the sun: ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθὼ κικλήσκεται, οἱ δὲ ἄνακτα / Πύθειον καλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον οὕνεκα κεῖθι / αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἠελίοιο (*h.Ap*. 372–374). See Graf (2009: 29–32 and 57–60 for Pythian Apollo and 151–153 for the sun-god Apollo).

17. The Apolline oracle of Dydima actually predicted the kingship of Selecus in the East. Cf. Diod. Sic. 19. 90.1–5, App. *Syr.* 56. For Apollo as patron god of the Seleucid dynasty, see Erickson and Wright (2011), and Iossif (2011).

epithets ending in -αῖος that usually express a local advocation of a divinity (therefore, the infix -μν- was probably interpreted as part of the word root).[18]

As the city patron god of Thyateira, Tyrimnos featured on coins in three distinct ways: first, as a typical Anatolian horseman dentified by the accompanying inscription TYPIMNOC, holding the double-axe over his shoulder (sometimes this double-axe occurred alone as symbol of the city; cf. figs. 1 and 2); then, in the form of a standing Apollo, holding the laurel branch as well as the double-axe (and different from another type of Apollo, also represented standing, but holding a serpent as a healing god; cf. fig. 3); and finally, as the sun-god Helios with a radiant crown, holding the double-axe and the laurel branch, and driving a chariot drawn by four horses (perhaps a symbolic depiction of the games celebrated in honour of this god; cf. fig. 4 and below).[19] More importantly, Tyrimnos was claimed to be an "ancestral god" (προπάτωρ θεός), which implied a divine origin of the city as a whole and, in particular, of the leading families of the city.[20] In that regard, the reign of Hadrian seems a turning point, since at this period this claim featured for the first (and last) time as a formal element of the imperial titulature of Thyateira:

For the good Fortune! The glorious and emperor-loving council of the most illustrious and conspicuous city of Thyateira, sacred to the ancestral god Helios Pythios Apollo Tyrimnaios, honoured Tib(*erius*) *Cl*(*audius*) *Menogenes Caecilianus, priest for life of Dionysos the "Leader" following his ancestors, and high priest of Asia and of the homeland at the same time, and agonothetes.* (*He was*) *the son of Cl*(*audius*) *Socrates Sacerdotianus, agonothetes, stephanephoros, twice prytanis, high priest and priest of Dionysos, and of Iul*(*ia*) *Menogenes, who erected the xystoi for the fatherland as agonothetes, and was stephanephoros, prytanis, and daughter of the city by the birth of Menogenes, the agonothetes, stephanephoros*

18. Among other epithets of Apollo with a similar ending in -αῖος in Asia Minor, see Δαλδιαῖος ("of Daldis" [Lydia]), Κιλλαῖος ("of Killa" [Mysia]), Κωμαῖος ("of the village"), or Ναπαῖος ("of the glens"), etc.

19. For Apollo Tyrimnaios on coins, see also Lambridunakis *et al*. (1984: 246 n.º 491) and Hermann (1997). For other depictions of Apollo as an axe-bearing rider figure, see Delemen (1999: 43–57 and also 167–175 n.º 298–311, mentioning Apollo Bozenos and Tarsios (in Lydia) and Apollo Lairbenos and Alsenos (in Phrygia)).

20. Cf. *TAM* V.2 926 ὁ προπάτωρ Τύριμνος, 935 ὁ προπάτωρ θεὸς Τύριμνος, 946, 1000 ὁ προπάτωρ θεὸς Ἀπόλλων Τύριμνος, and 956, 976, 984, 997 and 1025 ὁ προπάτωρ θεὸς Ἥλιος Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυριμναῖος. See Mazzei (2022: 115). For the use of προπάτωρ as a divine epithet and its connotations, see Robert (1966: 417 n.1 and 1978b: 41). For an Apollo Πατρῷος venerated in Athens since the 6th century BC, see Graf (2009: 108–109).

and prytanis. (*Menogenes was also the*) *grandson of Cl*(*audius*) *Socrates and Antonia Caecilia, both high priests of Asia, agonotheteis, and prytaneis*. (*He was*) *a man to be counted among the first in Asia because of his character, education and virtue during his embassies, in his sponsorship of choruses, in his funding of public works, and in all his acts of munificence, showing in all pressing moments his benevolence to this council and to his fatherland.* [21]

In this inscription, dated to approx. the 138 CE, the council of Thyatira honours one of its most influential members, Tiberius Claudius Menogenes Caecilianus. Thyateira prides itself on its dual native / Greek identity and on the long tradition of the cult of its patron god, while also evoking the old priesthood of Dionysos as divine "leader" (Καθηγεμών) that Menogenes inherited from his father Tiberius Claudius Socrates.[22] This Menogenes was a third-generation Roman citizen and the inscription offers snaphosts of the career of his family: some offices, such as the presidency of the local games (ἀγωνοθεσία) and of the city council (πρυτανεία), attest to the influence of the family within the city, while the high priesthood in Asia (ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας) attests to its prestige at a provincial level and the support and respect they enjoyed from Roman authorities.[23] A similar proof of

21. Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος τῆς λαμ|προτάτης καὶ διασημοτάτης καὶ ἱερᾶς | τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου | Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος Θυατειρηνῶν | πόλεως βουλὴ ἐτίμησεν Τιβ. Κλ. Μηνογέ|νην Καικιλιανὸν τὸν ἐκ πατέρων διὰ βίου | ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου καὶ ἀρχιε|ρέα τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κατὰ τὸ αὐτό υἱὸν Κλ. Σωκράτους Σακερ|[δ]ωτιανοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου καὶ στεφανηφόρου | [κ]αὶ δὶς πρυτάνεως καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἱερέως | τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἰουλ. Μηνογενίδος τῆς ἀνα|θείσης τοὺς ξυστοὺς τῆι πατρίδι ἀγωνοθέτι|δος καὶ στεφανηφόρου καὶ πρυτάνεως, θυγα|τρὸς τῆς πόλεως, φύσει δὲ Μηνογένους ἀγω|νοθέτου καὶ στεφανηφόρου καὶ πρυτάνεως, | ἔκγονον Κλ. Σωκράτους καὶ Ἀντωνίας Καικι|λίας τῶν ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἀγωνοθε|τῶν καὶ στεφανηφόρων καὶ πρυτάνεων, | ἄνδρα ἤθους ἕνεκα καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς τε | πάσης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἀσίας καταριθμού|μενον ἔν τε πρεσβείαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ | ἔργων κατασκευαῖς καὶ πάσαις φιλοτιμίαις | καὶ πᾶσι καιροῖς τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν ἐπιδεικνύ|μενον τήν τε εἰς ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα | εὔνοιαν (*TAM* V.2 976).

22. [Ἀγαθῆι τύ]χηι. | [ἡ βουλὴ κα]ὶ ὁ δῆμος | [Τιβέρ.] Κ̣λαύδιον Σ̣ω̣|[κράτην Σ]ακερδωτια|[νόν, τὸ]ν ἱερέα τοῦ Κα|[θηγεμ]όνος Διονύσου | [καὶ ἀρ]χιερέα (*TAM* V.2 979). For the cult of Dionysos Καθηγεμών, see De Hoz (1999: 66). See also Malay and Petzl (2017: 29 n.º 2), for this Dionysos being characterized as a divinity πρὸ πόλεως, "protecting" Thyateira (not for his sanctuary as being located πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, i.e.,"outside the city"; see n. 29).

23. The family of Menogenes is well-known from other inscriptions, all of which testify to its prominence during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Cf. *TAM* V.2 976, 978–980 and 1180 with Robert (1948: 81–84) and Mazzei (2022: 111–112). See also Campanile (1994: 90–92 nº 82 and 82b) and Frija (2012: 79–80 and 211 nº 227 (https://www.pretres-civiques.org/pretre/claudius-socratès-

Roman support is the title of "emperor-loving" (φιλοσέβαστος) displayed by Thyateira which was probably awarded in 123 CE, when the emperor Hadrian visited the city offering benefits and, in response, the city celebrated a festival at the rank of the Olympic games in his honour.[24] Later, Thyateira also sought to become a member of the Panhellenion, a league of Greek cities fostered by Hadrian in 131/2 CE which rewarded "Greekness" and loyalty to Rome. Menogenes, a gracious and virtuous character with a good Greek "education" (παιδεία), was sent in an embassy (πρεσβεῖαι) to Athens, the capital of the Panhellenion. It seems that he sucessfully bid the case of Thyateira: another inscription records the imperial benefactions which the city received through his intercession, perhaps by parading the good relation of the city with emperor Hadrian and/or the prestige of the cult of Apollo Tyrimnos.[25] In sum, as this inscription shows, members of the local elite played a key role in a "system of exchange" of benefits and honours, in which they upheld their traditional heritage and values before the Roman authorities, while also incorporating the emperor to the top of a social network upon which the system rested. In this way, the imperial cult was fully accommodated within the traditional religious practices of Thyateira, which allowed the people and the council of the city to represent the emperor's authority to themselves in familiar terms.[26]

Actually, the most important religious festival in Thyateira during the whole 2nd century CE was precisely celebrated in honour of Apollo Tyrimnos and the

sacerdotianus) and nº 228 (https://www.pretres-civiques.org/pretre/claudius-menogenès-caecilianus) with stemmata).

24. For Hadrian in Thyateria, see Weiss (1995: 218). For the Ἀδριανεῖον, cf. *TAM* V.2 982, where a certain Laebianus was responsible for the mosaic coating of the οἰκοβασιλικόν (the "meeting place", cf. LSJ s.v.) of the γερουσία. See also Price (1984: 260, nº 59). For the Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια, cf. *TAM* V.2 1022, 1026, *I.Smyrna* 668. See also Malay (1999: 36 n.º 19 with fig. 20). On games sponsored by Hadrian, see Boatwright (2000: 94–104). Generally on the growth of games during the 2nd century CE, see Newby (2009: 246–255).

25. For the reconstruction of the text of this decree, a copy of which was engraved on a stele on the Acropolis, see Follet and Peppas Delmosou (1997). For the Panhellenion of Hadrian as a league of Greek cities with intertwined religious, cultural, and political purposes, see Boatwright (2000: 147–150 with bibliography). For Thyateira becoming member of this league by parading a "fictitious" Greek heritage based on the cult of Apollo Tyrimnos, see Mazzei (2022: 116–118).

26. Cf. Malay (1999: 34–35 n.º 17 with fig.18) for τὸν τῶν Σεβαστῶν οἶκον of Thyateira, i.e., a building specifically used for the imperial cult. On the imperial cult in Asia Minor, see Price (1984), and also Frija (2016). Specifically on priesthoods devoted to the worship of emperors in Asia Minor, see also Campanile (1994) and Frija (2012).

reigning emperors (ἡ Σεβάστειος καὶ Τυρίμνηος πανήγυρις).[27] At a given time of the year, a religious procession followed the "sacred avenue" (ἱερὰ πλατεῖα)[28] that led to the sanctuary of the god outside the city (πρὸ τῆς πόλεως),[29] where commemorational rites and other events were all held. A monumental gateway (προπύλαιον) served as the entrance to the sanctuary, which might have been home to two temples dedicated to Apollo Tyrimnos and Artemis Boreitene as tutelary divinities; although coins only feature the tetrastyle temple of Apollo, raised on a high, stepped podium (cf. fig. 5).[30] The priest of Apollo, a member of the local aristocracy who held this hereditary position for life (like his wife, the priestess of Artemis), performed the main rites and also cared that the sanctuary had the appropriate facilities and embellishments to meet the religious needs of the community.[31] For this reason, the space around the temple should have been full of ex-votes,

27. For this name, see Robert (1948: 73). Generally on festival names suggesting the organisation of joint celebrations of emperors and other deities, see Price (1984: 103–105), and especially Buraselis (2012).

28. At the time of the Severans, the council of Thyateira honoured L(ucius) Iulius Nikomachos, who was notably "responsible for the works of the sacred avenue" (cf. *TAM* V.2 970, 8–9 ἐργεπιστατήσαντα | ἱερᾶς πλατείας). Imperial statues were carried in processions alongside images of other gods and goddesses. See Price (1984: 172–188) and also Rogers (1991: 80–126) for the procession of Artemis Ephesia on the sacred way connecting Ephesos and the Artemision.

29. Ἀγωνοθετή[σαν-] | [τα]…[τὴν ἀγ]ομένην το[ῖς Σεβασ-] | [τοῖς κ]αὶ Ἀπόλλω[νι] | [Τυρίμ]νῳ πρὸ τῆς πό[λεως] |[πανή]γυριν (*TAM* V.2 1001,5–8). On this inscription, see Robert (1948: 79). For the expression πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, cf. Pol. 1.18.2: τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀσκληπιεῖον; Diod. Sic. 31.35.1: τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τέμενος ...Νικηφόριον, etc. Other shrines were also located "outside" Thyateira: Φάβιος Ζώσιμος κατασκευάσας σορὸν ἔθετο ἐπὶ τόπου καθαροῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῶι Σαμβαθείωι ἐν τῶι Χαλδαίου περι- | βόλωι παρὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδόν (*TAM* V.2 1142,1–2).

30. Temples of the emperors could be also in sanctuaries primarily dedicated to other gods. See Price (1984: 146–156).

31. Yet, priests and priestess could also hold other offices in the city: [ἡ β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | [Π.] Αἴλιον Παῦλλον | [Δα]μιανόν, υἱὸν Π. Αἰ|[λίο]υ Παύλλου τοῦ [ἱε|ρέ]ως τοῦ Ἀπόλλω[νος] | καὶ στεφανηφόρο[υ] | καὶ πρυτάνεως [καὶ] | ἀγωνοθέτου καὶ [ἀρχ]|ιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας [καὶ] | [Ο]ὐλπίας Μαρκέλ[λας] | τῆς ἱερείας τῆς [Ἀρ|τ]έμιδος καὶ ἀγωνο[θέ|τι]δος καὶ ἀρχιερεί[ας] | [τ]ῆς Ἀσίας, ἀγωνοθε[τή|σ]αντα καλῶς κα[ὶ κα|τ]ασκευάσαντα τ[ὸ προ]|πύλαιον τοῦ τ[εμέ|ν]ους τοῦ Τυρίμνου (*TAM* V.2 931). For the priest of Apollo Tyrimnos, cf. *TAM* V.2, 883, 913, 935, 984 ἱερεύς, and 1025 ἱερεύς διὰ βίου καὶ γένους. For the priestess of Artemis Boreitene, cf. *TAM* V.2 995 ἱέρεια …ἐπιτελέσασα τὰ τῆς θεοῦ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς θυσίας, and 996 ἱερασαμένη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (in both cases, the same Ulpia Marcella mentioned in *TAM* V.2 931). For this appointment of a priest and a priestess for a male/female couple of tulerary divinities, see De Hoz (1999: 83, 95–96). On priesthoods (and chief-priesthoods) being in service of emperors and other local divinities conjointly, see Frija (2012: 114–144).

consecrated statues, and altars upon which priests made sacrifices.[32] Yet, the so-called "president of the games" (ἀγωνοθέτης) was the one who actually defrayed all expenses of this sacred festival, as shown by the following inscription:

The council and the people of the city honoured Dionysios, son of Menelaos, a child, who was the first agonothetes of the Augustan and Tyrimnean festival to be held by the city for the first time, piously and magnanimously. He showed his patriotic zeal for his native city in every respect, by funding from his own resources the prizes of the contests and the emoluments for those giving displays, and also by performing the pious sacrifices for the god, public and splendidly, during these successful feasts, the very first ones, and also by giving a banquet for the council and the people.[33]

In this inscription, dated to aprox. the same date as the previous one, the council and the people of Thyateira honours Dionysios for presiding for the first time the newly established festival of the emperors and Tyrimnos. Apparently, Dionysios held this office while he was still a child (παῖς); but we learn from other inscriptions that he earned this honor by the influence and social position of his paternal uncle, M. Iulius Atticianus, a Roman citizen, who also funded these and other early benefactions of Dionysios and eventually adopted him (presumably, after the death of Dionysios' father, Menelaos).[34] Subsequently, Dionysios went on to have an extremely distinguished career as M. Iulius Dionysius Acilianus: he was again the

32. Ἀπόλλωνι Τυ|ρίμνωι Ἐπικρά|της Νουμηνίου | ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ | τὸν βωμὸν σὺν | τῇ λιβανωτρίδι (*TAM* V.2 883), [ἐτείμ]ησ[ε]ν ἡ πατρὶς Π. Αἴλιον Αἰλιανὸν | [ἀ]ναθέντα … | …. εἰς τοῦ προπάτορος | Τυρίμνου τὰ περὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην (*TAM* V.2 993, 1–4). For other altars and dedications, cf. *TAM* V.2 882 and Malay (1999: 42 n.º 25 (with fig. 25) and 181 n.º 240 (with fig. 244)). Sacrifices were sometimes made only to the god, and sometimes to the god and the emperors, cf. *TAM* V.2 960, 12–15 and 998,10–12 with Robert (1948: 47 and 72–74) and Price (1984: 212).

33. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμησεν | Διονύσιον Μενελάου, παῖδα, | πρῶτον ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς πρ[ώ]|τως ἀχθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως | Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πα|νηγύρεως, εὐσεβῶς καὶ μεγαλο|φρόνως πάντα φιλοτειμηθέντα | τῇ πατρίδι, τά τε τῶν ἀγωνισμά|των θέματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις | τῶν ἐπιδειξαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδί|ων ποιησάμενον, καὶ τὰς εὐσε|βεῖς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ δημοτε|λεῖς καὶ λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελέσαν|τα ταῖς εὐτυχέσιν ἑορταῖς κα[ί] | πρώταις, τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ | τὸν δῆμον ἑστιάσαντα (*TAM* V.2 960).

34. In fact, Dyonisios was adopted by his uncle together with his own brother, later known as C. Iulius Celsianus. See Robert (1948: 73–74, esp. n. 1). For children holding offices in Asia Minor, as members of noble families which were already known for their generosity, see Dmitriev (2005: 46–53 and 160–178). For these nobles families and their gifts of games and festivals, see also Zuiderhoek (2009: 86–109) and especially van Nijf (2020).

sponsor of this festival he had first presided, was twice the president of the council (πρύτανις), twice the eponymous city magistrate (στεφανηφόρος), and eventually became provincial high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) and priest of the imperial cult in the province of Asia (ἀσιάρχης). In other words, Dionysios was another conspicuous member of this urban elite in Thyateira, which had benefited greatly from Roman patronage and then claimed the prestige of its lineage and the importance of a local heritage to be still more favoured.[35]

As we also learn from this inscription, the religious festival was expanded with theatrical and athletic competitions over several days (ἀγῶνες θυμελικοὶ καὶ γυμνικοί), which were also held in honour of the city's patron god and of the Roman emperor (hence the official name of the games, τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστά Τυριμνεῖα).[36] Thus, apart from the sacrifices (θυσίαι) and ritual banquets (ἑστιάσεις) and the gifts (δωρεαί) for those attending the religious service, the magistrate who presided the festival had to fund the emoluments (ἐπιδόσεις) for the guest artists, the prizes (θέματα) and gratifications (τιμήματα) for the victorious athletes, and also to supply oil (ἀλείφω) for the gyms which were used by local and foreign patrons throughout the festival.[37] As for the competitions, they were mostly open to participants from Thyateira and the neighbouring regions: inscriptions attest to a local victor in wrestling (πάλη) and also to two runners from Mytilene, one victorious in the double-stadion race (δίαυλος), the other in the long-distance race (δόλιχος).[38]

35. For the career of M. Iulius Dionysius Acilianus, cf. *TAM* V.2 965, 969, and 992. See also Campanile (1994: 135–136 n.º 156), and Frija (2012: 80 n.º 229 (https://www.pretres-civiques.org/pretre/iulius-dionysius-acilianus) with stemma).

36. Also Σεβαστά Τυρίμνηα. See Robert (1948: 74).

37. Ἀγωνοθετήσαν|[τα τῶ]ν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν | [Τυρι]μνήων ἀγώνων θυμελ[ι|κῶν] καὶ γυμνικῶν θέμασιν | [καὶ] τειμήμασιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀξ[ιο|λόγ]ως πάσας τὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸ[ν] | [καὶ] εἰς τοὺς κυρίους αὐτοκρά|τορ]ας εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κα[ὶ] | [τὰ]ς εἰθισμένας τοῖς πολεί|[ται]ς, καὶ τοῖς συνπανηγυρ[ί|ζο]υσιν δωρεὰς ἀφθόνως | [καὶ] μεγαλοπρεπῶς πεπλη|[ρωκό]τα, ἀλείψαντα ἐν τῷ | [ἄνω]θε[ν] γυμνασίῳ τοὺς π[α|νηγυ]ρίζοντας πολείτας | [καὶ τ]οὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας π[ά|ντας] ἐκτενῶς (*TAM* V.2 998, 5–22). For other ἀγωνοθέται of the Tyrimneia, cf. *TAM* V.2 946, 956, 992, 993, 997, 998, 1000, 1001 and Malay (1999: 178, n.º 227A with fig. 232A). For the duties and prerrogatives of this office in Thyateira, see Robert (1948: 76–78). In Thyateira, there were at least three gymnasia of imposing size: τὰ ὕπαιθρα τῶν γυμνασίων | … | τὸ προάτριον τοῦ μεγάλου γυμνα|σίου (*TAM* V.2 926,2 and 6–7), [οἱ] περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῶν πρώ|[των] γυμνασίων (*TAM* V.2 949,1–2), οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι ἐν τῶι | τρίτωι γυμνασίωι (*TAM* V.2 968,1–2). See Delorme (1960: 197).

38. Μυτυλη̣[ναῖ]|ον {Μυτιληναῖον} διαυλοδρόμο̣[ν] | νικήσαντα ἐνδό|ξως τὰ μεγάλα Τυρι|μνεῖα (*TAM* V.2 1010, 3–7), Θυατει|ρηνὸν [νικ]ήσαν|τα πά[λην] τὸν ἀ|γῶνα τῶ[ν Τ]υριμνεί|ων (*TAM* V.2 1011,3–7), δὶς δολιχαδρόμος | νεικήσας ἐν Περγά-μω | Ἀσκλήπεια β´ {δίς} | κ(αὶ) ἐν Θεατείροις

During the brief reign of Elagabalus (218–222 CE), the city received imperial permission to organise the Αὐγούστεια Πύθια: these new games at the rank the Pythian games of Delphi were "eiselastic" (ἀγὼν εἰσελαστικός), i.e, victors were entitled to a monthly allowance after a triumphal entry in their native towns.[39] A coin type showing Elagabalus and Apollo Tyrimnos, both supporting an agonistic crown over a lighted altar with the inscription ΠΥΘΙΑ, was issued in reference to these newly instituted games (see fig. 6). It seems as if the patron god of Thyateira had welcomed a visit of emperor Elagabalus, having also acquiesced to the establishment of these new games of international status.[40] Nonetheless, the former festival of Apollo Tyrimnos did not lose the imperial favour and continued to be celebrated: as a "thematic game" (ἀγὼν θεματικός), it was certainly less prestigious, but winners still returned home with the sum of money "which was laid down" (θέμα) as a prize for them in the 3rd century CE.[41]

The cult of Apollo Tyrimnos was popular not only among members of the local elite, but also of a sort of "middle class" formed by various professional groups. The most active in Thyateria were the dyers, who had their own workshops located outside the city, very close to the river Lycus, and officialy formed an association with a meeting place or "clubhouse" (called ἔργον) and a president who also acted as their patron (for example, by embellishing their "clubhouse"). We cannot say how close their premises were to the sanctuary of Apollo Tyrimnos, also outside the city.[42] What is certain is that most of the inscriptions erected by (or on the be-

Τυ|ριμνεῖα (*IG* XII,2 388,2–6). For guilds of performers and athletes at Thyateira, cf. *TAM* V.2 977, 984, 1016, 1020, 1033, 1097.

39. The person who obtained the permission to establish the games on behalf of Thyateira was C. Perelius Aurelius Alexandros, a pancratiast who won victories in all the four great games of Greece (περιοδονίκης), including the Pythian ones. For the institution of the games, cf. *TAM* V.2 1018, with Robert (1937: 119–123). On C. Perelius, cf. *TAM* V.2 984, 1017–1120 and Malay (1999: 37 nº 20 with fig. 21). See also Remijsen (2015: 296) and Fauconnier (2023: 143). On sacred eiselastic games, mostly attested in the 3rd century CE, see generally Slater (2013) and (2015).

40. For this coin depicting Elagabalus and Apollo Tyrimnos, see Harl (1987: 66 with plate 27.8).

41. In fact, an inscription from Smyrna records a citizen of Thyateira and Smyrna winning both festivals: [Θ]υατ̣ε̣[ιρην]ὸν καὶ Σμυρνα[ῖον,] | νικήσ̣[αν]τα τὰ μεγ[άλα] | Ἀδ[ριανὰ] Ὀλύ[μπια] | καὶ Αὐγο[ύστεια Πύθια ἐν] | Θυατεί[ροις καὶ Τυρίμνεια] | ἐν Θυατ̣ε̣[ίροις (*I.Smyrna* 668.3–8). For a coin depicting emperor Maximinus Thrax and his son, the caesar Maximus, sacrificing jointly in the presence of Apollo Tyrimnaos, see Harl (1987: 58).

42. For the location of the workshops outside the city, see van Nijf (1997: 89, especially n. 79). For the name of the association, cf., for instance, *TAM* V.2 989,15–16, 991,2 οἱ βαφεῖς, and *TAM* V.2 1029,3–4, 1081,5 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαφέων. For πλῆθος being commonly used as a group self-designation by associations, see Zimmerman (2002: 33–34). For the clubhouse, τὸ τῶν βαφέων ἔργον

half of) the dyers honoured distinguished members of the local elite who also held all offices and traditional priesthoods. Some of the honorands were, for example, Tiberius Claudius Socrates, priest of Dionysos (see *supra*), and M. Iulius Dionysius Acilianus, an eager benefactor of the city since his childhood, when he sponsored the institution of the games in honour of Apollo Tyrimnos and the emperors (see also *supra*). The highest echelon of power was nonetheless represented by T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus, a succesful military man who held various posts in the imperial administration at the same time he performed priestly duties for Apollo Tyrimnos in the early 3rd century CE. With these honours they bestowed on the local elite, the dyers of Thyateira tried to claim their own space in the public domain: not only they stated their allegiance to a social hierachy which had been sanctioned by Rome (and on which they based their activities), but also they participated in the preservation of a civic identity based on traditional value systems and cults, such as the one of Apollo Tyrimnos.[43]

In sum, it seems that Thyateira looked to the past for self-definition and successfully "fabricated" a heritage by blending legendary history with Greek culture and the more recent interactions with Rome and the emperors. The city invoked a primigenial connection to a native divinity called Tyrimnos –this theonym has a Lydian origin–, who was probably worshipped at a rural sanctuary near Thyateira. With the coming of new settlers to the region, this native divinity was assimilated to Apollo and claimed as a tutelary god. This prominent role in the local pantheon was evidenced not only by coins and inscriptions, some of which presented the city as officialy consecrated to this "ancestral god", but also by the fact that members of the local elite were hereditary lifelong priests of Apollo Tyrimnos. These elite members also held other positions in the province, while cultivating contacts with Roman imperial officials (even securing Roman citizenship for themselves), so that

("the house of the dyers"), which was under the care of a president, cf. *TAM* V.2 945,6–7 and 991,5–6. For the meaning of ἔργον as building, cf. van Nijf (1997: 104–105, esp. n. 155), Zimmerman (2002: 121), and Harland (2014: 228). For the president of the association of the dyers of Thyateira (a benefactor, rather than a person involved in trade), see van Nijf (1997: 104–107). For the προστάτης ("manager") or the ἐπιμελητής ("superintendent") of associations, see Zimmerman (2002: 46–53).

43. For the dyers of Thyateira bestowing honours, cf. *TAM* V.2, 935 (on T. Ant. Cl. Alfenus Arignotus), 965 (on M. Iulius Dionysius), and 978 (on Tiberius Claudius Socrates). On patronage and "honorary members" of associations, see generally van Nijf (2003). Guilds engaged in the dyeing industry are attested elsewhere, but Thyateira dominates the evidence that has survived from Lydia. See mostly *CAPInv.* 377 (De Hoz): *hoi bapheis* (http://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/377) and also Labarre and Dinahet (1996: 58 and 79–86), van Nijf (1997: 88–89 and 104–107) and Harland (2014: 223–229).

"traditional" and imperial cults were also progressively entwined in sanctuaries, ritual practices, and festivals. All of this became the expression of a multi-faceted civic identity, which not only encompassed the imperial family and regime but also reaffirmed the Lydian origins and the sacred identity of Thyateira as the city of Apollo Tyrimnos. At the top of a civic hierarchy, the god and the Roman ruler thus ensured the well-being of the city and its constituent groups, including a powerful "middle class" of artisans who expressed their sense of belonging to the city by honouring prominent individuals and institutions. This civic religious system thrived in Thyateira at least into the 3rd century CE.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1: *RPC* I, 2379 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/2379_)
Obverse: head of Heracles. Reverse: ΘVATEIPHNΩN (double-axe)

Fig. 2: *RPC* III 1836 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1836_)
Obverse: IEPA CYNKΛHTOC (male bust of Senate). Reverse: TYPIMNOC, ΘYA (Tyrimnos, naked but for chlamys, on horseback with a double axe over his shoulder)

Fig. 3: *RPC* IV.2, 1554 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/1554_)
Obverse: AVTO KAI Λ AVPH KOMOΔOC (bust of young emperor Commodus). Reverse: EΠI CTPA Λ AVPH ΔHM[OCT]PATOV ΘVAT(E)IPHNΩN (Apollo on the left, resting arm on column, and Apollo Tyrimnaios on the right, holding laurel-branch and the double-axe)

Fig. 4: *RPC* IV.2, 11372 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/11372)
Obverse: AV KAI Λ AVPHΛI OVHPOC APME (bust of emperor Lucius Verus). Reverse: ΘVATEIPHNΩN (Apollo Tyrimnaios driving quadriga, wearing radiate crown and holding laurel branch and double axe with the river-god Lycus reclining)

Fig. 5: *RPC* VI, 4353 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/4353)
Obverse: AYTOKP K M AYP K M AYP ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ (busts of emperors Elagabalus and Severus Alexander). Reverse: ЄΠΙ CTP AYP ΚЄΝΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥCΙ ΘΥΑΤЄΙΡΗΝΩΝ (three-quarter view of a temple on a high podium that houses the cult statue of Apollo Tyrimnos holding laurel branch and double axe)

Fig. 6: *RPC* VI, 4356 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/4356)
Obverse: AYT ΚΑΙ M AYP ΑΝΤΩΝЄΙΝΟC (bust of emperor Elagabalus). Reverse: ЄΠΙ CTP Τ ΚΛ CTPATONЄΙΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΘΥΑΤЄΙΡΗΝΩΝ ΠΥΘΙΑ (Elagabalus on the right and Apollo Tyrimnaios on the left, the two supporting an agonistic crown over a lighted altar)

The Lydian god Qλdãns

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§ 1. *Introduction*

One of the best-known touristic attractions of Sardis is the temple of Artemis, perhaps not as well-known to the general public as the Artemision of Ephesus, but still one of the largest Hellenistic temples found in Asia Minor.[1] The systematic excavations of the temple precinct have demonstrated the existence of earlier structures, dating back to Achaemenid times, some of which were reused in the Hellenistic period (Cahill 2019a: 24–25). This archaeological evidence derives additional support from inscriptional finds: a number of Lydian inscriptions were found in the temple precinct, two of which mention a person with the Iranian name Mitridašta, who played an important role in the temple's administration.[2] A surprising fact about the Achaemenid temple is that it was meant for the worship of two distinct deities. One of the inscriptions mentioning Mitridašta begins with the laconic statement: *ess šyrmas qλdãnl artimuλ=k* 'This temple is to Qλdãns and Artemis'

1. I am deeply grateful to the participants of the first workshop "The gods of Anatolia and their names" (Barcelona, May 2023) for their engaged discussion, which led to a significant improvement of my presentation. I am also much obliged to María-Paz de Hoz García Bellido, H. Craig Melchert, Florian Réveilhac and Diether Schürr for many substantial comments to the draft of this paper, and to Stephen Durnford for numerous stylistic corrections.

2. The Lydian transliteration conventions adopted in this paper are based on Gusmani 1964 but incorporate the new values proposed in Schürr 1997: 201, n.1 (<p>, <s>, <š>, and <w> for the earlier <b>, <ś>, <s>, and <v> respectively).

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(LW 23.1).[3] The double dedication correlates with the mention of both deities in curse formulae later in the text of the same inscription (LW 23.3–4), as well as the plural reference in the phase *šaroka=k ešvav ciwav* 'and the protection/patronage of those gods' (LW 23.12).

These are by no means the sole mentions of Qλdãns in the Lydian corpus. The same deity is paired with the Lydian Artemis (Artimus) in the curse formula of the short burial inscription LW 4b, presumably coming from the Sardis cemetery. Furthermore, there are two, perhaps three, occurrences of the same name in the Lydian inscription LW 62 found in Tire in the middle Kaystros valley, whose general sense unfortunately remains elusive (Gusmani 1980–1986: 151). A regional feature of all these forms is the scriptio plena (line 3 *qaλdãnlid*, line 6 *qaλdãl*, line 7 *q̣a*[*λdã*-]). Another fragmentary dative form with the scriptio plena *qaλḍã*[*nl*] was recently identified on the votive stele LW 41, likewise found in the middle Kaystros valley (Schürr 2011/2012: 71). There is also a seal with the legend *qλd*[*ã*]*nlim* 'I am of Qλdãns' (LW/N 111, Lemaire 1992) and a coin with the legend read as *mλi*[.]*τiš qλdãnlim* in its editio princeps (LW/N 120, Schürr apud Tekin 2016, #725). In the last two instances, the nature of the inscribed objects makes one seriously entertain the possibility that they refer to the individuals with the theophoric name Qλdãns or mention the title *qλdãns* (cf. Section 5). Finally, the stele LW 43, found in the lower Hermos valley, features a fragmentary dative form [*q*]*aλidẽnl*, which is likely to reflect a dialectal form of Qλdãns if its restoration is correct (cf. Buckler 1924: 61).[4]

The eight to ten attestations of the theonym Qλdãns (depending on whether one accepts its additional use as a personal name or title) make it the second most

3. Here and below, the siglum LW refers to the Lydian inscriptions edited in Gusmani 1964 and Gusmani 1980–1986. It is used together with the numbers assigned to the cited texts in the respective publications and line numbers (if applicable). The abbreviation LW/N is deployed for the more recent epigraphic discoveries (with the numbers assigned to them in Payne and Wintjes 2016: 77, fn. 80). The translation of LW 23.1 follows Yakubovich 2019: 309. In Dusinberre 2003: 230 we find a translation implying a different clause boundary: 'This temple to Qλdãns and Artemis is dedicated as an offering', and the same segmentation is also followed in Euler and Sasseville 2019: 132, despite differences in the interpretation of individual forms. For reasons stated in Yakubovich 2019, I insist on my clause segmentation, but this issue is of secondary importance for the present paper, since all the three translations concur in acknowledging two distinct deities to which the Achaemenid temple was dedicated.

4. For the use of *-l* as the archaic dative singular marker of consonantal stems, retained in *qλdãnl* etc. but renewed with the productive marked *-λ* in the instance of most other lexemes, see Yakubovich 2019: 309.

widely attested divine name in Lydian alphabetic transmission, even if it trails far behind the Lydian Artemis, who is attested more than twenty times. Two additional considerations support its special status in the Lydian pantheon. On the one hand the nominative phrase *qλdãns tawsas* 'mighty Qλdãns' (LW 23.3) should probably not be separated from its accusative counterpart *ciwv … tawsẽv* 'mighty god' (LW 10.11–12). Given the absence of other Lydian deities endowed with the same epithet, the hypothesis that Qλdãns was regarded as *ciw-* 'god' par excellence deserves a fair hearing. On the other hand, Hesychius's gloss κοαλδδᾶν · Λυδοί, τὸν βασιλέα, whose reading was recently refined in Payne 2019: 238, is hard to reconcile with the theonym Qλdãns, unless one assumes that this god was regarded, at least by some, as the head of the Lydian pantheon.[5] The assonance between *qλdãn-*/κοαλδδᾶν and Lyd. *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* 'king' would reinforce the same impression.

Given the significance of the god Qλdãns for the Lydian religion, there is no surprise that a large number of scholars in the small field of Lydian Studies have endeavoured to trace his origin or describe his functions. At the same time, recent years have hardly seen any genuine debate between the proponents of different views. As a rule, researchers merely list the existing alternatives and then dwell on their preferred solution. In this paper, I intend to follow a different path. In Sections 2 through 5 I shall survey the available interpretations, addressing their motivations, advantages and shortcomings. The concluding Section 6 will be devoted to a new proposal. I hope to demonstrate that it integrates the strengths of the previous suggestions, avoiding at the same time their principal limitations.

§ 2. *Qλdãns as Apollo*

The earliest identification of Qλdãns, that with the Greek Apollo (Danielsson 1917: 25), rested on the outdated transliteration of this divine name as Pλdãns (cf. Buckler 1924: 11, Payne and Wintjes 2016: 101).[6] Given that the divine twins Apollo and Artemis were frequently worshipped together (notably at Didyma in Caria) this solution squared well with general expectations of specialists in Greek religion. It is, therefore, no wonder that the interpretation of Qλdãns as the Lydian

5. Previously one read κοαλδδεῖν rather than κοαλδδᾶν (cf. Gusmani 1964: 274–275). There remains a theoretical possibility of interpreting κοαλδδᾶν as a corruption of the earlier κοαλμᾶν, but the gain from such an emendation would be rather dubious, since Lyd. *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* 'king' reflects a different stem type.

6. For reasons to assign the phonetic value /k^{w}/ to the <q> sign, formerly read as <p>, see Heubeck 1959: 18–19, 28. For the modern assessment of this new reading, see Gérard 2005: 40, 57.

counterpart of Apollo continues to find its adherents even after its original linguistic motivation became untenable. This is, for, example, the stance of Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 164, where the co-occurrence of Qλdãns and Artemis in Lydian inscriptions is particularly emphasized. The co-authors naturally attempted to provide a new etymology of the Lydian Apollo and suggested that it is derived from the earlier **kwaliia̯n*- 'military leader', presumably a cognate of Luwian *kwalan*- 'army'.[7] Since Apollo is, among other things a god of archery, as also witnessed by its Greek epithets, such as Κλυτότοξος 'famous through his bow' or Ἑκάεργος 'far-shooting', the proposed Lydian epiclesis **kwaliia̯n*- does not strain credulity.

In fact, one could build up an independent argument, which would corroborate Högemann and Oettinger's solution. The inscription LW 4b, the only text beside LW 23 that mentions Qλdãns and the Lydian Artemis (Artimus) in the same curse formula, has a secondary addition. This is the inscription LW 4a, which is inscribed on the same stone slab, carved in imitation of a wooden door, and mentions the same name of the deceased (Buckler 1924: 8–9). The principal difference between the two inscriptions is that LW 4a features a distinctly Luwic set of deities in its curse formula. This is Sãntas, not to be separated from the Luwian War-god Santa, Kufaws, whose name is related to the Carchemisian goddess Kubaba, and the Mariwda, presumably an adaptation of the Marwainzi-deities, who constitute the retinue of Sanda according to the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription KULULU 2 (Melchert 2008: 153, Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 75). It seems likely that the commissioner(s) of LW 4a-b wished to convey the same message to two different audiences: the adepts of the official Sardian religion, and the follows of "Luwoid" cults (cf. Schürr 2023: 85, 91). Kufaws, the Lydian goddess of Luwian origin, is known as Κυβήβη in Greek transmission, and, according to Hesychius, was sometimes identified with Artemis (Oreshko 2021: 156), while the cult of the Luwian Kubaba was eventually assimilated in Cilicia as that of Artemis Perasia (Rutherford 2020: 167).[8] If one takes LW 4a-b as matching evidence for the possibility of

7. The suggestion by Högemann and Oettinger represents an elaboration of an earlier etymology, offered in Carruba 2006: 402–405, according to which both Qλdãns and *k*^{w}*alan*- 'army' are independently derived from the Proto-Indo-European *kwelh*$_1$ 'to turn', while Apollo's name allegedly represents yet another reflex of the same root, although no account is provided for the prothesis of **a*- in Greek. Cf. also Oettinger 2015: 137, where the segmentation **kwal-ii̯a-n*- is offered for the Proto-Form of Qλdãns, who is literally interpreted as "*zum Heer gehöriger*, *Heeresgott*".

8. The strength of this argument need not be exaggerated. Sardis also featured the temple of Κυβήβη, burned by the Greeks in the Ionian Revolt (Herodotus 5:102) and later possibly rebuilt as

occasional equation between the Lydian Artemis and Kufaws in Sardis, it stands to reason that Qλdãns could be perceived as the functional counterpart of Sãntas (cf. Oreshko 2021: 153–154), while his retainers, the Mariwda-deities, were perhaps included in the curse formula of LW 4a as part of a package deal. At face value, such a scenario would support the role of Qλdãns as the War-god in Achaemenid Sardis.

Yet, the available Greek sources undermine the identification of Qλdãns with Apollo. If the Lydian counterpart of Apollo was worshiped jointly with Artemis in the temple precinct of Sardis in the Achaemenid period, it would be only logical to assume that both children of Zeus and Leto continued to be venerated together under their Greek names after the Hellenization of Sardis. This, however, did not happen: Buckler and Robison 1932 feature not a single example of both deities mentioned together in Greek inscriptions from Sardis. In fact, the only mention of Apollo in this early corpus is a general reference to a yearly subsidy of his cult in a letter from a Roman proconsul of Asia (I.Sardes I: 15.2, Buckler and Robinson 1932: 34). There are more references to Apollo in the more recently found inscriptions (Petzl 2019), but the only epithet attached to this god in Sardis was Πλευρηνός / ὁ ἐν Πλευροις, referring to a rural sanctuary of Pleura near Sardis (cf. Hermann 2004). Finally, although a decree of Julius Caesar that bestows the right of granting asylum to the temple of Artemis at Sardis mentions Apollo in a fragmentary context, this mention is a part of the list of various gods and their sanctuaries in the final part of the inscription, and the closest neighbour of Apollo is not Artemis but Zeus Megistos (I.Sardes IV: 305.48–60, Petzl 2019: 5). It stands to reason that the cult of Apollo was in no way linked to the cult of Artemis at Sardis.

§ 3. *Qλdãns as the Storm-god*

If one concentrates on the history of the temple of Artemis at Sardis, the best match to Qλdãns appears to be Zeus. A religious decree adopted by the Council of Sardis contains a reference to "the sacred precinct of Zeus Polieus and Artemis" (I.Sardes I: 8.133–134, Buckler and Robinson 1932: 18, 23). Given the earlier joint mention of Qλdãns and Artimus in LW 23, one cannot agree more with Cahill (2019a: 26) who takes it as an argument for the perception of Qλdãns as the local

Metroön, the temple of Mother-goddess (Cahill 2019b). Therefore, the syncretism between Qλdãns/Artemis and Sãntas/Kufaws was probably never institutionalized at Sardis. Furthermore, Greek sources also mentions the possibility of equation between Κυβήβη and Aphrodite (Buckler 1924: 86, Oreshko 2021: 155).

form of Zeus (literally "Zeus the Town-protector"). Such a suggestion would, furthermore, square well with the overall prominence of Storm-gods in Anatolian Pre-Hellenistic religions.

Addressing Cahill's hypothesis, one must immediately pre-empt a possible objection. We do have Lydian texts mentioning the local adaptations of the Greek theonym Zeus, namely Lews or Lefs. They are found in a burial inscription from Sardis (LW 3), an apparent votive inscription found in the Middle Kaystros valley (LW 50), and the fragment of a marble cup found near the temple of Artemis in Sardis (LW 107).[9] Therefore, Schürr (2023: 84) argues that Lews and Qλdãns were simultaneously venerated in Lydia and thus represented distinct deities. It is, however, worth pointing out that the former two of these Lydian inscriptions feature a dating formula, assigning them to the reign of Alexander. In contrast, there are good reasons to assume that the majority of the Lydian epigraphic finds date back to the Achaemenid period: thus, we have four texts (LW 1, LW 2, LW 41, and LW/N 110) with dating formulae explicitly assigning them to the regnal years of Artaxerxes I–III (Yakubovich 2019: 300). It is therefore possible to conjecture that the Alexander's conquest of Sardis prompted a quick but trivial religious reform: Qλdãns came to be worshipped under its Greek name Lews/Lefs. This need not, of course, imply that such a theonym was previously unknown in Lydia; indeed, the phonetic shape of the Lydian forms suggests the dialectal Δεύς 'Zeus' as the Hellenistic Greek source, which is consistent with the earlier borrowing date (Schürr 2023: 83).[10] According to a more likely scenario, both names of the Storm-god were commonly known in Lydia, but his local name was promoted in writing in the Achaemenid period, while the name of Greek origin came to replace it in the official use in the Hellenistic period.

9. The sequence *lefs=tλ*, shared by LW 50.5 and LW 107, supports the hypothesis of matching templates for votive inscriptions in both cases. The hypothesis that the fragments LW 28 and LW 107 were inscribed on the same cup (Schürr 2023: 84) does not contradict this conclusion, since the content of LW 28 is likewise consistent with a template of a votive inscription. Thus, LW 107 offers additional support for the cult of Zeus in the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. It is less clear whether the discovery of a cup base inscribed with the name of Hera in the foundation trench of the Hellenistic temple can be understood in the context of the cult of Zeus (cf. Cahill and Greenewalt 2016: 478).

10. Independent evidence for the worship of Zeus in Sardis in the Achaemenid period comes from the Droaphernes inscription, whose interpretation is addressed in Mitchell 2007: 157–158. In year thirty-nine of the reign of Artaxerxes, a chiliarch with the Persian name Droaphernes dedicates a statue to Zeus. The inscription was composed in Ionian Greek and preserved in Sardis in a later copy. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the content of the inscription is related in any way to the Temple of Artemis in Sardis.

While the veneration of Artemis was clearly the main cult in the eponymous Hellenistic temple in Sardis, one can argue that the Lydian Artemis (Artimus) has already begun to eclipse Qλdãns in the Achaemenid period. Thus, the inscription LW 24 mentions the same priest Mitridašta as does LW 23, and the content of both texts displays enough overlaps to conclude that they address related matters, but the curse formula of LW 24 mentions Artemis alone. In a similar fashion, the precinct of Zeus Polieus and Artemis is simply called the precinct of Artemis later in the same Greek decree (I.Sardes I: 8.139). Therefore, nothing precludes the hypothesis that the consort of Artemis was gradually losing his status at the Sardis temple. Such a state of affairs can be viewed against a more general background of the rising importance of fertility goddesses in the first-millennium BCE. The Phrygian Matar provides the most ostensive example of a fertility cult, but the Sardian Artemis, whose functional profile was probably influenced by her Ephesian counterpart, should not be neglected in the relevant discussion either.[11]

An obvious weakness of Cahill's proposal is the lack of a linguistic account for the name of Qλdãns that would be consistent with his function as Storm-god. The Anatolian Storm-gods (Hittite Tarhunas, Luwian Tarhunz(as), Lycian A Trqqas, and Lycian B Trqqiz) are obviously genetically unrelated to this Lydian divine name, while the Lydian cognate of Greek Zeus is the appellative *ciw-* 'god'. In this sense, the match between Qλdãns and Zeus offers a mirror image of the comparison between Qλdãns and Apollo, which was primarily advanced on philological grounds.

§ 4. *Qλdãns as the Moon-god*

The hypothesis that arguably enjoyed most favour in the last fifty or so years was the synchronic identification of Qλdãns with the Anatolian Moon-god Men/Meis (Μήν/Μείς), whose worship is attested for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Recent endorsements of this suggestion are found in Oreshko 2021: 138, Labarre 2023: 317–318, and Schürr 2023: 85–86 with fn. 24. One must

11. The cult of Artimus in Lydia cannot be comprehensively addressed in this paper. It should suffice to state that the Ephesian Artemis, who was demonstrably worshipped in Sardis in the Achaemenid period, probably represents an adaptation of a pre-Greek goddess, who had been worshipped in Apasa/Ephesos in the late second millennium BCE, as per Held 2021: 240–242. The archaic iconography of the Ephesian Artemis sharply differs from the representations of Artemis in Continental Greece and points to her status of a fertility goddess (Hutter 2003: 268–269 with the sources cited).

acknowledge that this hypothesis, unlike the previous two suggestions, is based on purported convergent evidence and not on atomic argumentation.

The equation Qλdãns = Μήν was initially advanced in Heubeck 1959: 15–30, where the phrase *qλdãns tawsas* 'mighty Qλdãns' was compared with the collocation μέγας Μήν 'Great Men', while the juxtaposition of Qλdãns and Artemis in Lydian texts was matched with the juxtaposition of Men and Artemis Anaitis in Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor. Furthermore, Men's epiclesis Tyrannos (Τύραννος), literally "tyrant" was seen as compatible with Hesychius interpreting κοαλδδεῖν (now κοαλδδᾶν) as 'king'.[12] These philological arguments were corroborated through further iconographic observations. Thus, the seal with the legend LW/N 111 *qλd*[*ã*]*nlim* features the image of a male figure in a Persian dress on top of a crescent (Lemaire 1992, cf. Schürr 1997: 207, fn. 14).[13] This find enhances the significance of the observation that a crescent-like symbol appears above the first mention of Qλdãns in LW 23 (Heubeck 1959: 30, cf. the photo in Labarre 2023: 318). Furthermore, the same symbol is clearly visible on the coin that features the inscription LW/N 120, also containing the word *qλdãnlim* (Labarre 2023: 317, citing the presentation by D. Schürr and O. Tekin).

Not all the arguments accumulated in favour of this equation have an equal value. Thus, it is uncertain at best that the references to Qλdãns on a coin and a seal point to a theonym, as opposed to a title or personal name (cf. Section 5). The epiclesis Tyrannos is rather unusual, and a mere leap from 'tyrant' to 'king' hardly does justice to the complexity of the problem (cf. Section 6). The juxtaposition with Artemis Anaitis does not represent the exclusive privilege of the Moon-god, as Apollo also appears alongside this goddess in Lydia (de Hoz 1999: 38, fn. 212). These nuances, however, need not undermine the basic validity of the proposed synchronic comparison unless one can identify another Hellenistic deity who displays more similarities to Qλdãns.

The chronology of the emergence of these similarities is a separate issue. The common Anatolian Moon-god was Arma: his name is attested in Hittite and

12. It might be worth reminding to non-Classicists that the term 'tyrant' did not have stable negative connotations in the Greco-Roman world but merely referred to an absolute ruler, who usually was self-made.

13. It should be mentioned for fairness' sake that the same seal also features a winged sun-disk on top of a man in Persian dress standing on the crescent. This, however, need not constitute an obstacle to considering the lunar associations of Qλdãns as primary, since the solar symbolism also occasionally constituted a part of the representation of the god Men (de Hoz 2002). One wonders whether this state of affairs reflects the adaptation of the Luwian Sun-god of the Earth as Men Tiamou (cf. Pisaniello 2021).

Luwian transmission, as well as through the Lycian theophoric name Erm̃meneñi (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 206). The Lydian language preserves a derivative *armτa-*, which has been variously interpreted as 'priest of the Moon-god', 'prophet' and 'herald' (Yakubovich 2017: 279; Sasseville 2018: 130, fn. 2). If the Moon-god eventually acquired a different name in Lydia, this change can either reflect an internal development (for example, the replacement of an old name by its epiclesis) or represent an indicator of religious syncretism. The Persian attire of Qλdãns on the Lydian seal with the legend LW/N 111 constitutes one argument for the second option, while the name of Artemis Anaitis, the likely consort of Men, supplies another one. The theonym Anaitis goes back to the name of the Iranian fertility goddess Anahita (Heubeck 1959: 22), who is attested, among other sources, in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions of the 4th century BCE. Another common designation of Artemis Anaitis is simply Artemis Persike "Persian Artemis" (de Hoz 1999: 73).[14] At the same time, there is no evidence from the period before the Persian conquest of Lydia for Qλdãns acting as the Moon-god.[15]

These observations are compatible with the scenario sketched out below. In the early first-millennium BCE, several fertility cults gained prominence in Anatolia (cf. Section 3). The Achaemenid Period saw the rise of a new religious tradition, which emphasized the Moon-god as the consort of Mother-goddess. This innovation arguably reflected the assumption that the Moon is capable of influencing pregnancy, a cross-cultural superstition, which is presumably mediated by the average length of the menstrual cycle.[16] The new cult was particularly popular in the north-eastern part of Lydia, where the epigraphic mentions of Men are concentrated from the Hellenistic period onwards (see the map in Labarre 2023: 317). The Iranian newcomers, who constituted a part of those embracing the new cult, must have referred to the divine couple by their own names Mah (Moon) and Anahita.[17]

14. For additional arguments in favour of the Iranian affinities of the Moon-god Men, see Lane 1990: 2170–2171.

15. The original dating of the coin with the legend LW/N 120 is the 5th century BCE (Tekin 2016, #725). While the attempt to find the name of Croesus in LW/N 120 (Euler and Sasseville 2019) would imply an earlier date, it would also undermine the relevance of the coin under discussion for Lydian religion.

16. As manifestations of this tendency in Bronze Age Anatolia, cf. the Hittite denominative verbs *arma*(*i*)- 'to become pregnant' and *armaḫḫ*- 'to impregnate' both ultimately derived from the name of the Moon-god Arma. For this etymology and some additional parallels, see Puhvel 1984: 155–157.

17. One indication that the worshippers of the new cult were not limited to the Iranians is the epithet Tiamou (Τιαμου), frequently applied to the Moon-god Men. Given its attested Greek

The Hellenization of the cult's adepts brought about the adaptation of divine names: the name of Mah was "translated" into Greek, which was no doubt facilitated by the assonance of the two theonyms, while Anahita's name was retained but reinterpreted as epiclesis of Artemis. The last step must have been necessary, since the Greek Artemis, a virgin huntress, was functionally very different from the Anatolian Mother-goddesses.

In Sardis, the adaptation of the new cult must have gone a different way. The syncretism of the new fertility goddess with the Lydian Artemis (Artimus), the head of the local pantheon, was apparently acceptable. In contrast, the syncretism of the new Moon-god and Arma must have inhibited by the latter's modest role in the traditional Lydian pantheon. If the name of Qλdãns could be used as a title, which seems to follow from Hesychius's gloss, it was easy for the adepts of the new cult to adopt it for their main god. This would lead in turn to the "lunarization" of Qλdãns in the areas where the respective cult held sway. Yet, the influence of this syncretic development on the cult practices in Sardis was limited. On the one hand, the references to Men in Greek sources from Sardis are generally rather modest in comparison with the north-western Lydia (Labarre 2023: 217), and the cult of Anaitis is also sparsely attested in the local Greek inscriptions (de Hoz 1999: 75–76). On the other hand, there is absolutely no epigraphic evidence for the cult of Men in the temple of Artemis in Sardis. To be sure, the graffiti on top of inscription LW 23, found in the temple precinct of Artemis, yields support for the lunar associations of Qλdãns (see again the photo in Labarre 2023: 218), but we do not know whether it was made simultaneously with the inscription or represented an addition by later zealots. It stands to reason that the priesthood of Sardis exhibited a conservative attitude with regard to the new cult, especially if one accepts that the former ruling clan of the Mermnads retained an important role in the administration of the local cults in the Achaemenid period (Yakubovich 2017: 286–287).

An additional indirect argument in favour of the proposed scenario comes from even later sources. The theonym Men Tyrannos (Μὴν Τύραννος), literally "Moon-god the Tyrant" (de Hoz 1999: 19, 42) is also attested once as Kyrios Ty-

adaptation (κατα)χθόνιος, literally "(Under)ground" and the existence of a Sun-god of the Earth in the Luwian pantheon, one must not separate the epithet Tiamou from Luwian *tiyamm*(*i*)- earth, as argued in Pisaniello 2021. One must also stress that the association between Anaitis and the Moon-god finds no counterpart in the traditional Persian religion but represents an Anatolian innovation. The Achaemenid royal inscriptions associate Anahita with Auramazda and Mithra, which arguably reflects the influence of the Babylonian Triad (Marduk, Shamash, and Ishtar).

rannos (Κύριος Τύραννος), literally "Lord Tyrant" (de Hoz 1999: 232–233, contrast the pantheons of 39.67 and 39.68). This variant can be taken as evidence that the lunar associations of the new deity were still a matter of negotiation as late as the Roman period.

I must admit that the account above contains elements of speculation: we simply lack sufficient epigraphic evidence from the Achaemenid period, when crucial developments must have taken place.[18] If one could propose an alternative scenario of how Qλdãns took over the functions of the Moon-god Arma without needing to assume external influences, it could then be evaluated on its own merits, but at present such suggestions appear to be absent. In fact, the linguistic account of Qλdãns coming from a scholar who upholds its original status as the Moon-god has nothing to do with the Moon. Schürr (2011/2012: 71–74) argues that the territory of Lydia may have overlapped from that of Kuwaliya, and therefore Luwian **k*^{w}*aliyawann*(*i*)- 'of Kuwaliya' may have been adopted as an epithet, presumably applied to the local Moon-god. Yet, no mentions of the Moon-god of Kuwaliya are found in Hittite texts, while the only deity associated with this region is the Storm-god (^{d}U, van Gessel 1998–2001, III: 264). Since Schürr's etymology fails to account for the "lunar" features of Qλdãns, its only advantage is its linguistic transparency. We will see, however, in Section 6 that the new suggestion offered in the present paper is also backed up by a linguistically transparent etymology.

§ 5. *Qλdãns as Croesus*

According to the fourth interpretation of Qλdãns, advanced in Euler and Sasseville 2019, he is the deified king Croesus. The co-authors begin their reasoning with the observation that the reference to Qλdãns on a seal (LW/N 111) and a coin (LW/N 120) imply a person, while the remaining attestations of this name imply a deity, and therefore Qλdãns must represent a deified person. Among the Lydian kings, who are presumably more likely to have been posthumously deified than other Lydians, only Croesus (Greek Κροῖσος) bears a name with a degree of phonetic resemblance to Qλdãns, which prompts the co-authors to offer a phonetic

18. For a sober assessment of the Iranian influence on the cult of Men in Lydia as a tantalizing hypothesis in need of further proof, see Mitchell 2007: 161–162. Naturally, what is most relevant for the discussion of Qλdãns in this section is not the specific origin of the cult of Men but rather its intrusive nature. It is appropriate to point out that some traditional Greek deities also developed secondary celestial associations. In this connection one can recall the solarization of Apollo and the matching "lunarization" of Artemis from the Hellenistic period onwards.

scenario for the adaptation of Qλdãns as Croesus. They interpret the posthumous deification of Croesus as a recognition of his heroic suicide, performed in order to avoid his capture by Cyrus, and assume that the precinct of Artemis in Sardis also functioned as the place of his mortuary cult. Euler and Sasseville's hypothesis is endorsed in Held 2021: 246 and, with some reservations, in Payne 2023: 2012.

It is indeed the case that the more readily interpreted Lydian coin inscriptions do refer to humans rather than gods. Thus, the coins with the legend *kukal=im* carry the message 'I am of Gyges', or perhaps 'I am (son) of Gyges', if one follows Dale 2015. Another common coin legend is *walweṭ*, to be presumably interpreted as the abbreviated name of Alyattes (Dale 2015: 154, with references cited). Against such a background, a legend with the name of the last Lydian king Croesus (LW/N 120) would represent a welcome addition to collection of the royal coins. This is, however, not the only option. If one takes Hesychius's gloss seriously, then *qλdãns* could also be used as a generic word for 'ruler'. One wonders whether the legend *qλdãnl=im* could characterize the coins issued by the Persian takeover in Sardis, which reflected either the local potentates' mint, or even the coinage of the Persian satrap.[19] The ubiquitous "royal archer" on the Achaemenid coins suggests that the Persian kings were not keen on identifying themselves on their financial instruments, and their subjects could have followed suit. In the instance of the seal with the legend LW/N 111, the Persian attire of the human figure in the middle provides a positive argument against its pre-Achaemenid date. Naturally, if one assumes that the seal legend *qλdãnl=im* features a title rather than a personal name, this facilitates the same conclusion in the instance of the coin legend.[20] At the same time, the presence of the moon crescent on both the coin and the seal can hardly be

19. The unique find of the coin with the legend LW/N 120, as opposed to the numerous coins mentioning Gyges and Alyattes, is one more parameter to be taken into consideration. It would naturally be strange if the Lydian king who became proverbial for his wealth were associated with just one coin. Of course, if this coin is attributed to the Achaemenid period, as was assumed in its first edition, the complete absence of coinage issued in the name of Croesus would also require explanation. Under such a scenario, however, one could simply maintain the traditional view that Croesus consistently opted for anepigraphic coins.

20. In Yakubovich 2017: 290, I attempted to read the legend of LW/N 120 as *mλiṃš^{l}iš qλdãnlim* and translated the first word as 'Mermnad', which would have complicated the Achaemenid dating of the coin under discussion. This interpretation was, however, met with skepsis in Payne 2019: 239–240 and currently remains *sub judice*.

discussed apart from the lunar associations of the god Qλdãns that were addressed in Section 4.[21]

The arguments adduced above lead in different directions and balance up against each other, which means that there is no way to falsify the hypothesis that *qλdãnl=im* is used there with reference to a personal name, as opposed to a title or a theonym.[22] In this case, however, one possible solution is to assume that the relevant name is theophoric. Such names are attested in the Anatolian languages of all periods, witness the divine and personal name Telipinu occurring in Hittite texts, but of particular interest for our purposes should be the Lydian form LW 25.5 [*ar*]*timuliš* occurring in a list of possessive forms derived from personal names. It is not clear in this case whether we are dealing with the possessive form of Artimus, the exact homonym of the divine name, or the zero-suffix possessive adjective derived from the personal name Artimulis, an equivalent of Greek Ἀρτέμιος and Lycian Erttimeli, lit. "belonging to Artemis". Both solutions, however, would be compatible with looking for parallel patterns in the instance of *qλdãnl=im*.[23] Alternatively, one can entertain a possibility that the personal name Qλdãns is derived from the homonymous title.[24]

Against this background, it must be obvious that the status of Qλdãns as a deified king requires special pleading. Turning to the historical scenario advocated in Euler and Sasseville 2019, the suggestion that Croesus committed suicide, while the pious legend about his rescue from the pyre by Cyrus represents a later embellishment, appears intriguing. Also interesting is the hypothesis that the so called

21. Diether Schürr turns my attention to a number of Anatolian hieroglyphic seals of the early first millennium BCE that feature legends with the name of the goddess Kubaba in lieu of the owner's name and the iconographic representation of the celestial bodies (the Sun, the Moon, and/or the stars). To this category belong in particular the Borgia seal, HOGARTH 1, BOROWSKI 1, and DELAPORTE. For the drawings and more details, see Schürr in this volume.

22. Payne (2019: 238–239) suggests as a possibility that *qλdãn-* as a title might have been derived from a homonymous personal name, as was, for example, the story of the German title *Kaiser* derived from the name of Julius Caesar.

23. One can also compare the Lydian personal name Artimas, attested three times through possessive adjectives in the Lydian corpus, apparently with reference to three different individuals (LW 42.3, 98.2, 104). While the ultimate origin of these names must be Iranian (Vernet 2016), all the other Iranian names known from Lydian inscriptions are prosopographically unique, which makes one wonder if the folk-etymological connection between this name and the Lydian Artemis (Artimus) contributed to its proliferation.

24. As a typological parallel, one can compare the Cilician personal name Κουαριμοας, lit. "(having) the strength of the army", which represents a lexical cognate of Lyd. *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* 'king' (Valério and Yakubovich 2022: 349–350). For the discussion of this parallel, see further Section 6.

"Pyramid Tomb", which is located not far from the precinct of Artemis in Sardis and architecturally resembles the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, was designed for the remains of Croesus. The implication about the mortuary cult of Croesus in the temple of Artemis already represents an assumption based on another assumption, but it would remain within the range of possibilities. I find it, however impossible to accept that the deified Croesus became the second most important deity of the Lydians in the Achaemenid period, enjoyed a personal cult not only in Sardis but also in the countryside (LW 41, 43, 62), displayed a special association with Artemis (LW 4b, 41) and was invoked in curse formulae (LW 4b, 23). One can contrast here the posthumous cult of the Roman emperor Augustus: while it also spread over the whole of the Roman empire, Augustus was usually worshipped together with his wife Livia (as in Vienna, Gallia) or the deified city of Rome (as in Athens or Ancyra), but not integrated into the circle of the Olympian gods. This said, the Roman Empire had a vested interest in promoting the cult of its effective founder, whereas the Achaemenid Empire could hardly benefit from the cult of its former enemy Croesus, especially if one does not accept his collaboration with Cyrus after the fall of Sardis. Those who find these arguments insufficient may be reminded that not a faintest hint at the posthumous worship of Croesus can be found in Greek sources. This constitutes a stark contrast with the innovative cult of the Moon-god Men, addressed in Section 4.

The considerations adduced this far do not impact the possibility of finding the name of Croesus in Lydian transmission but merely undermine the hypothesis of his posthumous deification. The validity of equation between Qλdãns and Croesus ultimately depends on a formal comparison between the two names. As mentioned in Section One, the bulk of scholars treat the Greek gloss κοαλδδᾶν as reflecting Lyd. *qλdãn-*; this interpretation also seems to be endorsed in Euler and Sasseville 2019: 126. It is easy to see that the parallel Greek transliteration of the same Lydian phonetic sequence as κροῖσο- would share very little with κοαλδδᾶν. Euler and Sasseville (2019) attempt to justify this discrepancy by assuming two different transmission paths for the Lydian personal name. They conjecture that *qλdãns* was pronounced as [kʷɾʲ-ðãns] and then make an additional assumption that a particular Greek speaker processed the combination *kʷɾʲ-* as κροι-.[25] The form κοαλδδᾶν, on the other hand, was allegedly borrowed from a dialectal variant *qaλdãns*, perhaps as late as the Hellenistic period.

25. "Die erste Silbe des Namens Qλdãns [kʷɾj-ðãns] musste dann von einem Griechen ungefähr als κροι- wiedergegeben werden, indem die Labialität und die Palatalität der ersten zwei Konsonanten in seinem Mund zu dem Diphthong -οι- verschoben wurden" (Euler and Sasseville 2019: 127).

Almost every step in this account is formally problematic. There are no synchronic grounds to claim that the Lydian grapheme <λ> was pronounced as [ɾʲ], given that Lyd. *alikšãntru-* rendered the Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος (Gérard 2005: 62).[26] In the instance of the Lydian clan name *mλimn-* probably borrowed into Greek as Μερμνάδες 'Mermnads', the adaptation of this proper noun was mediated through a folk etymology involving Gk. μέρμνος or μέρμνης 'a type of falcon' (Yakubovich 2017: 283–284) and therefore cannot be used as a typological parallel. The idea that the combination of labialization and palatalization can develop into a Greek diphthong -οι- is not supported through any parallels and appears counterintuitive. The rendering of Lyd. [ð] by Greek <ς>, albeit phonetically natural, cannot be confirmed through any other Lydian loanwords in Greek, while Σάρδεις 'Sardis', an early adaptation of Lyd. *sfard*(*a*)- 'Sardian', can be compared with κοαλδδᾶν for its rendering of [ð].[27] The fact that *qaλdãn-* represents an archaic variant of the syncopated *qλdãn-* does not add credence to the hypothesis that it provided a source for a later borrowing. Summing up, the linguistic arguments adduced in Euler and Sasseville 2019 cannot be considered probative for assigning the names Qλdãns and Croesus to the same individual. From the perspective of the present research, the main merit of this paper consists in stressing that Qλdãns may not have been just a theonym.

§ 6. *A New Proposal*

The similarity between the Lydian stems *q*(*a*)*λdãn-* and *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* 'king' has already been noted in the Introduction, and the linguists addressing the origin of the god Qλdãns occasionally assume their genetic connection (see Carruba 2006: 402–405, Melchert, forthcoming). The semantic distance between the two terms becomes particularly narrow if one accepts linguistic reality behind Hesychius's interpretation of κοαλδδᾶν as a title. In what follows I intend to trace the consequences of the new etymology of *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* 'king' offered in Valério and Yakubovich 2022 for simplifying the formal and semantic account of *q*(*a*)*λdãn-*.

As argued in our joint paper, Lyd. *qaλm*(*λ*)*u-* need not be separated from the Carian divine epithet *k̂λmu-* (C.Ia3, Adiego 2007: 147, 453), while the borrowed

26. I agree with Sasseville (2021: 640) that Lyd. <λ> can reflect the palatalization of **r* as well as **l*. There is, however, no independent evidence that the outcome of this merger was pronounced as a flap at any point in the history of Lydian before becoming [lʲ].

27. Cf. also the rendering of Lycian <δ> = [ð] mostly as <δ> and sometimes as <λ> but never as <σ> in Greek (Réveilhac 2018: 412–413).

Greek πάλμυς, used both as the title 'king (βασιλεύς)' and an epithet of Zeus, represents a *tertium comparationis*. All the three lexemes can be formally derived from the Pre-Carian possessive compound *k^w*alji-muwa*- or *k^w*alja-muwa*-, with the literal meaning "(having) the strength of the army". The epithet *k̂lmu*- is attached to the name of the Carian Storm-god Trquδ-, yielding the hypostasis "Storm-god the Warlord". According to the recent dissertation Loiacono 2018-2019, the same phase is found in Greek transmission as Ζεὺς Στράτιος 'Zeus of the Army', with reference to the deity that was worshipped in the Carian sanctuary of Labra(y)nda. Both Lyd. *qaλm*(*λ*)*u*- and Gk. Πάλμυς were ultimately borrowed from an early form of Carian, even though a secondary Lydian influence of the meaning of the Greek form cannot be ruled out. The Carian origin of the compound **kwalji-muwa* follows from the fact that both nouns underlying this compound, *k^w*alan*- 'army' and **muwā*- 'force, drive' are reconstructed for the Luwic group of Anatolian languages,[28] while the secondary adjective **kwalj*(*a*/*i*)- derived from **kwalan*- is ascertained though the Cilician personal names Κουαλις and Κουαριμοας (the latter one represents a lexical cognate of Car. *k̂lmu*-).

Now, the worship of the Storm-god of the Army was not limited to the Carian sanctuary of Labra(y)nda. The presence of such a deity in the Luwian pantheon was confirmed through the publication of the inscription TELL AHMAR 6 (Hawkins 2006), where this deity is mentioned many times as |EXERCITUS.*LA/I/U-nasi-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* = *kwalanassis Tarhunzas*. We have far more occurrences of the Storm-god of the Army preserved in the Sumerographic guise in Hittite texts, e.g. ^{d}U KARAŠ, ^{d}U EN KARAŠ or ^{d}IŠKUR KARAŠ (van Gessel 1998–2001: 660, 781–783). For our purposes, it is of particular interest that this deity functioned as the head of the Wilusa pantheon in the Hittite treaty between Muwattalli II of Hattusa and Alaksandu of Wilusa (KUB 21.1+ iv 27, Beckman 1999: 92, § 20).[29] After a lacuna, the list of Wilusa deities continues with Appaliuna, who is frequently taken as the local adaptation of the Greek Apollo (Oettinger 2015: 127–

28. For the Luwian reflexes of *k^w*alan*- 'army' and **muwā*- 'drive, force', see Starke 1990: 234–237 and Valério 2023 respectively.

29. The identification between Wilusa and Bronze-Age Troy, once considered nearly standard in Hittitology, has become more problematic with the new arguments for locating the west Anatolian principality known as the Seha River Land to the south and not to the north of Mira (Gander 2017: 174–175). Given the independent evidence for the proximity of the Seha River Land and Wilusa, the location of the latter in the Anatolian southwest gains in likelihood, which would in turn narrow the distance between the Storm-gods of the Army worshipped at Labra(y)nda and Wilusa. I do not consider, however this issue settled, and any location of Wilusa in the western part of Asia Minor would yield a degree of support to the etymology advanced in this section.

128). This hypothesis implies on face value that, at least in the pantheon of Wilusa, the Storm-god of the Army was distinct from Apollo. Thus, the assumed etymological connection between Qλdãns and **kwalan-* 'army' turns out to offer an argument against the identification between Qλdãns and Apollo, contra Högemann and Oettinger 2018: 74.

I submit that this is the reason to doubt the syncretism between Qλdãns and Apollo, but not the proposed root etymology. In order to flesh it out, it is necessary to address formal issues. While the Carian phrase *Trquδ- k̂λmu-* can be compared for its overall structure with Luwian *kwalanassis Tarhunzas*, the derivatives of **k^{w}alan-* synchronically function as adjectival epithets in both cases. In contrast, the morphological structure of **kwalj-ān- > q(a)λdãn-* is compatible with the scenario of a Carian noun borrowed into Lydian. Although Carian derivational morphology still remains very poorly known, the same suffix can be reconstructed in Carian *armon* 'interpreter', a probable root cognate Lyd. *armτa-* 'prophet (vel sim.)' (Schürr 1997: 207). One of the sources of Carian *o* is known to be **ā* (Adiego 2007: 258) while Greek ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter', presumably borrowed from Carian with some additional adaptation, yields independent support to **arm-ān-* as the Carian stem (cf. Yakubovich 2012: 133).[30] If **k^{w}alj-ān-*, like **arm-ān-* was a nominal form, it may have represented a retrenchment of **k^{w}alja-muwa-*, which arguably functioned as the standard epiclesis of the Storm-god of the Army (its approximate translation would then be 'warlord, military leader').[31] Once the Carian form was borrowed into Lydian, it came to be used there as the primary theonym. At the same time, it could be retained as an appellative with a broader meaning 'ruler' (cf. typologically the semantic evolution of German *Herzog*), which would account for Hesychius's gloss.

The profound Carian cultural influence on Lydia, probably to be linked to the Mermnad rule in Sardis, was recently addressed in Valério and Yakubovich 2022:

30. If this noun was derived from Proto-Luwic *armā-* 'moon', it is likely that 'prophet' was its original meaning, since paranormal human behaviour is frequently attributed to the influence of the Moon (cf. English 'lunatic'). The same suffix *-ān-* may be present in the Carian lexeme *manon*, which appears in the immediate proximity of *armon* in the Carian inscription C.Eu 2 (cf. Adiego 2020: 235). In terms of Proto-Indo-European reconstruction, the "Hoffmann suffix" **-h$_3$on* is a distinct possibility for Qλdãns and the nouns cited in this footnote (cf. Melchert, forthcoming).

31. For a different Carian epithet or epiclesis of Zeus (Οσογωλλις) and its convincing etymology, see Oettinger 2022. I fail, however, to see why Ζεὺς Οσογωλλις has to be interpreted as an equivalent of the Storm-god of the Army worshipped at Labra(y)nda, given that Ζεὺς Οσογωλλις and Ζεὺς Λαβρανδεύς were two distinct deities worshipped in Mylasa according to the account of Strabo 14.2.23 (Oettinger 2022: 62).

348–349. Without reiterating the same arguments in the present paper, it would suffice to observe that if *qaλm*(*λ*)*u*- 'king' was borrowed into Lydian from Carian, the parallel borrowing of **k^{w}alj-ān*- as Lyd. *q*(*a*)*λdãn*- emerges as the most economical solution. The presence of <d> in the Lydian form in no way contradicts the hypothesis of its Carian origin, because the adaptation of foreign **j* as <d> extends itself to the most recent loanwords into Lydian.[32] We do not have enough evidence to address the question whether Qλdãns was introduced to the Lydians as a new dynastic god or syncretized with a pre-existing deity, even though the testimony for his worship in the countryside provides a faint argument in favour of the latter solution.

The new etymology of Qλdãns, implying its original function as the Storm-god of the Army, has the potential to integrate the main advantages of the earlier competing interpretations. The original association of Qλdãns with the military facilitates the account of his likely association with the War-god Sãntas in LW 4.a-b and the etymology linking him to the Luwian word for 'army' (cf. Section 2). The classification of Qλdãns as a Storm-god obviously helps to explain why his cult was transformed into a cult of Zeus in Hellenistic Sardis (cf. Section 3). The alternation Κύριος Τύραννος and Μὴν Τύραννος bears witness to the gradual "lunarization" of the Storm-god of the Army in certain communities of Asia Minor (cf. Section 4). The meaning 'warlord, military leader' implied for the Pre-Carian appellative **kwalj-ān*- is equally compatible with its evolution into a theonym, title and personal name (cf. Section 5). I regard the possibility of combining seemingly irreconcilable leads into a consistent account as a significant advantage of the new hypothesis.

ADDENDUM

Shortly after the present manuscript was submitted for publication, I became aware of Garnier 2021/2023, a recently published paper devoted essentially to the same topic. The extended periods between the submission and publication of academic manuscripts complicate the exchange of ideas in our dynamic field: despite a considerable effort undertaken to update his bibliography, Romain Garnier was

32. For the discussion of this problem, see Yakubovich 2022: 200–203. In particular, I support the Iranian etymology of Mitridašta, the commissioner of LW 23–24, as Old Iranian **miθra-yaštā*- 'Mithra-worshipper' (Oreshko 2019: 219), although I assume that foreign **y* was synchronically adapted as [ð] in Lydian, and therefore there is no need to revise the transliteration of the Lydian letter <d> or to refer to Mitridašta as Mitriyašta.

apparently not able to access Valério and Yakubovich 2022 in time to use in his paper. As a result, the discussion of Lyd. *qaλm*(*u*)- 'king' (Garnier 2021/2023: 202–203) does not refer to the most recent refinements of its etymology, including the newly adduced Carian source. As for the god Qλdãns, the author accepts his identification with the deified king Croesus, which prompts him to assume the development *λ* > **rj* in this theonym. This must in turn have impacted his preference for denying the synchronic relationship between the Lydian stems *q*(*a*)*λdãn*- and *qaλm*(*u*)- (Garnier 2021/2023: 194) and analyzing them as two different derivatives of the Proto-Indo-European root **ḱuh₁*- 'to be strong'. Without dwelling again on the objections against the Qλdãns/Croesus hypothesis presented in Section 5, it is appropriate to point out that the formal relationship between *q*(*a*)*λdãn*- and *qaλm*(*u*)- is far more straightforward than the connection between *q*(*a*)*λdãn*- and κροῖσο-. Therefore, objecting to the former comparison for the sake of the latter one is a methodologically problematic stance.

What I learned from Garnier's paper concerns the gloss of Hesychius that was cited above as κοαλδδᾶν · Λυδοί, τὸν βασιλέα. This reading involves a problem: the previous glossed word κοάλεμος, which makes one consider returning to the emendation †κοαλδδᾶν → κοαλμᾶν in order to keep the alphabetic order (Garnier 2021/2023: 193). The issue is not as simple as it may seem: the glossed word following "κοαλδδᾶν" is Κοαλιεῖν (Cunningham 2020: 627), and therefore the emendation under discussion would trigger another disruption of the alphabetic order. Nevertheless, Romain Garnier makes a good case that the reading κοαλδδᾶν should be used with caution, which undermines to an extent the hypothesis that Lyd. *q*(*a*)*λdãn*- was used as a title. If so, then the remaining hard evidence is the theonym Q(a)λdãns and the appellative *qaλm*(*u*)- 'king', but the two Lydian nouns can still be considered together for etymological purposes.

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Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca* 1.2.2–9: a real *pompe*?

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Of the five extant Greek novels, probably the *Ephesiaca* is the most realistic, although, at the same time, it is the most idealistic in the exaltation of the chastity and fidelity of its protagonists, which is the typical ideology for these love novels. On the basis of its social and religious atmosphere and its language and style the novel can be dated in the second century A.D.[1] The *terminus ante quem* seems to be the novels of Ps. Lucian, *Ass,* and of Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, one of whose papyri belongs to the end of the second century A.D.[2] I would just like to emphasize the *archaiotes* of our novel, which is a trait characteristic for the Second Sophistic as a whole.[3]

According to the *Suda*,[4] Xenophon was an Ephesian who wrote this novel and, perhaps, other works related to Ephesus, although the *Suda* could only be referring to this work. Following the *Suda*, many scholars, beginning with Charles Picard, thought that Xenophon was an Ephesian who saw this *pompe* many times and, for this reason, his description constitutes a document no less valid than Ephesian ins-

1. I refer to Gärtner (1967) and Ruiz-Montero (1994) for all these questions and a broad overview of Xenophon. On *realia* aspects see also Rife (2002). The best edition of the text is O'Sullivan (2005), but I do not share all his readings.

2. On Achilles Tatius and his papyri see Plepelits (1996: 391–94).

3. See Ruiz-Montero (1994:1114–15) and (2004).

4. *Suidae Lexicon* xi.4,9 Ξενοφῶν, Ἐφέσιος, ἱστορικός. Ἐφεσιακά·ἔστι δὲ ἐρωτικὰ βιβλία ι΄ περὶ Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας· καὶ Περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἐφεσίων· καὶ ἄλλα.

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criptions.[5] The relationship of our author with Ephesus is reinforced by the introduction in the novel of an Ephesian character, the *iatros* Eudoxus, a helper of the heroine, who swears by his *patrios Artemis* in 3.5.5,[6] an oath expressed by the heroes in 1.10.10; 11.5, and in 2.11.8 (as *patroos*). Moreover, from the beginning of the plot, the oracle of Apollo in Colophon predicts the eventual salvation of the protagonists thanks to the goddess Isis, whose identification with Artemis is clear in the novel.[7] On the other hand, we know that the presence of Egyptian gods in Ephesus dates, at least, from the 7th century B.C.[8]

But the name and origin of our Xenophon is uncertain, since the *Suda* does mention two other "Xenophons" whose native country coincides with the land in which their novels take place.[9]

In this paper I shall focus on the description of Artemis' *pompe* that opens the novel. In it the lovers, Anthia and Habrocomes, meet and fall in love immediately, a fact which will lead to their desire for marriage and the subsequent adventures of the lovers until the expected happy ending. We proceed to comment the text (1. 2–3.1) by dividing it into four sections, and we shall add some conclusions. The reliability of this text has been interpreted in very different and opposing ways, as we shall see. Yet, to consider it a complete fiction dreamt up by the novelist would be a mistake in my opinion.

Our text will be compared, among other inscriptions, with that of the foundation organised by the wealthy Vibius Salutaris for his own glory and to honour the Artemis of Ephesus in 104 A.D., which is outstanding for its great length.[10] Nevertheless, we must remember that Salutaris's *pompe* bore no relation to the cult of Artemis, and did not include ritual sacrifices: according to Rogers its main purpose

5. Picard (1922: 186) dated the novel, temptatively, at the beginnigs of third century A.D.

6. 3.5.5. ὁρκίζει τὴν πάτριον θεὰν Ἄρτεμιν ξυμπρᾶξαι πάντα ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῦ δεηθῇ. The mention of their *patris* is also frequent in the novel.

7. Dunand (1973) alreday observed that most of the places appearing in the novel have sanctuaries of Isis, whose cult was extended all over Mediterranean sea.

8. Walters (1995: 127–29). In p. 291, n.13 he mentions an statue of Isis with a dedication to Artemis. Thomas (1995: 114) adds that Greek authors of the Roman Empire do not mention the religious innovations that Ephesus underwent during this period; in any case, the Huntress was a sign of the local identification of the town (p. 95). See also Rogers (2012: 181–82).

9. *Suidae*, *ibid*. Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντιοχεύς, ἱστορικός. Βαβυλωνιακά· ἔστι δὲ ἐρωτικά. Ξενοφῶν, Κύπριος, ἱστορικός. Κυπριακά· ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐρωτικῶν ὑποθέσεων ἱστορία περί τε Κινύραν καὶ Μύρραν καὶ Ἄδωνιν.

10. *IvE* 27.

was "to acculturate the *ephebes*, who performed the story of the city at the theatre".[11]

§ 2. *Text and Commentary*

§ 2.1.

Ἤγετο δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπιχώριος ἑορτὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν (στάδιοι δέ εἰσιν ἑπτά) ἔδει δὲ πομπεύειν πάσας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους παρθένους κεκοσμημένας πολυτελῶς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους, ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν εἶχον τῷ Ἀβροκόμῃ. Ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἔτη καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων προσήπτετο καὶ ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τὰ πρῶτα ἐφέρετο. Πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, πολὺ μὲν ἐγχώριον, πολὺ δὲ ξενικόν· καὶ γὰρ ἔθος ἦν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πανηγύρει καὶ νυμφίους ταῖς παρθένοις εὑρίσκεσθαι καὶ γυναῖκας τοῖς ἐφήβοις. (1.2.2)

First of all, our text is an *ekphrasis*, a visual narrative comparable to a *theatron,* following the rhetorical precepts of the gorgianic style. We are *theatai* of a local festival (ἐπιχώριος ἑορτή) of Artemis with its procession from the city to the temple, the Artemision, whose distance was of seven *stadioi*, and which was outside the city in the story, as it in fact was.[12] The protagonists of the *pompe* were all Ephesian *parthenoi* and *epheboi*, both categories appearing in inscriptions, especially the *epheboi*, whose protagonism in Vibius Salutaris's *pompe* was notable because they were escorting the numerous statues which were paraded in it; no statues are mentioned by Xenophon.[13] Here we find a festival in which everybody took part, not just the elite classes, since a lot of people attend the *panegyris*, both local people (ἐγχώριον) and foreigners (ξενικόν).[14]

11. Rogers (1991: 112): its marked Hellenistic style was a response to the refoundation of the city of Ephesus by Romans.

12. Rogers (2012: 355, n.82). The same distance is mentioned by Hdt.1.26. On Ephesus see also Oster (1990); Scherrer (1995); Knibbe (1995 and 1998).

13. Bowie (2006: 78) observes that if the author had been intent on recreating a classical *pompe*, we would have expected the mention of a *paean* or *prosodion*, or at least something more broadly described as a *hymnos*, already attached to the cult of Artemis from al least as early as the reign of Tiberius; yet, he adds that these choral performances are lacking in Salutaris too: Bowie considers this fact intriguing, but perhaps right for Xenophon's Ephesian readers.

14. Cf. Xen. *An.* 5.3.9 καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. See Price (1984: 102, n.4), and (110-14) for the "carnival" and "colourful" atmosphere of this procession, which is compared to other *pompai.*

The term ἐπιχώριος was especially frequent in Herodotus and, later, in Pausanias, but it doesn't appear in Ephesus inscriptions.[15] ἐγχώριον is much less frequent; as for ξενικόν, its use increases from the first century B.C. onwards and reaches its pike in the second century A.D., according to *TLG*; it is frequent in Ephesus. ἐπιχώριος and ἐγχώριος are equivalent in our text.

The *pompe* is presented as a ritual where you can find a husband or wife, something not documented in inscriptions but possible for Picard and other scholars, and present in literary texts.[16] We shall return to this topic.

The *kallos* and *kosmos* referred both to Anthia and the *pompé* are frequent terms in Ephesus' inscriptions, and were traditional features in *pompai,* as Köhler observes.[17]

§ 2.2.

Παρῄεσαν δὲ κατὰ στίχον οἱ πομπεύοντες· πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ δᾷδες καὶ κανᾶ καὶ θυμιάματα· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἵπποι καὶ κύνες καὶ σκεύη κυνηγετικὰ ὧν <τὰ μὲν> πολεμικά, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα εἰρηνικά….. Ἑκάστη δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτως ὡς πρὸς ἐραστὴν ἐκεκόσμητο. (1.2.4)

The *pompeuontes* mentioned by Xenophon are at first animals for sacrifice, torches, baskets and incense. All of these objects are quoted for the cult of gods in inscriptions.[18] The baskets appear in Sicily as offered to Artemis by young girls in a context of a bridal sacrifice and an act of transition to marriage status.[19] The torches have been interpreted as signs of the nocturnal mysteries of the goddess, but also of her magical power;[20] a silver Artemis with a torch was the dominant

15. See Goldhill (2010) for the literary study of this term, albeit he does not mention our text. He comments the ἐπιχώριος τρόπος ("local rite") of Artemis Lafria's *pompe* in Paus.7.18.11.

16. Picard (1922). Leger (2017: 92). A wedding is quoted in Priene XII.164, where the *nymphe* is escorted to her husband's house with torches. As for *pompai* as places for love stories in literary texts see Petrovic (2007: 61, n. 16).

17. Köhler (1996: 117).

18. See the comparison with other cults in Picard (1922: 329). Δᾷδες and κανᾶ do not appear in *IvE*, but a δαιδοῦχος is cited in 3865, and κανῆται in 454. λαμπαδ- is frequent in Ephesian inscriptions, which mention a female chief torch-bearer in 1138, 5; 3068,8. See below, n.21.

19. See the interesting documents collected by Fischer and Hansen (2009: 227). More bibliography on the topic on p. 250, n.106. Petrovic (2007: 219) connected the rites of these *parthenoi* with ritual dances for Artemis performed by Amazones.

20. For Picard (1922: 297) they are borrowed from the rites of the Anatolian Kybele. See also Rogers (1991: 241), For magical meaning see Merkelbach and Stauber (1996: nr.11, 8–9). Petrovic

representation in the entire Salutaris' procession.[21] Moreover, Artemis λαμπαδοφόρος is well known both from reliefs from Brauron (IV century B.C.) and other places and from coins dated on the 48–27 B.C.[22]

Then, horses, dogs, hunting equipment, some for war, some for peace. Horses and dogs are frequent in imperial texts related to Artemis and hunting.[23]

The opposition πολεμικῶς / εἰρηνικῶς was already used by Plato, Isocrates and Xenophon, and it reappeared in Empire literature.[24] It is easy to connect hunting with the preparation for the military life, as observes Poulsen, who mentions Xen., *Cyn.* 6.15 as the first indication of a kind of cultic action or ceremony included in the hunt.[25] I think that some texts of Plato can help to the better understanding of these terms here.

In *Leg*. 729.d.4 two types of political contests *(agones*) are mentioned, the *eirenikos,* "of/in peace", and the *polemikos,* "of/for war", according to Liddell-Scott-Jones IV. In *Leg*. 814.e.9–815.a we read the same opposition referred to two types of dancing, the so-called *eirenike,* and the *polemike*, which could be called *pyrrike*: this was a weapon dance which imitated the use of the bow and the javelin, and is

(2007: 96) also quotes the "Zaubertriade", Hecate, Selene and Artemis, and adds Demeter in Cos. On syncretism of Artemis and Demeter add de Hoz (2016).

21. Picard (1922: 297); Rogers (1991: 110). Walters (1995: 290, n.47) mentions the λαμπαδεία, another Isis festival in Ephesos, because of the lamps that have been found with iconography associated with Egyptian cults; see also Petrovic (2007: 86–87) and Poulsen (2009: 412). Poulsen (2009: 411): three small female figures holding torches, presumably statues of Hecate, from the "House of Livia". Poulsen (*ibid*.: 412–15) quotes some statues of Artemis holding a torch or a spear, or with torch and quiver, among other imperial images of Artemis Huntress, and concludes that perhaps this type was more spread in Italy and West empire; she also notes that votive inscriptions offered both by hunters and by women after their childbirths are found together in sanctuaries. We must recall that the Artemis *kourotropho*s is well documented in Brauron, where rituals of girls to be marriageable took place: Poulsen (2009); Petrovic (2010: n.36).

22. See Kirbihler (2019: 45, n.85). He dates the novel in the second century A.D.; for the coins he quotes Karwiese (2012) in n.72 and 73.

23. Poulsen (2009: 403, n.21; 418).

24. Both terms appear especially from first century B.C. to second century A.D., according to *TLG*. Adjectives in *–ikós* are frequent in prose writers of fourth century B.C.: see Chantraine (1979).

25. Poulsen (2009: 418, n.4 and 16). She gives abundant data on archaelogy, literary texts, and inscriptions of imperial age on hunting Artemis and her cult. *eirenikos* does not appear in *IvE.* The adjective *polemikotate***,** together with *andreiotate,* appear in one inscription of Ephesus (212, 6) referred to the proper Artemis.

documented as danced honouring *Artemis Soteira* at the *Soteria* festival.[26] As for the function of the *eirenike*, Plato connected it with the whorship of the gods and their children:[27] We could consider both of them as cultic practices. Our text could reflect these activities proper of the *ephebes*, appearing on our *pompe* as well.

§ 2.3.

῏Ηρχε δὲ τῆς τῶν παρθένων τάξεως Ἀνθία, θυγάτηρ Μεγαμήδους καὶ Εὐίππης, ἐγχωρίων. ῏Ην δὲ τὸ κάλλος τῆς Ἀνθίας οἷον θαυμάσαι καὶ πολὺ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερεβάλλετο παρθένους. Ἔτη μὲν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐγεγόνει, ἤνθει δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα ἐπ᾽ εὐμορφίᾳ, καὶ ὁ τοῦ σχήματος κόσμος πολὺς εἰς ὥραν συνεβάλλετο· κόμη ξανθή, ἡ πολλὴ καθειμένη, ὀλίγη πεπλεγμένη, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων φορὰν κινουμένη· ὀφθαλμοὶ γοργοί, φαιδροὶ μὲν ὡς κόρης, φοβεροὶ δὲ ὡς σώφρονος· ἐσθὴς χιτὼν ἁλουργής, ζωστὸς εἰς γόνυ, μέχρι βραχιόνων καθειμένος, νεβρὶς περικειμένη, γωρυτὸς ἀνημμένος, τόξα, ἄκοντες φερόμενοι, κύνες ἑπόμενοι. Πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἰδόντες Ἐφέσιοι προσεκύνησαν ὡς Ἄρτεμιν. Καὶ τότ' οὖν ὀφθείσης ἀνεβόησε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἦσαν ποικίλαι παρὰ τῶν θεωμένων φωναί, τῶν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τὴν θεὸν εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλην τινὰ ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ περιποιημένην· προσηύχοντο δὲ πάντες καὶ προσεκύνουν καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς ἐμακάριζον, ἦν δὲ διαβόητος τοῖς θεωμένοις ἅπασιν Ἀνθία ἡ καλή. Ὡς δὲ παρῆλθε τὸ τῶν παρθένων πλῆθος, οὐδεὶς ἄλλο τι ἢ Ἀνθίαν ἔλεγεν·(1. 2. 5–8)

Anthia led the line of the *parthenoi* in the *pompe;* her beauty surpassed the other girls': golden hair, most hanging loose, a little of it plaited, blowing in the wind. The portrait of Anthia/Artemis is completed with the description of the girl's *kallos* and *kosmos*: "she wore a purple tunic down to the knee, fastened with a girdle and falling loosely over her arms, a fawnskin round her; a quiver attached, arrows, carrying javelins, dogs following her".

The fact that Anthia was the first of the procession has been interpreted by some scholars as a proof that she was a *hiereia* of Artemis: for Picard (1922: 181–186), Anthia was "la grande prêtesse d'Artemis", "tourmentée d'une passion sentimentale". According to Picard, she would be the guide of a kind of novices before marriage; these *parthenoi* would be, after time, the *kosmeteirai* of the goddess, so

26. Oesterfeld (2008: 450, n.299) observes that during the Empire it constituted a "mythologisches Tanztheater" which had contacts with Dyonisiac rituals. Its origin was Sparta, and was danced in Crete, Athens and other places.

27. See also *Leg*. 949.c.7 and 950. e. 2.

frequent in inscriptions from Ephesus.[28] Kirbihler adds some data about the functions of this alleged *hiereia, hiere*, or *hierateusasa* of Artemis: among these functions she ought to preside a college of other co-priestesses *parthenoi*, which would be assistants of the cult and public sacrifices.[29] Now, Anthia could be only consecrated (*hiera*) to Isis.[30] Indeed, in 3.11.4–12.1 Anthia pretexts that she was consecrated (*hiera)* to Isis by her father from her birth until her wedding, a fact that recall us the Cleia mentioned by Plut. *Mor.* 364E, also consecrated (*kathosiomene*) to the rites of Osiris by her parents, and afterwards priestess in Delphi.[31]

We find this image in the iconography of Artemis the Huntress in the first centuries of the Empire, although the type is much older.[32] In Salutaris' inscription, the statues of Artemis are preceded by a Golden Artemis with stags. Yet, the portrait of Anthia/Artemis appears as a syncretistic one: together with the Huntress, the fawn-skin seems to represent a trait of the old *Potnia theron* connected with the ancient Anatolian *Meter.* This interpretation seems perhaps better than to consider it as a typical carachteristic for Dionysos and his servants, whose presence must have been abundant in Ephesus, as Aurenhammer proposes.[33]

28. Picard (1922: 233). Léger (2017) stresses that it means that education for girls was closely linked to that of boys. On the *kosmeteirai* see also (Knibbe: 1995). Kirbihler (2019: 72) gives at list of *kosmeteirai* quoted in inscriptions.

29. Kirbihler (2019: 45). In p. 39–40 he quotes Plut. *Mor.* 795D, who distinguishes three types of priestesses in the Artemision, and compares them with Roman *Vestales.* Only from Claudius onwards the goddess' *hiereiai* must be virgins (p. 62, n. 75).

30. For Anthia as consecrated to Isis, but not her *hiereia*, see Dunand (1973: I, 180–81).

31. 3.11.4 τελευταῖον δὲ σκήπτεται πρὸς τὸν Ψάμμιν (δεισιδαίμονες δὲ φύσει βάρβαροι) ὅτι αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ γεννωμένην ἀναθείη τῇ Ἴσιδι μέχρις ὥρας γάμων καὶ ἔλεγεν ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐνιαυτοῦ τεθεῖσθαι.

Cf. 5.4.6, where Anthia is protected by Isis in her sanctuary at Memphis. Backe-Damen (2018: 520–22) recalls *Isis puellaris* here; Malaise and Veymiers (2018: 502) can be rigth when they say that neither Clea nor Anthia were necessarily initiated in her mysteries. Nevertheless, it is striking that, among the mummies found outside Egypt, recorded by Cioffi (2005), a good number of them belong to girls around 10 years old buried with books or other objects considered proper of priesthood.

32. Kirbihler (2019: n. 71 and 73) against the traditional view of the *polymastos* as the old Artemis' cult image and *LIMC* II, I, 755–63 and II 564–73. For Thomas (1995: 87) the hunting dogs instead of the deer constitute an attenuated portrait of Artemis as *Potnia theron* here.

33. Aurenhammer (1995: 270). She observes that also goddesses such as Méter and Hecate with stags and dogs appear in Ephesus, and mentions an Isis bronze statuette mingling symbols of Artemis, Athena, Nike, and Kybele. See above**,** n.20. Nevertheless, the syncretistic nature of these rites is clear in Plut, *de Isid*.364E where, while narrating the burial of Apis, he tells that their priests perform ceremonies in which they fasten skins of fawns about themselves and carry Bachic wands.

Knibbe and Langmann[34] —who believe that Xenophon is describing a real *pompe* he saw in Ephesus— think that, moreover the *nebris* beeing an attribute of *Wildheit* of the women in orgiastic cults, the purple colour means that Artemis is sharing with her hunters and her people the prey she has hunted and whose blood has stained her *chiton.* Yet, *nebris* and fawns are frequent among the representations of Artemis in Sicily and South Italy from the sixth century onwards, as Fischer-Hansen extensively documents, connecting also the goddess with the *Potnia theron*, and underlining her syncretistic nature.[35] Picard thougth that our novelist has seen Anthia "revêtir la pourpre â la manière des grandes prêtres asiatiaques", and Köhler refers to purple tunics as a sign of richness and *tryphe* in Roman festivals.[36]

Moreover, fawns and wolves, among other animals, are sacrificed to the goddess in the description of the painting entitled "The Hunters", seen by Philostratus —he says— at a stoa in Napoli: a hymn is sung, and afterwards the hunting goes on, as Poulsen refers: the goddess would correspond to the *Artemis Agrotera*, which seems to be the oldest cultic representation of Artemis, according to the testimony of Homer.[37]

The *Lexicon Iconograhicum Mythologiae Classicae* must be quoted here as well: The Huntress with the fawnskin is well known from Attic vases of 420 B.C. (nrs. 353, 355, 356), and this type appears in statues of the Hellenistic age (from Cyrene, nr. 371 a-) and b-) and of Hellenistic-Roman periods (nr. 367, 369) and beginnings of Roman Empire (34b).[38] Moreover, a small marble statue found in

34. Knibbe and Langmann (1993).

35. Fischer and Hansen (2009: 236–42). He observes her functions as goddess of childbirth and fertility (p. 248. n.78); on her role in initiation rites, above n.21. The same syncretistic nature is observed by Nielsen and Rathje (2009) in Etrurian iconography. The term νεβρις only appears in *IvE* as a personal name, and also Νεβρισκος: 973.4. The same is the case with Γωρυτος, a personal name in Aegean islands. See Bechtel (1982: 584; 590).

36. Picard (1922: 189); Köhler (1996: 82); ἀλουργής is documented in literary texts (cf. Hld. 3.4.2: χιτῶνα ἀλουργόν), and inscriptions, but not in *IvE.* Poulsen (2009: 403) records images of the Huntress with purple boots.

37. Poulsen (2009: 418); for the *Agrotera*, already present in the *Iliad*, I also refer to Petrovic (2007: 91; 2010).

38. For the iconography see *LIMC* (1984: II); see also *LIMC* (2009: Add. 6), for a small bronze statue found in "Pannonie Supérieure", belonging to I / II centuries A.D. Also the coiffure of the later quoted goddess (nr. 34b) is similar to that of our Anthia. It is not always easy to precise the animal skin. See also Poulsen (2009: 412–15) for similar representations of Italian Artemis cult statues: she is wearing short *chiton,* and a cloak may be fastened around her waist; she can be accompanied by a bow and an arrow from her quiver, or holding a toarch or a spear. They can be copies or variants of

Upper Pannonia and dated in the first two centuries of Empire, the Huntress appears with a lion skin, a reminiscence of the ancient *Potnia theron*.[39] In this way, the Artemis with *nebris* was a traditional but contemporary image for Xenophon and his readers.[40]

According to Xenophon, not only in the *pompé* was Antheia identified with the goddess, with the subsequent ritual of *proskynesis*, but she was many times before, in her *temenos*, which could be explained only for her extraordinary physical beauty, without thinking that she was disguised as the goddess.[41] We have other reports about epiphanies operated through the priestesses, already documented by Köhler for hellenistic processions, those of Artemis included, where an amalgam of mythical and historical episodes was performed, and which had their continuation in the Roman festivals of triumph.[42] In Chariton's novel, *Callirhoe,* the protagonist is considered so beautiful as the goddess Aphrodite, whose *epiphaneiai* her priestess refers at 2.2.5 (ἐπιφανὴς δέ ἐστιν ἐνθάδε ἡ θεός), and which the townsfolk believe (3.9.1), which may mean that the novel was an *encomium* by Chariton to his civic goddess, as I suggested elsewhere.[43]

famous cult statues**.** See Poulsen (2009:415, n. 80–81) for votive inscriptions of Diana in Dacia, Pannonia and Moesia.

39. *LIMC* (2009: Add. 1). More samples of the Huntress "in peripheria orientali" (Pannonia, Dalmatia) during the Empire in *LIMC* (2009). We can add the beautiful Paros marmor statues of the Huntress found in Italica belonging to Antonine age, which are comparable to those of Villa Adriana: Leon (2021: 249–50; 256–58; 267–68).

40. Tagliabue (2013) sees the *pompe* only as an image of the classical Athens, that is, unrealistic, and whitout any local references. In p. 230, n. 44, he quotes three other festivals of Artemis which are different from that of Xenophon. On the numerous representations of the Artemis Ephesia's image, which is a part of the "policy of identification" of Ephesus and reaffirmed basic Greek values, see Thomas (1995: 95). For her "it is inconceivable that he (Xenophon) had never seen the goddess's image", because she thinks that the *Suda* (above, n.4) is quoting different works of Xenophon. According to her, the novels by Xenophon and Achilles Tatius would contribute to enlarge this policy to a broader audience.

41. This is the opinion of Petridou (2015: 45–46; 152) who cites more texts. Connor (1987: 44–45) reminds us that these Greek divine disguises must be interpreted not as a manipulation, but as a community consensus, not rare in cultic occasions, that is, people were sharing a "cultural pattern". He mentions Polyaenus 8.59 for an Athena *hiereia* disguissed as an armoured goddess.

42. Köhler **(**1996: 46–53) on Artemis Leukophryene.

43. See Ruiz-Montero (2019: 128–29). On epiphanies in the Greek novels see also Cioffi (2004), and in Greek literature as a whole Petridou (2015).

§ 2.4.

ὡς δὲ Ἀβροκόμης μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπέστη, τοὐνθένδε, καίτοι καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὰς παρθένους θεάματος, πάντες ἰδόντες Ἀβροκόμην ἐκείνων ἐπελάθοντο, ἔτρεψαν δὲ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπ᾽αὐτὸν βοῶντες ὑπὸ τῆς θέας ἐκπεπληγμένοι, «καλὸς Ἀβροκόμης» λέγοντες, «καὶ οἷος οὐδὲ εἷς καλοῦ μίμημα θεοῦ.» Ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτο προσέθεσαν «οἷος ἂν γάμος γένοιτο Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας». (1. 2. 8–9)

As for Habrocomes, he is the first of the *epheboi* in parallel to Anthia, as is parallel his comparation with a god. We saw that e*phebes* are frequently quoted in inscriptions, and we read ἐφήβων συμπροπεμπόντων in Salutaris' *pompe* (l.424), where an ἐφήβαρχος is also mentioned. Apparently, their only function here seems to be to escort the goddess, but in section *II.2*. we already mentioned their role in ritual ceremonies belonging to Artemis, of which we could have an echo here.

§ 2.5.

The consequence of the *pompe* is the love of the protagonists, whose subsequent wedding is a civic ceremony, of which we, readers, take part too as a particular type of *theoroi*, as Goldhill suggests for other Pausanias processions.[44] Here we can see and listen to the voices of the people. The episode, and, in fact, the entire novel, could be labeled as a *politikos logos,* that is, a "tale referring to the city", which could become with time an *epichorios logos*, a "local tale", comparable to those of Pausanias, as I suggested in a previous paper, by observing that the entire city sees off the protagonists as if they were their own children.[45]

Indeed, our text is comparable to etiological tales such as the one by Pausanias 7.19, where the love story of Comaetho and Melanippus is narrated in the context of a festival celebrated by the Ionians every year to honour Artemis Triclaria: "the priesthood of the goddess was held by a maiden (*parthenos*) until the time came for her to be given to a husband. Now the story says that on one occasion it happened

44. Goldhill (2010), above, n.15. Pausanias is an "eyewitness" of the festival, but the description of our novelist makes possible our attendace to it, as we said. The presence of vocal masses is continuous in Chariton´s novel as well.

45. Cf.1.10.5 Θυσίαι δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ εὐχαὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς καὶ δάκρυα πάντων, ὡς μελλόντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παίδων κοινῶν: Ruiz-Montero (2019:127, n.13), where I compared it with Imperial inscriptions from Cos which mention the honorific title "son of the *demos*", δάμου υἱοῦ (in 1146 the phrase appears in feminine). Cf. too *filium publicum* in Apul. *Met.* 4.26.3. Among them a certain Xenophon (mid-first century A.D.) is quoted in 951 and 953.

that the priestess of the goddess was Comaetho, a most beautiful maiden, who had a lover called Melanippus, who was far better and handsomer than his fellows…".[46] The lovers fulfilled their passion in the sanctuary of Artemis, a fact that provoked the wrath (*menima*) of Artemis, and the story ends with their sacrifice, ordered by an oracle from Delphi, etc.

Also, Paus. 7.18.12 mentions the *megaloprepestate pompe* of Artemis Laphria at Patrae, where the goddess is also represented as a huntress:[47] in her procession "the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not until the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and the festival is not only a state function, but also quite a popular general holiday". And we know other stories of Pausanias where civic elements are mingled with private or even love stories.[48]

§ 3. *Conclusions*

Is Xenophon describing a real *pompe*? Against enthusiastic answers such as those we have mentioned, other authors have expressed their doubts, like Walters, or have denied any possibility, like Bömer, Gärtner, and Parke.[49] It is true that our data on contemporary processions in inscriptions are scarse, and much more austere than those of our Xenophon.[50]

In fact, we have no proof that Ephesus was the native land of Xenophon: he does not refer to any realistic details of the city which might demonstrate a direct contact with it; he could have read the work of an antiquarian or *periegetes* on Ephesus, such as the *Ephesiaca* of a certain Creophylos quoted by Athenaeus 361c–e, or consulted old archives, as Köhler proposes for the work *On Alexandria* by Callixeinos of Rhodes, cited by Athenaeus 196a–203b when referring to Ptolemy Philadelphos' *pompe*;[51] we know that authors of "Lokalgeschichten" not al-

46. I quote Loeb's collection translations of Pausanias.

47. See above, n.15.

48. Other two real *pompai* in Paus. 2.35.5, where the priests head the procession, and Paus.7.26.3. Again Paus.9.10.4 tells the story of a beautiful boy who was the priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year. More data on Pausanias and other writers in Ruiz-Montero (2019: 127).

49. Walters (1995); Bömer (1952) Gärtner (1967: 2059); Parke (1985). The *pompe* is real for Knibbe und Langmann (1993) and Thomas (1995).

50. Price (1984), above, n.14. Knibbe and Langmann (1993: 32).

51. Köhler (1996: 35): Athenaeus quotes his work several times.

ways were writting on their own countries.[52] Xenophon, in this way, could be acting as a historiographer collecting local stories. Chariton of Aphrodisias setted his *Callirhoe* at Syracuse and Miletus, while his novel was honouring her local goddess Aphrodite. Yet, in a similar way, an aretalogical purpose may be defended for this novel, a novel in which the syncretism between Artemis and Isis is already operating; at the end of the work, the protagonists go to Ephesian Artemis temple to set up a votive inscription or a book (*graphe*) in which they recorded "all the things that they suffered and did" (5.15.2).[53] Their story is thus converted into a written document that can be read or recited by an *aretalogos,* priest or interpreter.

We have seen that the goddess of our procession represents the multifaceted Artemis we know from several sources all around the Mediterranean sea and still alive in imperial age: the Huntress, the *Potnia theron*, and the protectress of young girls who was whorshipped by *ephebes* as well.

According to Knibbe, the cult of Artemis began to decay in Ephesus from the second century A.D, when Christian and oriental religions were increasing, and her cult ought to be supported by other goddesses and gods, who received the right to reside in the Prytaneion.[54] Was Xenophon contributing to reinforce the local cult of his country? Xenophon is narrating a story which happened in an indeterminate past, but his *pompe* alludes to aspects of real processions of his age, an age whose mythical Greek past was preferred to its now silenced Roman present. Our author is very conscious of his "elusive" perspective. In this line, we must remember that he avoids to use technical words, as it appears when he does refer to the "eirenarches" in inscriptions with a periphrasis:

Ἦν δὲ ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ προεστώς (2.13.3). In a similar way I proposed to interpret his οι διώκοντες in 3.3.4, that is, the police, as an equivalent of the διωγμῖται in inscriptions.[55] In my opinion, Xenophon is giving a generic suita-

52. Rogers (1991: 11); Zelnick-Abramovitz (2014) for travelling historiographers collecting local stories. It is worth mentioning that the "lebenden Bilder" of the procession organized by Ptolomeus II Philadelphos do not reproduce any real story: see Köhler (1996:129). A special relationship of Xenophon with Alexandria was proposed by Griffiths (1978), a topic we can not deal on now.

53. ... καὶ δὴ καὶ γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν πάντων ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν, here echoing *Od.* 8.489–91 ὅσσ᾽ ἔρξαν τ᾽ ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ᾽ ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί. The same expression already at 5.13.5. See Ruiz-Montero (2019: 127–28) for further examples of *graphai*. According to Aristid., *Sarap.55* there were many books on these aretalogies in sacred libraries.

54. Knibbe (1995: 146).

55. Cf. Ruiz-Montero (1994: 1120). Add n. 5, above.

ble, *prepon*, description of a *pompe* of Artemis at Ephesus and, for this reason, his novel *can* help us to reconstruct the real world of the second century A.D.

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Zeus, Apollo, and their epithets in the Lykos Valley[1]

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We have chosen two case studies, both topographical: Hierapolis and Laodikeia, and cultic: Apollo and Zeus, because they offer interesting material for discussion and because they differ considerably from each other.

The area in question lies along the middle course of the Maeander on the border between several regions: Karia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. Its geographical location is also reflected in the variety and mixture of cults and divine epithets.[2]

Hierapolis offers a good sample of divine epithets that can be traced back to local and Anatolian cults in general. Laodikeia, on the other hand, offers evidence of cults linked to the Hellenic tradition, with one significant exception.

§ 1. *Hierapolis*

Hierapolis of Phrygia is a Hellenistic foundation of a Seleucid ruler in a privileged position on the routes that ran from east to west, but also from north to south and vice versa. It stands on a site that was already sacred to the indigenous peoples.

1. The authors are very grateful to the director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis, Prof. Grazia Semeraro (Salento University), and the director of the Laodikeia excavation Prof. Dr. Celal Şimşek (Pamukkale Univeristy, Denizli), who entrusted them with the study of inscriptions from the two sites. Guizzi wrote the part on Hierapolis (§ 1), Nocita that on Laodikeia (§ 2).

2. On the Maeander Valley, see Thonemann (2011); on the Lykos Valley, D'Andria - Silvestrelli (2000), Şimşek and D'Andria (2017), and Şimşek and Kaçar (2018) for the Late Antiquity; on Hierapolis, with reference to the area of the Lykos Valley, Ritti (2017); on Laodikeia, Şimşek (2013 and 2014), de Gagniers and Devambez and Kahil and Ginouvès (1969), *I. Laodikeia am Lykos*, Traversari (2000).

The overlap between the cults of the Greek-Macedonian settlers and those of clear Anatolian origin marked the development of the city, in an area located on the border between regions that differed in language and culture.

The evidence on the Ploutonion alone is sufficient to show the importance of the cult of the Phrygian Mother, Kybele. Indeed, the name of the polis is already a clue to the presence of such a cult, as Tullia Ritti's research for Hierapolis of Phrygia and Debord's for the various *Hieraì poleis* of Asia have long shown.[3]

§ 1.1. *Apollo*

A cult from which one can start is that of Apollo, a god that in Hierapolis and its territory takes on different forms and epithets and performs different functions.

The most central area of Hierapolis comprised two contiguous sacred precincts: the famous *Ploutonion*, dedicated to the cult of Pluto and Kore, but where the Phrygian Mother also received her worship, and the sanctuary of Apollo.

The holder of the central sanctuary is the god of the city, who has appeared since the Hellenistic period on coins with the typical attributes of the Delphic Apollo, depicted in a laurel-crowned head alone or standing by the tripod, playing the cithara, or standing by the crown of contests dedicated to him.[4] One of his main official epithets is *Archegetes*.[5] It appears in the dedications of the main monuments of Hierapolis. On the first and second order of the theatre's *scaenae frons* he is flanked by the emperor Septimius Severus and his family and, on the second, by Caracalla. In the two dedications of the nymphaeum 'of the tritons', one from the age of Elagabalus, the other from the age of Alexander Severus, the name and epithet of the god are preceded by the attribute 'manifest' (ἐπιφανής). The epithet also appears in the two dedications of altars placed on either side of the threshold of a house door, on the street, thus a form of veneration between the public and the private.[6]

The epithet Archegetes recalls his role as a guide for the founders of colonies, a characteristic of the Apollo of Delphi. At Hierapolis, however, the more specific epithet of the Delphic god, Pythios, is also attested. This is also joined by that of

3. Ritti (2017: 270–273), Debord (1997).

4. Ritti (2017: 110) with reference to the previous bibliography.

5. Ritti (2017: 110), who recalls how the epithet belongs to the Apollo of Delphi, as protector and guide of the foundations, but also protector and initiator of the Seleucid dynasty. Biagetti (2022) contrasts this widely held view (on Hierapolis, see pags. 199–202).

6. Ritti (2017: 110–113), with references and bibliography.

Augustus' protector, Aktios. Both are linked to contests that took place in the city in honour of Apollo.[7]

In 1965, Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (1963–64) published some oracular texts found by Gian Luigi Carettoni in a building then identified with the main temple of Apollo that was inside the sanctuary dedicated to the god. The block at the north-east corner of the rear wall of the cella bore on one side the text of a response from the oracle of Apollo at Klaros, on the other side some texts of an oracular nature. After the block was reused, none of the texts were visible in antiquity because the surfaces were plastered over.

A tall base, or perhaps a pillar, reused in the floor, bearing an honorary dedication to Sabina, wife of Hadrian, dated to 129 CE, inscribed on another previously erased text, had a series of responses on one of its sides, oracles that in acrostic form make up a complete alphabetic series. A further fragment of an alphabetic oracle (reused in the martyrion of the Apostle Philip as a capital) was published by Tullia Ritti in 1985.[8]

Hierapolis asked the god of Klaros for an oracular response on the occasion of the so-called Antonine plague that spread in Asia Minor and in the rest of the empire from 165 CE, or slightly earlier.[9]

The response attests to two Apollinean epicleseis of Apollo and divine or heroic personalities connected with his cult. The Apollo of Klaros recommends the perpetual worship of Apollo Kareios, motivating this prescription with a strong reference to his own paternity over Hierapolis through Mopsos, here defined as πολισσοῦχος, "he who has the polis" (l. 17).[10] This last is a "travelling prophet", a "wandernde Seer", that, starting from Klaros, reaches as far as Cilicia and Coele Syria.[11] He is a Delphic soothsayer but meets Anatolian divine personalities. Mop-

7. Ritti (2017: 112), with previous bibliography.

8. On the oracles from Hierapolis, see Ritti (2017: 248–267), with the previous bibliography; see also Guizzi (2018).

9. The most recent study is Sánchez Hernández (in print), that focuses on the communication aspects of the terrible plague.

10. Ll. 16–20: Καρείου τε μέδεσθε διαμπερὲς Ἀπόλλωνος·| ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεῦ γένος ἐστὲ πολισσούχοιό τε Μόψου. | πάσαις δ᾽ἀμφὶ πύλαις Κλαρίου τεμενίξατε Φοίβου | τόξοις ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα κεκασμένον ὠλεσινούσοις, οἷον ὀιστεύοντος ἀναρδέα τηλόσε λοιμόν. "and forever you take care of Apollo Kareios, since from me you are descended in lineage and from Mopsos the protector of the city. But around all the gates of your city consecrate in enclosures a sacred image of Phoebus Clarius armed with the bow that destroys disease, as if he were driving away the grievous pestilence with his arrows."

11. Lane Fox (2008: 218–239), Scheer (1993: 153–271).

sos links with Hierapolis are also attested by a numismatic document. A local bronze coinage from the 2nd century CE bears the Delphic Apollo Archegetes on the obverse, and two facing figures on the reverse: their respective legends make it clear that they are Mopsos and Torrhebos.[12] This last hero, coming from nearby Lydia, but also connected with Karia, through the cult of Karios son of Zeus and Torrhebia, worshiped in a temple on the mount Karios, as Nikolaos of Damascus, a historian of the Augustan age, says (*FGrHist* 90 F 15 = Steph. Byz., s.v. Τόρρηβος):[13] «Torrhebos: city of Lydia from Torrhebos son of Atys. The ethnic is Torrhebioi, and the feminine Torrhebis: "in Torrhebis is the mountain called Karios and there the shrine of Karios." "Karios, son of Zeus and Torrhebia," as Nicolaus says in Book Four, "who wandered up to a lake which was called Torrhebia by him, hearing the sound of the Nymphs, whom the Lydians also call Muses, learned music and he himself taught it to the Lydians. And therefore the songs were called Torrhebia."». Nikolaos perhaps depends on the Lydian historian Xanthos (*FGrHist* 765 F 16 = Dionys. Hal., *ant.rom*. 1, 28, 2) on some points of his narrative. Nikolaos' fragment testifies to three significant elements of Torrhebos' mythic personality: 1) Torrhebos Lydian, 2) Mount Karios with the cult of Karios, 3) the Nymphs/Muses that give name to the Torrhebian songs, thus the "musical" context in which the mythical person of Torrhebos fits. These, though with some difficulty perhaps due to the transmission of the text, recall the existence of another mythical personality, Karios, who is worshipped on Mount Karios. This is found in Lydia, although in a region, Torrhebis, very close to Karia.

There must be a close connection between this Karios and the Karios worshipped in the territory of Hierapolis as the epiclesis of Apollo.

This local god may have issued a series of responses inscribed on the other face of the corner block that bears the Klarian oracle. We will not dwell on the question of the attribution of these responses to one or the other Apollo, but we prefer the hypothesis that it was the local Apollo, Kar(e)ios, who issued them.

On the other hand, we can safely attribute the alphabetic oracles to Apollo Kar(e)ios. The text is inscribed on the base that bore the dedication of an honorary statue to the empress Sabina, the chronology of which constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the inscription of the oracular text, 129 CE, the date of Hadrian's and Sabina's journey to Asia.

12. *Roman Provincial Coinage* IV. 2, 2041 (temporary): https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/2041.

13. On the fragment of Nikolaos, see Favuzzi and Paradiso 2019 (the commentary of F 15 is by Annalisa Paradiso). On Mopsus and Hierapolis and on the relationship between the hero and Torrhebos, Guizzi (2014); on Mopsus and Colophon, Polito (2019).

The verse corresponding to the *sigma* shows that Zeus, father of the immortals, will save the city through the oracles of Kar(e)ios as salvific (Σώσει σ᾽ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς χρησμοῖσι Καρείο[υ]). The cult of the local god is thus recommended not only by Apollo of Delphic descent such as Klarios, but also by Zeus, here apparently in his most traditional Greek form, the Olympian.

As we have seen, an account that could also date back to Xanthos of Lydia said Karios son of Zeus and located his place of worship in an area of Lydia not far from the border with Karia, called Torrhebis. The personage thus has deep roots in the territory. Add that the iconography of this divine personality features the attributes of the young Anatolian deities and not those of the Apollo of Klaros (and Delphi). He carries the double axe and the lunar crescent. Sometimes he is on horseback, sometimes on foot and wears a short chiton.

The epithet by which our epigraphic sources define the deity worshipped at Hierapolis and in its territory, Kar(e)ios, recalls both a choronym and an oronym, thus two precise references to a territory not far from that of Hierapolis and indicates its strong rootedness in the territory of Hierapolis itself. Indeed, Giuseppe Scardozzi was able to precisely locate the god's sanctuary in the territory of Hierapolis not far from Güzelpınar.[14]

Its assimilation to Apollo allows its reading and interpretation by the Greek-Macedonian founders of Hierapolis, but not its assimilation to the divine person of the Delphic Apollo.

This assimilation does not, however, lead to an equation with the Delphic Apollo. This also applies to another deity who also has the characteristics of a young *paredros* of the Mother.

In this case, the deity shows considerable complexity already in the name, which associates different personalities, Helios Apollo Lairbenos. The place of worship is located within the bend of the Maeandros, on its left bank, and must have originally depended on a neighbouring city, Motella, situated on the right bank of the Meander.[15] It later came under the control of Hierapolis, so much so that the deity of the sanctuary appears in a pediment of the theatre's *scaenae frons* in the Severan reconstruction and in one of the 'nymphaeum of the tritons' from the late Severan period. The association between Apollo and Helios poses no particular problems. Helios may have reached this area via the Rhodian peraea, which, at the height of its expansion between 188 and 168 BCE, reached as far as the Ta-

14. Miranda De Martino, Ritti and Scardozzi (2012: 708–730), Scardozzi (2020: 206–212).

15. Ritti (2017: 106–107); Scardozzi (2020: 265–275); on the inscriptions: Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız (2000), Akıncı Öztürk and Tanrıver (2008, 2009, 2010).

bai Plateau, south of the Baba Dağ. Lairbenos is the epithet that certifies the local character of the god, along with the iconography that includes elements such as the double axe and the clothing of the young *paredros* of the Mother. From the sanctuary come "confessions", consecrations (καταγραφαί), and dedications.

The epithet of (Helios) Apollo Lairbenos appears in the following forms: Λαιρβηνός, Λερβηνός, Λαιρμηνός, Λερμηνός, Λαρβηνός, Λαρμηνός, Λαβηνός, Λαμηνός, Λαεμηνός, Λυεμηνός, Λυαμηνός.[16] The first one should be the official one, since it appears on Hierapolis' coins.

Of particular interest is the combination of types on the obverse and reverse of some series of coins. The obverse bears the head with radiated crown of the Lairbenos, while the reverse depicts a Hygieia in the form of the Phrygian Mother.[17]

§ 1.2. *Zeus*

Like Apollo, Zeus also receives different forms of worship in Hierapolis and its territory. Zeus in Hierapolis is not just the Olympian one. At least two epiclesis are attested: Bozios and Troios.

The cult of Zeus Bozios can now be located with good certainty at ancient Thiounta about 20 km north of Hierapolis, on the Uzunpınar plateau near Aşağı Gözler just south of Eski Gözler. New findings show that the iconography of this deity assimilated to Zeus could be that of the bearded figure wearing a long-haired woollen robe under his cloak found on various dedication stelae from the site and from other places nearby.[18] The robe made of wool of sheep or goat recalls the wealth of local livestock farming. That robe does not seem to appear on monetary representations, but monetary types are limited to the head of the god, and this could explain its absence.

The epithet is attested with *omega* and with *omicron*. In one case, it takes the form with reinforcement of *zeta* with *sigma*.[19] The oscillation between the long and short vowel makes it easier to relate it to epithets attested in more or less distant areas, in Lydia and Phrygia. Ritti, following Weber,[20] recalls a case from the area

16. For variants of the god's epiclesis, see Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız (2000: 72–75).

17. *Roman Provincial Coinage* IV (Antonine Age), VI (Elagabalus) and VIII (Philip I).

18. Scardozzi (2020: 179–196), on Thiounta, the evidence of cult places and cults; Ritti and Scardozzi and Nocita (2016: 823–824), on a new dedication to Zeus Bozios, the emperor Claudius, and the imperial house; Ritti and Scardozzi (2022: 924–968), with new and old inscriptions and an in-depth discussion on the cult of Zeus Bozios.

19. Ritti and Scardozzi 2022: 935–937, no. 3, C: Διὶ Βοζίῳ ἀνέθηκαν ὑ προγεγραμένοι; *ibid.* 937–939, no. 4, l. 1: Διὶ [B]οσζίῳ.

20. Ritti (2017: 107–108); Weber (1910: 236–238).

of Kula in the Hermos valley in Lydia (*TAM* V 1, 238 = de Hoz 1999: 157, no. 5.10), in which Apollo has the epithet Bozenos (ll. 1–2: Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ Βοζηνῷ), that should be one and the same with the Pozenos from the area of ancient Kollyda, modern Gölde, further north in the same area (*TAM* V,1 486b = de Hoz 1999: 157, no. 5.10, ll. 6–7: Ἀπόλλωνι Τιλ̣ληνῶι καὶ Λ̣αυαδηνῶι καὶ Ποζηνῶι), and the other epithet of Zeus, attested near Aizanoi (*MAMA* IX 54; *SEG* XL 1226) and Nakoleia (*MAMA* V 216), Ἀβοζηνός.[21]

Zeus Soter, the Saviour, is also attested in Thiounta, which, as we shall see, is a widespread epiclesis in Laodikeia and refers to the Olympian form of the deity. Zeus is represented in the classical Olympian form in the pediments of the overlapping-register stelae that Ramsay had copied, some fragments of which have been rediscovered by Maurice Anthony Byrne.[22] The god is accompanied by other deities: Tyche, the Fortune, Hermes that also appears in two stelai probably coming from Thiounta or its territory,[23] Helios driving a quadriga, and, in addition to those deities, a figure driving a chariot drawn by two oxen that Ramsay, followed by Robert and Ritti, identified with Gordios, the Phrygian hero founder of the royal dynasty.[24]

Other monuments show the presence of the woollen-robed god with long hair under his cloak. Two come with certainty or with great probability from Thiounta, two are the famous stelae with overlapping registers, ex voto for the gods of the Motaleis, then come from Motala, a little to the south-east, where there was a significant sacred area in the territory of Hierapolis. Among these gods one recognises Men and one of the forms of Apollo on horseback with a double axe, Lairbenos or Karios. A young Apollo in the shape of an Anatolian horseman with a double axe and short chiton also appears on the reverse of coins with the head of Zeus Boziος.[25]

Zeus dressed in the wool robe is also assimilated to Zeus in Herakleia Salbake, a Karian city not too far from the Lykos Valley, but there with the relatively common epithet of Ktesi(o)s, protector of property.[26]

21. Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 2022–2026).

22. Ramsay (1928: 190–211), Ritti (2002: 47–51), Ritti and Scardozzi (2022: 939–941, nos. 6–7).

23. Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi (2008: nos. 32–33); in one instance Zeus wears the long-haired woolen robe, in the other he does not.

24. Ramsay (1928: 207), Robert (1983: 51 note 16), Ritti (2002: 48).

25. For instance, *Roman Provincial Coinage* III, 2358C (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/2358C).

26. Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi (2008: 98, no. 31), with previous bibliography.

Zeus Troios appears only on coins. A bearded head with diadem appears on the obverse, while the reverse shows Apollo with a kithara, Men, a figure of a young man with a double axe, and the inscription mentioning the Actia contests. The god thus has relations with an Apollo of the Delphic type and with divine or heroic personalities of a clearer local nature, but not much can be said.

Another epithet, or rather the fusion between Zeus and one of the most typical Phrygian deities, Sabazius, deserves a mention.[27]

An inscription from the Ploutonion, the very central area sacred to the underworld deities so well described by the literary sources, attests to a priest of Pluto, Kore and Zeus Sabazios.[28] The text is dated to the III century CE and is carved on a column of the portico, built after the earthquake of 60 CE that Tacitus mentions (*Annales* 14.27.1) in connection with Laodikeia, lying 10 km to the south.

The association of the cult with that of Pluto probably reflects elements known to Sabazios such as his assimilation to Dionysos for certain orgiastic elements. Orgiastic and ritual elements that place him in the sphere of the Phrygian Mother are recalled, among others, by Strabo (10.3.15 C 470 = *CCIS* II, p. 47, no. 10) in the famous digression in Book X on the 'mythical collectivities' related to the cults of the Mother. Although most literary sources tend to juxtapose, if not identify, Sabazius with Dionysus, his assimilation to Zeus, or Juppiter in many areas of the Roman West, is common in epigraphic sources. It also finds possible confirmation in the filiation from Kronos that the Orphic Hymn to Sabazios attributes to him (48.1 = CCIS II, p. 49, no. 24). The association with Dionysus takes on a singular characterisation in Diodorus (4.4 = *CCIS* II, p. 47, no. 9): 'some say that there was also another Dionysus who would have preceded this one by a long time. They say in fact that Dionysus, called Sabazius by some, was born of Zeus and Persephone, whose birth they celebrate with nocturnal sacrifices and honours, hidden for the modesty of such a union' (Μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν).

The association of Zeus Sabazios to the cult of Pluto and Kore may reflect some of these elements. The findings from Plutonium may indicate that the cults

27. Zeus Sabazios is also well attested in Lydia, see de Hoz (1999: 55–56). On the Phrygian etymology of Sabazios, see Obrador-Cursach (2022: 145).

28. Filippini (2022: 826–828); cfr. Guizzi and Nocita (2015: 33–35), Guizzi and Nocita (2016: 19).

had a nocturnal setting and that libation, with the deposition of the relief cups, was a key element of the ritual.

§ 2. *Laodikeia*

The city of Laodikeia,[29] like Hierapolis, is a Seleucid foundation, but in this case the foundation can more accurately be dated to the first phase of Antiochus II's reign, before he divorced his wife Laodike (261–253 BCE). It was located near the Lykos river (modern Çürüksu), at the confluence of three tributaries: the Asopos (modern Gümüşçay), the Kapros (modern Başlıçay) and the Kadmos (of dubious identification) and most importantly, not far from where the Lykos flows into the Meander. It was (and still is) at a crossroad of passages leading from north to south and from east to west. It shared a border with Attouda and Trapezopolis to the west; with Kolossai to the east; Hierapolis to the north and Herakleia Salbake to the south.

According to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 5.105), the city rose from a village called Diospolis (therefore named for Zeus) and later called Rhoas.

§ 2.1. *Zeus*

The main deity of the city is Zeus.

This is also confirmed by one of the ancient names of the city reported by Pliny, Diospolis, the city of Zeus, and by the fact that in one of the villages pre-existing the Seleucid foundation, Babakome, there was a temple dedicated to Zeus, as attested by the decision voted in 267 BCE, a few years before the foundation of Laodikeia, by the inhabitants of two other villages in the area, Neonteichos and Kiddioukome, to honour two benefactors linked to the lord of the region, Achaeus the Elder.[30]

After the foundation of the city, the inhabitants of Laodikeia venerate Zeus with the epithets 'Saviour', 'Greatest Saviour', and perhaps as 'Olympian'.

This is evidenced by dedications of buildings. The three-arched doorway that an imperial freedman consecrates under the proconsulate of Frontinus (84/5 CE) associates in the dedication Zeus Megistos Soter with Domitian, whose name is chiseled after *damnatio memoriae*.[31] A notable fragment of lintel precisely preserves the name of the god at the dative followed by part of the epithet Soter (Sa-

29. Bibliography above, note 2. On the Hellenistic foundation, see also Cohen (1995: 308–311).
30. Wörrle (1975) = *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 1 = Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi (2008: no. 2).
31. *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 24; cfr. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 30), no. 13.

viour), while some small stelae and altars associate in the dedication the city god with the gods Augusti and in one case specifies to the Augustus Antoninus, in another it identifies Zeus Soter with the Emperor Cesar Aurelius.[32]

In one case, the gods Augusti are associated with Zeus Ktesios in the dedication;[33] therefore, a Zeus who presides over the protection of property and belongings. Based on the paleography, the inscription might be dated to the first period of the Empire, during the reign of a couple of emperors.

The epithet is widespread throughout the Greek world and many attestations come from Asia Minor.

The epithet Patrios appears in a dedication seen in the 19th century by W. Judeich and now lost (*I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 26), and is associated to Ktesi(o)s in a text from Herakleia Salbake, a neighbouring city in Karia.[34]

An honorary inscription for a priest of Zeus Eleutherios also attests to this other epithet.[35] The epithet is related to another cult of Zeus that is widespread in the Greek world.

A Zeus, without any epithet, received sacrifices on an altar that the archaeologist found on a crossroad and could be part of a processional way.[36]

Medallions from the age of Caracalla then depict the birth of Zeus and the episode in the myth involving the Curetes, here more likely Korybants, who with their armed dances conceal the waking of the child, held by Rhea or by Adrasteia.[37] The setting in Laodikeia is ensured by the presence of the representation of the two rivers Lykos and Kapros, in the form of wolf and boar.

They dedicate the main contest of all, the D(e)ia, to him.

Zeus in the Hadrianic age was possibly associated with the cult of the emperor.

The city's main contests, the D(e)ia, are also dedicated to him. In one case (no. 164), the Deia are referred to as mystics.

32. *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 21, 62, 63 (Zeus Soter and the Emperors); Guizzi and Nocita (2022) no. 27; no. 136 (Zeus Soter and the Emperor Antoninus); no. 137 (Zeus Saviour Emperor Caesar Aurelius); nos. 138–140 (Zeus Saviour and the Emperor gods). On Zeus Saviour in Phrygia and in Laodikeia on the Lykos, see Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 2014–2018).

33. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 149) no. 141.

34. *MAMA* VI 87, Robert and Robert (1954: 165), no. 42, Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi (2008: 98), no. 31.

35. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 93) no. 73.

36. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 150–151) no. 144.

37. Huttner (1997: 101–102) nos 10–11; see Chiai (2020: 196).

Apollo, dynastic deity of the Seleucid founders and god of the foundations,[38] also plays an essential role in the relationship with the oracular sanctuary of Klaros on the Aegean coast. The emperors themselves are recipients of a cult, sometimes under their own name, sometimes in a more generic form, as Augusti.

A decree of the Council[39] mentions a *Diokaisaireion*, a place where the cult of Zeus appears to be associated with that of the emperor. This is a prerogative of the cults of Laodikeia over those of Hierapolis. This characteristic is surely related to the importance of Laodikeia in the province of Asia and its *neokoria*.

Lines 11–15 mention one of the benefactions of Amphilochos, the citizen recipient of the honours, while holding this office of ephebic archon. He paid for a statue group, composed of statues or of sculptural relief, representing three Homeric heroes: Ajax, Hector, and Patroclus (lines 13–14: ἐν τῷ Διοκαισαρείῳ τεμένει [λευ]κουργήματα Αἴαν[τος καὶ - c. 2 - | Ἕκτο]ρος καὶ Πατρόκλου σὺν λευκ[ολί]θῳ βάσει καὶ μετὰ τ[- - c. 8 -]). The work represented a scene from the Iliad in Book 17, where the battle breaks out around the corpse of Patroclus. The sculpture group was placed within the sacred enclosure of the *Diokaisareion*; therefore, in the place dedicated to the city's god Zeus, associated with the emperor. This building could be the enormous area surrounded by porticos, where the inscription was re-employed as part of the stylobate, the so called northern sacred agora.[40]

The motion formula in line 21 mentions the Council of the Laodikeians. This last bear the title of *neokoroi*, "guardians of the emperor's temple" (ll. 21–22: δεδόχθαι ν[εω]κόρων Λ[αοδικέων τῇ φι|λοσε]βάστῳ βουλῇ). The chronology of the inscription, therefore, has a solid *terminus post quem* in the granting of the *neokoria* by the emperor Hadrian, which is dated to 129 CE, as attested by a dedication that the Laodikeians put to the emperor when he passed through the city in that year.[41] The re-use of the stele, broken into two parts, could have occurred either during the Antonine-era restoration, or during the large restoration in the Severan age. The most likely time frame in which to place the inscription is therefore between 130 to 160 CE.

38. See above, on the epithet of Apollo Archegetes in Hierapolis.
39. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 18–21), no. 7.
40. Şimşek (2013: 286–296) and (2019: 42–48).
41. See Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 80–81) no. 59 and Guizzi (2019: 175–176).

One might think that there was a connection with Hadrian's actions in the Greek area promoting the association between the cult of his own deity and that of Olympian Zeus, particularly with the organisation of the Panhellenion in Athens.[42]

Zeus Aseis deserves a particular mention, because it is perhaps the only epithet that could have an Anatolian origin. Since a long time, Laodikeia's coins attested to this epiclesis of Zeus. We can now also count on an epigraphic record and a monument specifically dedicated to this deity. In the excavation of the Western Theater, in fact, archaeologists have found a small altar dedicated to the god.[43]

Ramsay followed interpretations and etymologies that traced the name back to Semitic languages, Arabic *aziz* and Aramaic *aziza*,[44] thinking that a Syriac component of the founders had brought with them a cult that would be assimilated to that of a local god. Robert dismantles these fanciful lucubrations,[45] but does not propose an alternative. He juxtaposes the type of the goat found on the reverse of some of the coins, bearing on the obverse the bust of Zeus Aseis, with the representation of the animal at the bottom of a block that supported a dedication by one Terentius Longinus, superintendent of finance, to his homeland (Laodikeia). Robert argues that that goat is precisely the symbol of Zeus Aseis and the emblem of the city. In fact, when coins bear the legend ZEYC ACEIC on the obverse a bust appears with beard and diadem and with a tunic covering the chest, on the reverse a goat, while some coins show Zeus standing on the obverse with his cloak leaving his chest uncovered, a child in his left arm and his right hand resting on a goat (*BMC Phrygia* 298, no. 124, pl. XXXVI 5), but does not present the legend with the name of the god. A similar type, however, also appears on other coins with the legend ACEIC ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ.[46]

If one gives up the Semitic etymology, one could instead recover a Phrygian or Anatolian one that Calder proposed in 1913.[47] Calder compared Aseis with the Ἀσιάς tribe that Herodotus (4.45.3) attests to in Sardis[48] and mentions the eponymy

42. In the vast bibliography on the Panhellenion, see at least Spawforth and Walker (1985) and (1986), Jones (1996), Spawforth (1999), Romeo (2002), Doukellis (2007). On the imperial cult in Asia Minor between Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, see Witulski (2008).

43. Guizzi and Nocita (2022: 149–150) no. 142 (Antonine age).

44. Ramsay (1895: 33–34).

45. Robert (1969: 333, 359–360).

46. Imhoof-Blumer (1883: 407) nos. 128–132.

47. Calder (1913: 103), cfr. Robert and Robert (1954: 218).

48. The tribe is now attested to by an inscription, see Jones 1987: 355, with bibliography.

of Asia that the Lydians trace back to Ἀσίης son of Kotys son of Manes.[49] He also recalled Strabo's passage (14.1.45 C 650) about the meadow Asios and the tomb of the hero Asios, thirty stadia north of Nysa in the Messogis, thus not far from the place where Karios was worshipped (see above). He then quoted the ethnic Ἀσιοκωμήτης, found in an inscription from Iconium, whose first element comes from Asios.

Calder also proposed a parallel with the Old Phrygian *a↑ios*, attested in an inscription form Tyana.[50]

Zgusta contrasted the parallel *Azios-Asios*,[51] but stressed the importance of Ἀσιοκωμήτης, for which the first onomastic component can be traced back to an Anatolian Ασεις, more than to the Greek Ἀσία, or Ἄσεις, with diphthongization of *iota*.[52]

§ 2.2. *Apollo*

The cult of Apollo in Laodikeia is less documented than in Hierapolis, but lives on the deep connection with the great Aegean Apollonian sanctuary of Klaros. To the Apollo of Klaros the city sends an annual delegation of boys and girls led by a prophetes who are recorded in the famous 'memoriaux' collected by Robert and now published by Ferrary.

If the 'memorials' of Klaros attest to a high number of children serving as *prophetai* in the delegations, i.e. leading the choruses of young girls and boys, sent from the city to the Apollinean sanctuary,[53] the epigraphic evidence from Laodikeia now attests to at least four honorary inscriptions or forms of commemoration of citizens who had been *prophetai*.[54]

The cult of Apollo is attested in Laodikeia until Late Antiquity, when two marble columns with Latin inscriptions and reliefs were erected for the Vicennalia

49. Always fundamental, Mazzarino (1989: 47–48) who emphasises how Herodotus' twofold theory on the origin of the name Asia basically boils down to one that connects it to mythical Lydian toponyms and names.

50. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 264–266), T–02b, l. 5.

51. Zgusta (1964: 48 § 20–2). Recently, Obrador-Cursach (2022: 145) compared the Old Phrygian *a↑ios* with the second element of the theonym Σαβ-άζιος and the anthroponym Αζιος.

52. Zgusta (1984: 102 § 105).

53. On Laodikeia's delegations to Klaros, see Ferrary (2014: 152–157); on the *prophetes*, Ferrary (2014: 153–154) with citation from Robert (1969: 304–5).

54. Robert (1969: 289–312), no. 6 = *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 67 = Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi (2008: 104), no. 37; see Huttner (2018: 141), on the christogram covering the inscription in Late Antiquity; Guizzi and Nocita (2022) nos. 79–80, 126, 156, 160.

of Domitian and Maximian (November, 20th 303 CE), one dedicated to Apollo, in his Delphic form, and to *Fortuna*, the Fortune (of the city of Laodikeia), the other to Diana and *Ladicia* (the personification of the city itself).[55] Both columns also bear vows for the Vicennalia of the Augusti (*Votis XX*).

Diocletian's attention to traditional cults is well documented and the monuments from Laodikeia fully confirm the picture of his action to restore sacred places and cults. The dedication to Apollo and Diana fits well into this context and emphasises once again, towards the end of the thousand-year history of pagan cults, that the cult of Apollo has, in Laodikeia, a public character and the divinity retains its Delphic character.

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Zeus Osogōs, *Zeus Osogō*, *Zeus Osogōa*? The adventures of a Carian god name

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Some years ago, a French colleague asked me the following question: "Je m'aperçois que, quand on cite le nom du dieu Zeus Osogôa, les auteurs utilisent indifféremment pour désigner au nominatif le dieu Osogô ou Osogôa. Je serais tenté de garder la forme connue par les textes littéraires grecs Osogôa, mais qu'en penses-tu en tant que spécialiste du carien? Quelle est la forme que tu utiliserais pour désigner le dieu?". I answered him with a brief note that has remained unpublished.

I took the matter up again, expanding it with more documentation and some new reflections, so that it might serve as an article for a Festschrift volume. However, the publication of that book is taking a long time. Too long. Rivault (2021) already refers to my original note and adopts the proposal made there on this Carian epiclesis. I do not think it is a good idea, then, that the arguments in defense of my proposal may remain unpublished any longer. I therefore return to my unpublished article, which I present here with many revisions and additions. My paper will be more philological than linguistic, but I think it can serve as an example that, without the correct fixation of the testimonies, it is not possible to carry out good linguistic research.

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§ 2. Ὀσογώ, Ὀσογῶα *in literary sources*

In the literary sources, this Carian epiclesis of Zeus, closely linked to the city of Mylasa, appears only in two passages: in Strabo 14, 2, 23; and in Pausanias 8, 10, 4.

The reading of the manuscripts is Ὀσογώ[1] (in genitive function) in Strabo and ὀγῶα (in accusative function) in Pausanias. However, the modern editors vacillate between Ὀσογώ and Ὀσογῶα for Strabo (with a clear predominance of Ὀσογῶα) and usually correct ὀγῶα to Ὀσογῶα for Pausanias.

Thus, in his edition of Strabo, Kramer (1852 [vol. 3]) used the form Ὀσογώ found in the manuscripts:

Strabo 14, 2, 23 (ed. Kramer, 1852):
ἔχουσι δ' οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε **Ὀσογὼ** καλουμένου, καὶ Λαβρανδηνοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβρανδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλαβάνδων εἰς τὰ Μύλασα, ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως·

In contrast, Meinecke (1853) in editing Strabo preferred to give the name as Ὀσογῶα:

Strabo 14, 2, 23 (ed. Meineke, 1853):
ἔχουσι δ' οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε **Ὀσογῶα** καλουμένου καὶ Λαβραυνδηνοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβραυνδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλαβάνδων εἰς τὰ Μύλασα ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως·

As I have mentioned, in the case of Pausanias, the usual reading is the emendation Ὀσογῶα for ὀγῶα, as can be seen in the Rocha-Pereira edition (1990 [vol. 2]) in Teubner:

Pausanias, 8, 10, 4 (ed. Rocha-Pereira, 1990):
θαλάσσης δὲ ἀναφαίνεσθαι κῦμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος· ἐοικότα δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ἐς τὸ κῦμα τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ Καρῶν οἱ Μύλασα ἔχοντες ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν **Ὀσογῶα** [codd. ὀγῶα].

1. Following a tradition, certainly inconsistent but due to parallel scientific developments, I will quote the Greek adaptations of the Carian names with breaths and accents when dealing with literary tradition and without any diacritical mark when dealing with epigraphic attestation (even if I am reproducing other editions of an inscription in which these marks were present).

Where does this form Ὀσογῶα, in fact given neither by any manuscript of Strabo nor any manuscript of Pausanias, come from? Editions of Pausanias attribute the emendation of ὀγῶα to Ὀσογῶα to Augustus Böckh, the editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG) (Böckh 1843). So do, for example, Spiro (1903: 281), Schubart (1883: 94), Hitzig (1907: 21) and Rocha-Pereira, (1990: 241). The editor of Pausanias in the *Collection Budé*, Casevitz (2002: 152) does so indirectly, since he refers to Schubart (1883) who, in turn, refers to Böckh (1843). In summary, we have:

(1) the form Ὀσογώ in genitive function given by the manuscripts of Strabo.
(2) the form ὀγῶα in accusative function given by the manuscript of Pausanias, a clearly corrupted form.
(3) the form Ὀσογῶα, introduced to correct ὀγῶα in Pausanias, but also to correct Ὀσογώ in Strabo, not present in any manuscript but attributed to epigraphic sources.

§ 3. *The* (*alleged*) *epigraphic evidence for* Ὀσογῶα

The emendation Ὀσογῶα is therefore based on epigraphic evidence. Let us see what this epigraphic evidence consists of.

The editors usually refer to two Mylasan inscriptions edited by Böckh in vol. 2 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum: CIG 2693f and CIG 2700 (Böckh 1843: 476c, 476h).

In CIG 2693f, Böckh read ...τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς Ὀσογω, σὺν τοῖς ἐν[οὔσι..., with a genitive Οσογω. Although the drawing he offered showed an alleged lacuna after Οσογω (Fig. 1), Böckh pointed out that there was no such lacuna:

Fig. 1. Böckh (1843) (*CIG* 2693f, line 8)

...τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς Οσογω, σὺν τοῖς ἐν[οὔσι....

For *CIG* 2700, Böckh gave the following drawing:

Fig. 2. Böckh, *CIG* 2700

For this latter inscription, Böckh used as a source the drawing published in Pococke (1752) (Fig. 3):

Fig. 3. Pococke (1752:15)

So, Böckh did not see the inscription, but rather he copied Pococke's drawing and introduced a lot of corrections in a purely conjectural way. Here is Böckh's edition:

Σύμμαχος, Γ.
Πλωτίου Συμ-
μάχου υἱὸς, ἱε-
ρεὺς Διὸς Οσογ-
ω, Δ]ιὸς Ἡ[λί]ο[υ
Π]οσει[δ]ῶνος

Note that, in Böckh's transcription, [ ] indicates not only the restitution of a lost letter but also the differences in reading with regard to the drawing.

Commenting on the passage of Pausanias, Böckh proposed correcting ὀγῶα to Ὀσογῶα, a correction which, as we have seen, has long been a tradition in the editions of the Greek writer, and also in those of Pausanias.

Curiously, although Böckh admitted that, in the drawing ΟΣΟΓΟΛΛΙΟΣ, one could also recognize a Οσογωα before Διός (so, ΟΣΟΓΟΑ ΔΙΟΣ), he considered the second Λ to be an error by Pococke, since it was better to see here a genitive Οσογω followed by Διός.[2]

In the addenda and corrigenda of the third volume of the *CIG*, Böckh changed the reading Ἡ[λί]ο[υ / Π]οσει[δ]ῶνος to Διὸς Ὀσογ[ώ, Ἡ]λίο[υ], / Ζηνο[π]οσει[δ]ῶνος (Böckh 1843: 1107), guided by two passages from the *Deipnosophistaí* of Athenaeus (2, 42a and 8, 337c, the latter a quotation from the comic Machon, 53–63 Gow) in which the temple of Zenoposeidon in Mylasa is mentioned.

It is important to note that, in fact, Böckh did not give the reading Οσογωα for any inscription: both in *CIG* 2700 and in *CIG* 2693f, he proposed identifying a singular genitive Οσογω (one of the ways in which we find the Carian names declined in *-o* adapted in Greek). Therefore, to claim that Böckh gave epigraphic evidence of the emendation ὀγῶα → Ὀσογῶα in the text of Pausanias, as has been claimed in some of the modern editions of this writer (e.g., in that of Hitzig 1907), is not entirely accurate.

In fact, the (alleged) epigraphic evidence for an Οσογωα form came from the hand of G. Henzen in 1849. Henzen published a new inscription from Mylasa, of which a drawing had been procured for him by a certain Odoardo Falkener, which showed clear affinities with CIG 2700:

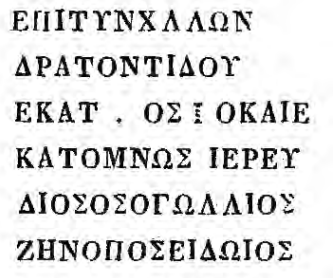


Fig. 4. Henzen (1849: 187)

2. Böckh rightly pointed out that the third O in ΟΣΟΓΟΛΛΙΟΣ was an error by Pococke for Ω (ΟΣΟΓΩΛΛΙΟΣ).

As can be seen, the sequence of line 5, ΔΙΟΣΟΣΟΓΩΛΛΙΟΣ, is the same as the one we have in the drawings of CIG 2700. Henzen judged the profound amendments made by Böckh difficult to accept because he considered, with healthy criticism, that it was unlikely that both respective lapicides had repeated the same errors. Thus, Böckh's "Helios" disappeared –quite rightly, indeed– from the reading of both inscriptions. Henzen, however, admits two parallel copying errors, in CIG 2700 and in the new inscription. The first error was that ΛΙΟΣ at the end of line 5 should be read ΔΙΟΣ. The second, that ΟΣΟΓΩΛ should be read ΟΣΟΓΟΩΑ. Here is, finally, the real first appearance in the epigraphy of the famous form Οσογωα, which, preceded by Διός, makes here and in Strabo a genitive function. Consequently, we have here and in CIG 2700 the reference to a "priest of Zeus Osogoa (and) Zeus Poseidon" (ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογώα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος), as in Strabo we would have τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε Ὀσογῶα.

It is, then, in Henzen's article where we see the emergence of the indeclinable form Οσογωα that has prevailed in the studies on Carian theonyms for years.

In 1870, Le Bas and Waddington republished the inscription edited by Henzen, with a drawing made by Le Bas in which we can already clearly see ΟΣΟΓΟΑΔΙΟΣ, confirming Henzen's reading ... Οσογωα Διὸς... (Fig. 5):

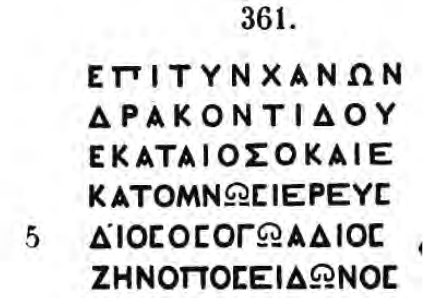


Fig. 5. Le Bas and Waddington, 1870, nº 361

The reading Οσογωα was reinforced by the publication of four new Mylasan priests' inscriptions by Marcel Dubois and Amédée Hauvette-Besnault in 1881 (Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault 1881, numbers 2–5). Of these five, one (number 2) presented the same text as CIG 2700, and one (number 3) the same text as published by Henzen. In all the drawings of the inscriptions, Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault reproduce the sequence ΟΣΟΓΩΑΔΙΟΣ. See, for example, number 4 of his compilation, accompanied by the editors' reading (Fig. 6):

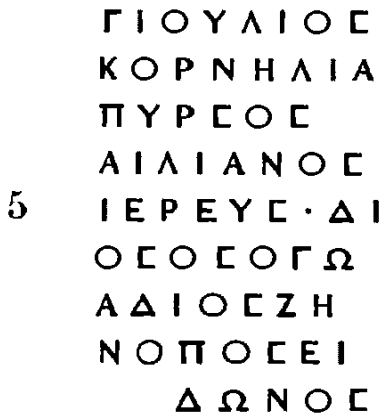


Fig. 6. Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault, 1881, nº 4

Γ(άϊος) Ἰούλιος, Κορνηλία, Πύρσος Αἰλιανὸς, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Οσογωα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.

From this point onward, the reading Οσογωα is generalized in all the inscriptions of Mylasan priests, a corpus already constituted by six texts at that time: the one published by Pococke (1752) and Böckh (1843) (the priest Symmachos), another published by Henzen (1849) and Le Bas and Waddington (1870) (the priest Epityncha-non-Hekataios) and the four published by Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault (1881) (the priests Symmachos, Epityncha-non-Hekataios, Gaius Iulius Pyrsos Aelianus and Tiberius Claudius Hieron).[3] This reading becomes the canonical interpretation and, as we have seen, also conditions the textual fixation of Pausanias and even Strabo. It is, moreover, the reading found in the corpus of inscriptions of Mylasa published in 1987 by Wolfgang Blümel.

To close this section and the dossier of priests, we must still mention a further inscription, published by Judeich (1890: 260):

3. These six texts refer to four different priests, since two of them duplicate the content of two others. In Dubois-Hauvette (1881) there is some confusion since these duplicates are presented as a single inscription. The six inscriptions are Blümel (1987), IMylasa 319–322, 324, 325 = McCabe, Mylasa 266–269, 271–273.

Fig. 8. Judeich (1890: 260)

Σύμμαχος Γαΐου Πλωτίου Συμμάχου υἱὸς ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογω Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.

This is a third inscription by the priest Symmachos. The content[4] is identical to the other two, except the reference to the god. Here, instead of the alleged Διὸς Οσογωα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος, the god is called Διὸς Οσογω Ζηνοποσειδῶνος, showing that the iteration of Διός was not obligatory. However, Judeich's only remark was to affirm the use of Οσογω instead of Οσογωα (a commentary taken up by Blümel 1987).

§ 4. *A voice in the wilderness*

The only discordant voice seems to have been that of Alexandros Kontoleon who, in a work published in 1890, offered a new edition of *CIG* 2700 and claimed that the exact reading was Διὸς Οσογωλλιος Ζηνοποσειδώνος. Here is his drawing and reading (Kontoleon 1890: 27–28):

4. A minor difference is that, in this inscription, the praenomen of the father is fully inscribed, unabbreviated.

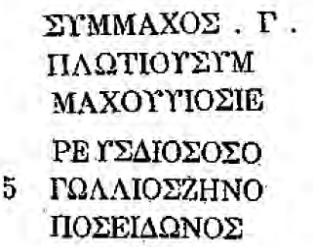


Fig. 8. Copy of *CIG* 2700 in Kontoleon, 1890: 27–28

Σύμμαχος Γ(αΐου) Πλωτίου Συμμάχου υἱὸς, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογώλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος

In addition to this, Kontoleon added new copies of three of the four inscriptions published by Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault (1881), numbers 3, 4, and 5 (a re-edition overlooked both by Blümel (1987) and McCabe, Mylasa).

According to Kontoleon, these copies had been sent to him by an ancient world aficionado who was trustworthy ("παρά τινος φιλαρχαίου καὶ ἐλλογίμου ἀνδρός") and, in all the copies, Kontoleon read Οσογωλλιος (Fig 8):

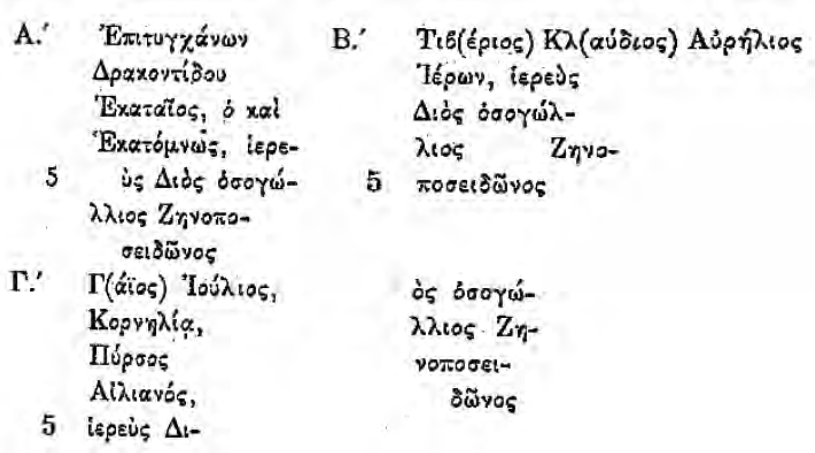


Fig. 9. Kontoleon, 1890: 28

It is evident that Kontoleon's book had no impact on the history of research. Quite possibly it was, in general, only indirectly and partially known through the

brief reference contained in the review by Théodore Reinach in the *Bulletin Épigraphique* of the *Revue des Études Grecques* of 1892, and his reading Διὸς Οσογωλλιος. As I will mention below, Crampa (1969) did know Kontoleon's work, but did not eventually take it into account and defended the traditional reading Οσογωα Διος.

§ 5. *The epigraphic form* Οσογως

Alongside this alleged indeclinable name Οσογωα, epigraphic sources offered –and continue to offer in more recent finds– a name in -ω Οσογως, in keeping with the form documented by the manuscripts of Strabon, genitive Ὀσογώ. We have already seen this form in the inscription of the priest Symmachos published in Judeich (1890).

In Blümel (1987), the attested forms are genitive Οσογω and dative Οσογωι. The only surprising form is found in IMylasa 138, line 6, where Diehl-Cousin (1888: 13), Kontoleon (1890: 32) and Blümel (1987: 60) give a coincident reading τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Οσογωι ὑπε[. This alleged genitive in -ωι does not make any sense and, therefore, it must be an exclusively graphic problem.[5]

§ 6. *The phantasmagorical Allōlios*

Unfortunately, a new form that could have helped to clarify the problem was not useful: in an inscription from Labraunda, edited by Crampa (1969), *ILabraunda* 8C, appeared a sequence ΔΙΟΣΟΣΟΓΑΛΩΛΛΙΟΣ, but it was read and amended by Crampa as Διὸς Οσογ<ω> Αλωλλιος, with a ghost form Αλωλλιος collected in Zgusta 1984: 50–1). It is now clear that, in ΔΙΟΣΟΣΟΓΑΛΩΛΛΙΟΣ, the two letters ΑΛ were erroneously included in the text by the lapicide (see infra § 6).

Curiously, Crampa (1968) devotes two pages to the problem of Οσογωα Διὸς. He is aware that the new text of Labraunda could favor the reading οσογωλλιος. However, although he knew Kontoleon's book, he was not impressed by the author's readings, which he considered to be too influenced by Pococke's drawing of *CIG* 2700 and preferred to maintain Οσογωα Διὸς.

5. It is an "*abundierendes iota adscriptum*" according to Blümel (1987: 61).

§ 7. *The triumph of Osogoa*

Osogoa (also transcribed Osogôa) then became a usual form to refer to the god of Mylasa within the specialized bibliography. We could even argue that it is the form preferred by the authors, perhaps because its indeclinable character gave it a more indigenous aspect, closer to the possible original Carian form, in line with another indeclinable Carian god name, Σινυρι (Sinuri). Osogoa is the form chosen by Schäfer in his study on the cult of Zeus in Caria (Schäfer 1912: 387–394), by Johanna Schmidt in the corresponding article in the *Realenzyklopädie* (Schimdt 1942) and by Laumonier in his monograph on the indigenous cults of Caria (Laumonier 1958), to cite just three reference works.

§ 8. *The end of epigraphic* Οσογωα

The allegedly indeclinable form Οσογωα abruptly disappeared from epigraphic documentation in 1990, when Blümel published a new Greek inscription found in 1989 in Sekköy, some twenty-five kilometers south of Mylasa (Blümel 1990). The inscription, from the time of the satrap Mausollus, records a treaty between the Carian cities of Mylasa and Kindye (Κινδυη) about the purchase of a piece of land. In the second line, Zeus Osogōllis and the inhabitants of Mylasa (Ζεὺς Οσογωλλις καὶ Μυλασε[ῖς]) are mentioned as purchasers.

According to Blümel, the reading is certain and, from here, all the earlier readings Διὸς Οσογωα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος fall like dominoes and the six inscriptions by priests of Mylasa must be read as Διὸς Οσογωλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος, precisely as Kontoleon read them. Also, in the case of the inscription of Labraunda published by Crampa, ΔΙΟΣΟΣΟΓΑΛΩΛΛΙΟΣ becomes Διὸς Οσογ{αλ}ωλλιος with ºαλº considered as a graphical error and therefore secluded.

So, Kontoleon was right in the end, as were the drawings of Pococke or Odoardo Falkener. Just like the title of Pirandello's comedy, *Così è* (*se vi pare*) ["So It Is (If You Think So)"], for almost 150 years, with the honorable exception of a Greek epigrapher, one wanted to see in the inscriptions a nonexistent form, even contrary to the evidence of the drawings of those who had seen and copied them directly.

§ 9. *Always* Οσογωλλις?

Thus, from Blümel (1990), what we have in the six Mylasan inscriptions is the title ἱερεὺς Διὸς Οσογωλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος "priest of the god Zeus Osogollis

Zenoposeidon", and such a correction appears incorporated in the corpus created by McCabe on the Searchable Inscriptions website of the Packard Humanities Institute (McCabe, Mylasa).

However, are we to automatically apply this new reading Οσογωλλιος to the six inscriptions of the priests of Mylasa? I ask this question in view of the facsimile of the squeeze of the inscription IMylasa 319 (= McCabe, Mylasa 266) that Blümel reproduced in his epigraphic corpus of Mylasa, Blümel (1987). The inscription in question is that published by Henzen in 1849 and Le Bas and Waddington in 1870, but the facsimile of the squeeze is preserved in Vienna and was possibly made by Eduard Hula, who reports the inscription in his travel notebook. Here is the image (Fig. 10):

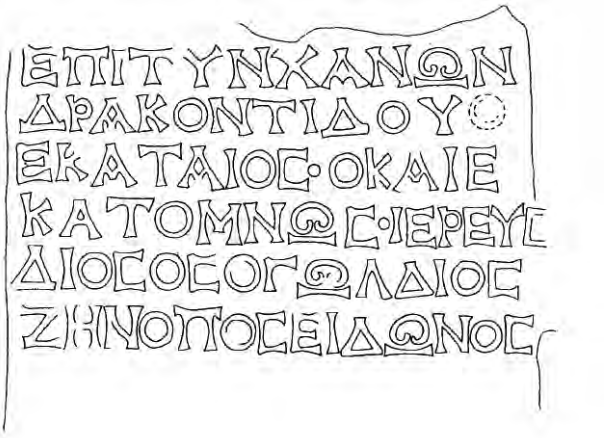


Fig. 10. Facsimile of the squeeze of *IMylasa* 319 by Hula (Blümel 1987: 127)

As can be observed, in line 5, letters 10 and 11, this drawing presents neither ΑΔ nor ΛΛ, but rather ΛΔ. Therefore, the name of the god would be here Διὸς Οσογωλδιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος. It could certainly be a mere error of reading, amid the confusion between Λ, Δ, Α which has so affected the editions of these epigraphic texts throughout the history of the research, but the letter delta is so well outlined in the drawing that it makes it worth considering that they might really be present in the original.

The most remarkable fact is that the reading Οσογωλδιος is perfectly acceptable in the context of the adaptation of a Carian name into Greek. Recall that, in Carian, there was a consonant that appears represented with a specific letter in its

alphabetic system (𐊴 in most alphabets, 𐊷 in Caunus, 𐊼 in some local alphabets of Caria), conventionally transcribed as <λ> and which was adapted in Greek either by means of λλ or λδ (e.g. Υσσωλδος, Υσσωλλος as the adaptation of the Carian name *uśoλ*).

Therefore, the alternation Οσογωλδις / Οσογωλλις would not be at all surprising. It is worth noting that the first direct drawing of a supposed ΑΔ sequence appeared in Le Bas's design of this same inscription IMylasa 319 (Le Bas and Waddington 1870, cf. supra). Moreover, the other inscription presenting the same content as IMylasa 319, IMylasa 320, is one of the four in which Dubois Hauvette-Besnault (1881) also saw ΑΔ. It would not be strange that, in IMylasa 319 and IMylasa 320, we had the adaptation of the Carian name by means of -λδ- (mistaken for -ΑΔ- by the cited authors).

Conversely, in IMylasa 324, the name would present the spelling -ΛΛ-, as the direct drawings from the original by Pococke and Kontoleon seem to show; in such a case, probably the spelling -ΛΛ- would be also present in IMylasa 325, which had the same text as IMylasa 324.

Curiously, for the two other inscriptions of this subcorpus, IMyalsa 321 and IMylasa 322, we have only the discrepant readings of Dubois Hauvette-Besnault (1881), -ΑΔ-, and Kontoleon (1890), -ΛΛ-. Since both readings cannot be right, it is evident that, in either case, the respective editors were drawn by what they believed to be the correct reading and the texts were consequently homogenized. Kontoleon had the direct reference of IMylasa 324, with a more than likely -ΛΛ- and Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault that of IMylasa 320, which, we think, could offer -ΛΔ- as IMylasa 319 and which had already been read as -ΑΔ- by Le Bas and Waddington.

This table tries to show summarized, and ordering the drawing chronologically, the possible existence of two different forms of the epiclesis (Οσογωλλις / Οσογωλδις):

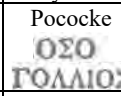
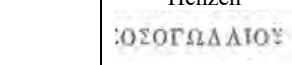
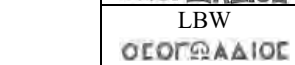
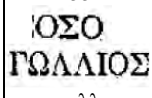
Epitynchanon		**Pyrsos**	**Hieron**	**Symmachos**	
IMyl 319	IMyl 320	IMyl 322	IMyl 321	IMyl 324	IMyl 325
Myl 266	Myl 267	Myl 268	Myl 269	Myl 272	Myl 273
				Pococke 	
Henzen  οσογωαδιος					
Hula					
LBW  οσογωαδιος					
	D-HB 3 οσογωαδιος	D-HB 4 οσογωαδιος	D-HB 5 οσογωαδιος		D-HB 2 οσογωαδιος
	Kontoleon's friend οσογωλλιος	Kontoleon's friend οσογωλλιος		Kontoleon n.55  οσογωλλιος	
Οσογωλδιος	**Οσογωλδιος**	**?**	**?**	**Οσογωλλιος**	**Οσογωλλιος**

Table 1: Drawings of the inscriptions in chronological order

§ 10. *Back to the literary sources*

To sum up the preceding sections, the epigraphy shows us two forms of this Carian god:

–Ζεὺς Οσογωλλις (with the possible variant Οσογωλδις)
–Ζεὺς Οσογως

In the seven inscriptions of the priests of Mylasa, both Ζεὺς Οσογωλλις (6 examples) and Ζεὺς Οσογως (1 example) are followed by the god's name Ζηνοποσειδῶν.

Therefore, the epigraphic sources corroborate the forceful statement of Blümel (1990: 35) that "there has never existed a form Οσογωα".

This statement is certainly correct if exclusively in reference to epigraphic attestations. But, what about the documentation of literary sources? In the case of Strabon, the statement is also applicable. The solution is now simple: the reading Ὀσογώ of the codices must be maintained. Ὀσογώ appears in a context where a genitive is expected, and Οσογω is a valid genitive form of Οσογως.

More delicate is the case of Pausanias's passage. Recall that, in Pausanias, we find a form ὀγῶα that has been systematically corrected to Ὀσογῶα.

...ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν †ὀγῶα †[
"…whom they call †ὀγῶα† in the local language".

An accusative is here needed (as we have seen in §1) and, for this reason, Kramer (1852) suggested correcting the text to Ὀσογώ (a contracted accusative), adducing in favor of this correction an ingenious observation: the word following the god's name in Pausanias's passage begins with α (Ἀθηναίοις), so that an α could have been incorporated by mistake into †ὀγῶα†.

Without totally ruling out this ingenious explanation by Kramer, I believe that the traditional reading Ὀσογῶα could be maintained if we interpret this form as an uncontracted accusative of Οσογως. Recall that the adaptation of Anatolian names in -o- in Greek was subject to different solutions (cf. Brixhe 1987: 74). In fact, the Greek stems in -ω- constituted a heterogeneous set of forms of different origins and with paradigmatic vacillations. In Pausanias, the Carian name adapted as Ὀσογώς could have been treated inflectionally in Greek in a comparable way to the Greek -ω- stem ἥρως. This stem, in Pausanias, has an uncontracted accusative ἥρωα, to which the accusative form Ὀσογῶα could correspond.

According to this theory, we have the following attested forms for Οσογω:

Accusative:	Οσογωα (In Pausanias) (or must be corrected in Οσογω?)
Genitive:	Οσογω (in Strabon and epigraphically)
Dative:	Οσογωι (epigraphically)

The nominative, not attested, was Οσογως, like other Carian stems in -o adapted in Greek.

§ 11. *Osogos vs. Osogollis*

A final question is the unclear relationship between the form Οσογως and the form Οσογωλλις (/Οσογωλδις?). Blümel (1990: 35), after pointing out that the oldest documented form was Οσογωλλις (which he opportunely compared with the Carian proper names Πακτυωλλις, Κασβωλλις, Ιβανωλλις, Κοστωλλις), was of the opinion that the stem Οσογω-, documented only from the second century BC onwards, was a clear *Verkürzung* or *Abkürzung* of Οσογωλλις, the oldest form. In the case of the Mylasan priests' inscriptions, dating from the Roman imperial period, the full form Οσογωλλις would have been reintroduced hand in hand with a revival or reformulation of the local divinity cult.

This hypothetical chronology in the use of the forms can be clearly questioned. A first difficulty is created by ILabraunda 8 since, in this inscription, the content of which can be dated to around 240 BC, a dative Οσογωι and a genitive Οσογωλλιος coexist. In principle, this difficulty could be bridged because the first editor of the inscription, Crampa, considered it to be a more recent copy of the 240 BC text. Thus, the coexistence of the two forms could be a consequence of this circumstance.

However, a new inscription published by Riet van Bremen, which she dates to the middle or late third century BC (van Bremen 2016: 6), consequently more or less contemporary with the original text of ILabraunda 8, with which it presents clear affinities, shows the "abbreviated" form in dative Οσογωι. Moreover, Bremen herself questions the dating of ILabraunda 8: in her opinion, from a paleographic point of view, the inscription may well be from the late third century BC, i.e., it would not be a later copy. If Bremen is right, we have Οσογω- and Οσογωλλι- coexisting in the same inscription in a way that is difficult to explain –as she herself points out– and the hypothesis of a chronological development of the forms formulated by Blümel is hardly tenable.

However, if we pose the question from the perspective of the Carian language, the relationship between the two forms would be one of derivation, rather than abbreviation. In this respect, they can be compared to the parallelism offered by two Carian personal names: *ksbo*-Χασβως (we have it documented both directly and indirectly) / Κασβωλλις. The name *ksbo* seems to be the Carian form correspon-ding to the Lycian *xahba*/*xãhba*, a common noun meaning 'grandson, descending' (cf. Hittite *ḫašš*- 'to procreate, to give birth'; *ḫaššša*- 'grandson'). If so, it would be a Carian *o*-stem coming from -ā (Cf. Luwic /armā/- > Carian *armo*- 'month') and therefore we would have the direct use of the noun for 'grandson' as a personal name. In turn, Κασβωλλις (Carian **ksbolí*-?) would represent an adjec-

tival derivative created by means of the suffix -*λ*(*i*)- (related to the Luwic suffix -/alla/i-/, cf. /tāda/i/- 'father' → /tadalla/i/- 'paternal'). We have no common nouns in *°olí-* directly documented in Carian but we do find some examples of the suffix on other stems, such as in the person noun *qlalí-* (which in Greek appears adapted as Κολαλδις, Κυλαλδις). Following the parallelism, Οσογω- could represent a noun and Οσογωλλι- an adjective derived from this noun.

The fact that the divinity should present the possibility of being mentioned indistinctly by means of a noun or an adjective is certainly strange.

However, the coexistence of a simple and a derivative form to refer, apparently indistinctly, to the same deity, finds a curious parallel in Cuneiform Luwian, in which we find the god's name *Iyasala-* / *Iyasalassi-*, without being able to establish any functional difference between both forms (Laroche 1959: 126, Melchert 1993: 97). The key could be that these names of a deity came from the divinization of some object or concept and that then the reference to the deity was expressed either in a direct way, or through an adjectival formation indicating appurtenance (e.g., "the god *Osogo-* (= *osogo-* divinized)" / "the god of *osogo-*"). Taking into account, moreover, that the name appears in the inscriptions always accompanying the name of Zeus, it may be thought that the duplicity has to do with the construction with the name of Zeus (in Carian equated to *Trquδ-*, the Anatolian storm god Tarhunt-), since we could have a construction in apposition (Zeus, the *osogo-*) or by means of the adjectival form that would indicate appurtenance (Zeus of the *osogo-*). We can even speculate the possibility that this divinized *osogo-* was originally an independent deity that was identified with *Trquδ-Zeus* only at a later time.

§ 12. *Conclusions*

From what we have presented in the previous pages we can draw the following conclusions:

1) As stated in Blümel (1990), there are no epigraphic examples of Οσογωα. The alleged examples are erroneous readings. As these false examples appeared in a context in which they were interpreted as genitives, they contribute towards creating a false indeclinable god name Οσογωα.

2) That which was formerly read as Οσογωα followed by the word Διός becomes Οσογωλλιος, genitive of Οσογωλλις, although, probably, at least in one or two cases, we have the variant Οσογωλδιος, with an alternation -λλ-/-λδ- well known in the case of other Greek adaptations of Carian names containing the sound λ.

3) As for literary sources, the reading Ὀσογώ, genitive, given by the manuscripts of Strabon, should be maintained as it is unproblematic. In the case of

Pausanias, the emendation †ὀγῶα → Ὀσογῶα can be accepted if we interpret this as an uncontracted accusative Ὀσογῶα of Ὀσογώς, modelled on the basis of ἥρωα for ἥρως. If this idea is not accepted, the form ought to be corrected to Ὀσογῶ or even Ὀσογών.

4) *Osogōlli-* (/*Osogōldi-*?) vs. *Osogō-* shows a type of derivation by means of a Carian suffix -λi-, which we find also in Χασβως-*ksbo* / Κασβωλλις. Pace Blümel, it does not seem possible to establish any relationship between the use of one or the other form and the chronology of the Greek inscriptions, since both coexist in one and the same inscription (ILabraunda 8). A possible explanation would be that the god's name referred to a divinized concept and was expressed either directly by the noun or indirectly by a pertinent adjective. The fact that Οσογως always appears as epiclesis of Zeus may reinforce this interpretation.

5) The correct transcription in English of the Carian name is therefore not Zeus †Osogoa but Zeus Osogos/Osogollis.

As a final remark, no clear etymology for Οσογως, Οσογωλλις has been found. A recent attempt by Oettinger (2022) (from a preverb */osu-/ related to Lycian *ese-* + the same stem as Luwian in Hittite sources *hw*(*i*)*yalla*/*i*-/, with a meaning 'companion, helper') is attractive but impossible to confirm. Equally attractive but also too vague and unverifiable is the assonance of Οσογωλλις with the Hieroglyphic Luwian noun *u-za-ka-li*, that appears in one of the lead strips of Tabal as an "occupational designation".

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Zeus of Labraunda and his epicleses: a chronological distribution[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The epiclesis of the local Zeus worshipped at Labraunda, the sanctuary located in the mountains at about fourteen kilometers north of the city of Mylasa,[2] occurs under several variant forms that show different spellings, both in the literary and in the epigraphic sources. Here, I will conventionally refer to it as 'Labraundos', since Λαβράυνδος[3] is the most commonly attested form, at least within the epigraphic record. Various attempts of providing a complete corpus of the variants occurring in both direct and indirect sources have been made so far: the first scholar who gathered all the forms of the epiclesis was Kretschmer (1896: 303), followed by Schäfer (1912: 349–350), Crampa (*ILabraunda*, vol 2: 191–192), Zgusta (1984: 319–320), McCabe (1991), and Blümel (1998 [2012]: 173–174). In recent years Rivault (2021: 76–79), who focused specifically on the inscriptions, provided a catalogue of the variants documented in epigraphy. Nevertheless, these previous

1. I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor Ignasi Adiego for his constructive suggestions. The contents of this study are entirely my own responsibility.

2. For the history of the sanctuary, see Rivault (2021) and Williamson (2021). Detailed information can also be found on the website labraunda.org, authored by the current archaeological team directed by Olivier Henry.

3. Following Crampa, I use the current accentuation of both the epithet and the place name (Λαβράυνδος and Λαβράυνδα), except for the ancient writers' passages, where the accentuation found in the editions (Λάβραυνδος, Λάβραυνδα) has been retained.

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corpora present data retrieved from both the literary sources and the epigraphical documents that need to be verified. Also, the inferences the aforementioned scholars drew from the available data did not sufficiently take into account the chronological distribution of the forms.

Therefore, the aim of this research is first to present an updated corpus of all the existing spellings and variants of the epithet documented in literature and in epigraphy, and secondly to discuss the newly constituted corpus from a chronological perspective. Since ancient authors often recorded the name of the sanctuary, an analysis of the epiclesis of Zeus Labraundos cannot leave aside the place name Labraunda.

§ 2. *Labraunda and the Cult of Zeus Labraundos in the Literary Sources*

The epithet of the local Zeus of Labraunda is recorded by Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Aelian, and Stephan of Byzantium; in regard to the attestations of the word in Latin, the only certain mention is found in Pliny's *Natural History*; an alleged occurrence in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* will be further discussed. As we shall see, from the analysis of the literary attestations it seems that in antiquity Zeus of Labraunda was termed in diverse ways.

§ 2.1. *Zeus Stratios in Herodotus'* Histories

The earliest reference (fifth century BC) to Labraunda and its cult is in Herodotus' *Histories* (5.119 1–2). The passage deals with the defeat faced by the Milesians and their Carian allies against the Persians in a battle near the Marsyas river during the Ionian revolt in 497 BC. The sanctuary of Labraunda, where the survivors of the battle were driven by the enemy, is described as a large and sacred grove of plane trees and it is referred to as the temple of Zeus Stratios, 'Zeus of Armies':

Herodotus, 5.119 1–2

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβραυνδα ἐς Διὸς στρατίου ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρές εἰσι οἳ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι.

"Those of them who escaped were driven into the precinct of Zeus of Armies at Labraunda, a large and a holy grove of plane-trees. (The Carians are the only people whom we know who offer sacrifices to Zeus by this name.)"[4]

All modern editors of Herodotus'work, i.e. Stein (1869), Dietsch (1901), Hude (1908) and Godley (1938), record the place name Λαβράυνδα, even though the variant readings Λάβρανδα and Λάββυνδα are provided in Stein's and Hude's critical editions. The manuscript tradition of Herodotus' *Histories* rests upon two manuscripts: the *Codex Laurentianus* 70. 3 (A, tenth century) and the *Codex Romanus Angel. August*. 83 (B, eleventh century). The two variant readings Λάβρανδα and Λάββυνδα are documented in secondary manuscripts.[5]

In this passage the titular deity of Labraunda is not mentioned by means of his toponymic epithet, but as 'Zeus Stratios', an epiclesis that is indeed documented in epigraphy[6] and recorded by Strabo as well (see paragraph 2.2). With regard to the place name, the occurrences of the variant readings in manuscripts that are later than A and B allow to state with a certain degree of confidence that Λαβράυνδα is the correct reading, as the epigraphical record seems to confirm.[7]

§ 2.2. *Zeus Labrandenus in Strabo's* Geography

The second literary source in chronological order is represented by Strabo's *Geography* (14.2.23). The author, who lived between the first century BC and the first century AD, relates that the Mylasans had two temples of Zeus: the former was dedicated to Zeus Osogos,[8] whereas the latter was the cult place of Zeus Labrandenus, where there was a shrine and a statue of Zeus Stratios. The epiclesis is documented in two variant spellings, that is, Λαβρανδηνός and Λαβραυνδηνός, reported in Kramer's and Meineke's editions, respectively:

4. Translation by Godley (1938).

5. The reading Λάβρανδα is found in *Codex Laurentianus Conv. Suppr. gr.* 207 (C, eleventh century), whereas Λάββυνδα is recorded in a number of manuscripts dated to the fourteenth century: *Codex Parisinus* 1633 (P), *Codex Sancroftianus* (S), *Codex Vindobonensis gr.* 85 (V) and *Codex Urbinas gr.* 88 (U). For the critical apparatus see Stein (1869) and Hude (1908).

6. See the inscriptions found at Mylasa *IMylasa* 204 (second half of the second century/first half of the first century BC) and *IMylasa* 405 (end of the second century BC).

7. In epigraphy such forms as Λάβρανδα and Λάββυνδα are not documented.

8. On the variant readings of Zeus Osogos see Adiego in this volume.

Strabo, 14.2.23 [Kramer's edition (1852)]

ἔχουσι δ᾽ οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε Ὀσογὼ καλουμένου, καὶ Λαβρανδηνοῦ· τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβρανδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλαβάνδων εἰς τὰ Μύλασα, ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως· ἐνταῦθα νεώς ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίου·

Strabo, 14.2.23 [Meineke's edition (1877)]

ἔχουσι δ᾽ οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε Ὀσογῶα καλουμένου καὶ Λαβραυνδηνοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβραυνδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλαβάνδων εἰς τὰ Μύλασα ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως· ἐνταῦθα νεώς ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίου·

"The Mylasians have two temples of Zeus, Zeus Osogo, as he is called, and Zeus Labrandenus. The former is in the city, whereas Labranda is a village far from the city, being situated on the mountain near the pass that leads over from Alabanda to Mylasa. At Labranda there is an ancient shrine and statue of Zeus Stratius."[9]

The variant spellings Λαβρανδηνοῦ and Λάβρανδα are also recorded in Jones' edition (1960), while in the latest edition of Strabo's *Geography* by Radt (2005), provided with an extensive critical apparatus, the epithet and the place name occur as Λαβραϋνδηνοῦ and Λαβράϋνδα.

Furthermore, in Meineke's edition Λαβρανδηνῶν is also provided, although in my view this has to be regarded as an erroneous reading.[10] As in the case of Herodotus' passage, there is an oscillation in the spelling of the forms, some showing the monophthong and others the diphthong, and once again the former occur in later manuscripts, namely D (*Codex Marcianus gr*. XI 6, fourteenth century) and F (*Codex Vaticanus gr*. 1329, thirteenth/fourteenth century).[11] Since the epiclesis Λαβρα(υ)νδηνός is never attested in epigraphy, and within the ancient literary sources it only occurs in Strabo,[12] it is not possible to establish which of the two is the correct one, or, at least, shows the earlier spelling, even though it is not unlikely that Λαβρανδηνός might have been influenced by the spelling Λάβρανδα (or vice

9. Translation by Jones (1960).

10. See the critical apparatus in Meineke (1877).

11. See the critical apparatus in Radt (2002).

12. Although Λαβρανδηνός is also recorded by Stephan of Byzantium in his *Ethnika*; see paragraph 2.6.

versa). Moreover, in Strabo's account there is once again a reference to Zeus Stratios.[13]

§ 2.3. *Iuppiter Labrayndus in Pliny's* Natural History

In the first century AD Pliny the Elder mentioned the god of Labraunda in his *Natural History* (32.7), in regard to tame fish wearing ornaments that can be found in many of the Emperor's villas:

Pliny, 32.7 [Jones' edition (1963)]

E manu vescuntur pisces in pluribus quidem Caesaris villis, sed – quae veteres prodidere in stagnis, non piscinis, admirati – in Heloro Siciliae castello non procul Syracusis, item in Labrayndi Iovis fonte anguillae et inaures additas gerunt [...]

"In several country seats indeed of the Emperor fish eat out of the hand, but – what our old writers have recorded with a wonder as occurring in natural pools, not fish-ponds – at Helorus, a fortress of Sicily not far from Syracuse, and likewise in the spring of Jupiter of Labraynda, the eels even wear earrings [...]"[14]

In De Saint-Denis' edition (1966), alongside *Labrayndi*, the critical apparatus records *Labramdi* and *Labrandi*. Both variant readings are documented in two manuscripts of the thirteenth century that contain interpolations and arbitrary corrections: *d*, the *Codex Parisinus lat.* 6797, and T, the *Codex Toletanus*. Despite this, the reading *Labrandi* is consistent with the variant Λαβράνδος attested in epigraphy (see par. 3.6).

Pliny's testimony is of great interest, as it is the only one to record the most commonly attested form in epigraphy, Labraundos.

§ 2.4. *Zeus Labrandeus in Plutarch's* Greek Questions

A later reference to the cult of Zeus at Labraunda is supposed to be in Plutarch's *Greek Questions*, 45, included in his wider work *Moralia*, written in the late first/early second century AD. In Plutarch's passage the god would be named with the epithet 'Labrandeus':

13. See discussion in paragraph 2.7.
14. Translation by Jones (1963).

Plutarch, 45 [Babbitt's edition (1962)]

'διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα πέλεκυν ἠρμένον οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνὸν πεποίηται;'

ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς Ἱππολύτην ἀποκτείνας καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων αὐτῆς λαβὼν τὸν πέλεκυν Ὀμφάλῃ δῶρον ἔδωκεν. οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ Ὀμφάλην Λυδῶν βασιλεῖς ἐφόρουν αὐτὸν ὥς τι τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παραλαμβάνοντες, ἄχρι Κανδαύλης ἀπαξιώσας ἑνὶ τῶν ἑταίρων φορεῖν ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γύγης ἀποστὰς ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦλθεν Ἄρσηλις ἐκ Μυλασέων ἐπίκουρος τῷ Γύγῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τόν τε Κανδαύλην καὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ διέφθειρε, καὶ τὸν πέλεκυν εἰς Καρίαν ἐκόμισε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων. καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα κατασκευάσας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ Λαβρανδέα τὸν θεὸν προσηγόρευσε· Λυδοὶ γάρ 'λάβρυν' τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι.

"'Why is it that the statue of the Labrandean Zeus in Caria is fashioned holding an axe, but not a sceptre or a thunderbolt?'

Because when Heracles had slain Hippolytê, together with her other arms he took her axe and gave it as a present to Omphalê. The Lydian kings who succeeded Omphalê used to carry it as a part of the sacred regalia, handing it down one to the other until it came to Candaules. He deemed it of little worth and gave it to one of his Companions to carry. But when Gyges revolted and was at war with Candaules, Arselis came from Mylasa with an army as an ally for Gyges and slew both Candaules and his Companion and brought the axe to Caria together with the other spoils. He therefore constructed a statue of Zeus and placed the axe in its hand, and called the god Labrandeus; for the Lydians call the axe *labrys*."[15]

Actually, the readings Λαβρανδέως and Λαβρανδέα were emended by Gregorius Bernardakis (1889), one of the modern editors of Plutarch's *Moralia*: as a matter of fact, all manuscripts record the readings λαβραδέως and λαβραδέα,[16] and contemporary editions, such as the ones by Babbit (1962), by Nachstädt/ Sieveking/Titchener (1971), and by Carrano (2007), report the corrected reading. It

15. Translation by Babbitt (1962).

16. The earliest manuscripts, namely α (*Codex Ambrosianus* C 126 inf. (gr. 859), 1294-1295), A (*Codex Parisinus gr.* 1671, 1296), and E (*Codex Parisinus gr.* 1672, 1350-1380), all record these readings: see the critical apparatus in Nachstädt/Sieveking/Titchener (1971) and in Carrano (2007). On the manuscript tradition of Plutarch's *Greek Questions* see also J. B. Titchener. 1924. *The Manuscript-Tradition of Plutarch's* Aetia Graeca *and* Aetia Romana. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

is evident to us that in this context the forms must be corrected as Λαβρανδέως and Λαβρανδέα, for two reasons: first, because in Aelian's *On Animals* the same epithet occurs as Λαβρανδέως and Λαβρανδεύς in most of the manuscripts (see paragraph 2.5); secondly, because in epigraphy, as we shall see, the form Λαβρανδεύς is documented.

In the text Plutarch, answering why the god holds an axe (Gr. πέλεκυς) instead of a thunderbolt or a sceptre, provides an etymological explanation for the name of the cult, claiming that the epiclesis Λαβρανδεύς derives from the Lydian word for 'axe', λάβρυς. Plutarch's statement indeed finds support in the archaeological evidence, as the double axe is one of the attributes of the god of Labraunda, and it can also be found in coinage, starting from the Hekatomnid period onwards.[17] Plutarch's account allowed scholars to hypothesize a cultural connection between Western Anatolia and Crete – where the double axe is one of the main attributes of the Mother Goddess – and, subsequently, to propose an etymological association between the alleged Lydian word λάβρυς and the Greek word λαβύρινθος.[18]

Furthermore, the ancient author's claim that the cult took its name from the Lydian word for 'axe' implies that the sanctuary was in turn named after the god's epithet: this hypothesis is not implausible,[19] but certainly it is not consistent with the process of derivation of the so-called 'toponymic epithets', that is, epithets derived from place names, according to a common pattern in antiquity, "with epithets frequently marking an association with a specific toponym or community".[20]

17. See Williamson (2021: 164–170), with references.

18. For an overview of the studies related to the association λάβρυς ~ λαβύρινθος and the interaction between Caria and Crete see Carless Unwin (2017: 16–25 in particular).

19. Yakubovich (2002: 105 with. n. 33) argues that Plutarch's account speaks in favour of a derivation of the place name from the epiclesis, which seems to be corroborated by the comparison between Λαβράυνδος and the Cypriot epiclesis of Zeus Λαβράνιος. According to the scholar, further evidence may be provided by the Anatolian city (^{URU})*pihaššašši-*, which is likely to have been named after the Luwian title (^{D}U) *pihaššaš*(*š*)*i-*, "(Teshub) of the thunderbolt" or "(Teshub) of splendor".

20. Carless Unwin (2014: 43). In addition to Zeus Labraundos, another instance of a toponymic epithet associated with Zeus is Panamaros, derived from the cult place of Panamara, near Stratonikeia. In some cases local cults were named after their reference communities: this is the case of Zeus Otorkondeon, related to the Otorkondeis *phyle* (i.e., Mylasan sub-community) and Zeus Aganiteon and Zeus Maunniton, worshipped by the Aganiteis and the Maunnites *syngeneiai* (another type of sub-communities), respectively, at their sanctuaries. See Carless Unwin (2016 n. 52) with references and Williamson (2021: 102–103 with n. 38). On toponymic epithets in the Greek-speaking world and their formation see also Macedo (2022), who collected and analysed the epithets related to place names in Pausanias' work.

Leaving these issues aside, as mentioned before the epiclesis Λαβρανδεύς in Plutarch's passage is also attested in epigraphy, both as ethnicon and as divine epithet, *contra* Rivault (2021: 77), according to whom this form is only documented in literature, namely in Plutarch and in Aelian (see paragraph 2.5).

§ 2.5. *Zeus Labrandeus in Aelian's* On Animals

The epiclesis Λαβρανδεύς is also mentioned by Aelian, who lived between the second and the third centuries AD, in his work Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος, *On Animals*, when writing – like Pliny – about tame fish that can be found in many places, even at Labraunda in a spring of clear water:

Aelian, 12.30 [Scholfield's edition (1959)]

Χειροήθεις δὲ ἰχθῦς καὶ ὑπακούοντες τῇ κλήσει καὶ τροφὰς ἀσμένως δεχόμενοι πολλαχόθι καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τρέφονται, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ [...]καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς ἐν κρήνῃ διειδοῦς νάματος, καὶ ἔχουσιν ὁρμίσκους χρυσοῦς καὶ ἐλλόβια, χρυσᾶ μέντοι καὶ ταῦτα. ἀφέστηκε δὲ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦδε τῆς Μυλασέων πόλεως σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξίφος παρήρτηται, καὶ τιμᾶται καλούμενος Κάριός τε καὶ Στράτιος· [...] ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Κρήτης καὶ Διός· Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς ὕσας λάβρῳ καὶ πολλῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τήνδε ἠνέγκατο.

"Tame fishes which answer to a call and gladly accept food are to be found and are kept in many places, In Epirus for instance [...] and at the shrine of Zeus of Labranda in a spring of transparent water. And there fish have golden necklaces and earrings also of gold. The shrine of this Zeus is 70 stades distant from the city of Mylasa. A sword is attached to the side of the statue, and the god is worshipped under the name of 'Zeus of Caria' and 'God of war' [...]. And they were called 'Carians' after Car, the son of Creta and Zeus, and Zeus received the title of Labrandeus because he sent down furious (*labros*) and heavy rainstorms".[21]

The form Λαβρανδεύς is also recorded in the editions by Hercher (1864) and by García Valdés/Llera Fueyo/Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (2009); in the latter the variant readings provided are λαβράνδεως and λαβράνδεω,[22] with no alternative spellings of the epithet.

21. Translation by Scholfield (1959).

22. λαβράνδεως is recorded in L (*Codex Laurentianus* 86,7, twelfth century), whereas λαβράνδεω occurs in P (*Codex Parisinus* 1756, fourteenth century), A (*Codex Augustanus*

Aelian not only gives information about the distance between the city of Mylasa and the sanctuary of Labraunda, but he also suggests a different etymology for the epithet, which would be connected to the fury of the rainstorms sent by the god. Furthermore, once again Zeus is also mentioned as 'Stratios', as in Herodotus' and Strabo's accounts.

§ 2.6 *Juppiter Labryandus in Lactantius'* Divine Institutes

Within the literary corpus of the attestations of the epiclesis, both Schäfer (1912) and Rivault (2021) include a form recorded by Lactantius (250–330 ca. AD) in his *Divine Institutes*,[23] which resembles the one cited by Pliny, Labrayndus:

Lactantius, *Inst. Div*. 1.22 [Heck/Wlosok's edition (2005)]

Historia uero Sacra testatur ipsum Iouem postquam rerum potitus sit in tantam uenisse insolentiam, ut ipse sibi fana in multis locis constituerit. Nam 'cum terras circumiret, ut in quamque regionem uenerat, reges principesue populorum hospitio sibi et amicitia copulabat et cum a quoque digrederetur, iubebat sibi fanum creari hospitis sui nomine, quasi ut posset amicitiae et foederis memoria conseruari. Sic constituta sunt templa Ioui Ataburio, Ioui Labryandio – Ataburus enim et Labryandus hospites eius atque adiutores in bello fuerunt –, item Ioui Laprio, Ioui Molioni, Ioui Casio et quae sunt in eundem modum'.

"The Sacred History says that 'after Jupiter attained power', he developed such an arrogance that 'he set up shrines to himself all over the place'. As he went round his lands, in every region that he came to he bound the kings and princes of the peoples to him by the tie of hospitality and friendship, and when he departed from them, he gave orders for a shrine to be built to him in the name of his host, as if a memory of the friendship and agreement could be so preserved. On that basis temples were set up to Jupiter Ataburius and Jupiter Labryandius (Ataburus and Labryandius were his hosts and his helpers in a war); so too to Jupiter Laprius, Jupiter Molio and Jupiter Casius and all the others of like title".[24]

Monacensis 564, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), and H (*Codex Vaticanus Palatinus* 260, fourteenth century).

23. The book I of the *Divine Institutes* contains fragments of Ennius' Latin version of the *Sacred Chronichle* by Euhemerus, entitled *Euhemerus sive Sacra Historia*.

24. Translation by Bowen and Garnsey (2003).

Now, in the other manuscripts, regardless of their date, the epithet occurs as *Labryandio* (R), *Labyandro* (B), *Labriando* (VP), and *Labriandrio* (H M K S) and none of them is exactly the *Labrayndus* found in Pliny;[25] Vahlen, in his first 1854 edition of Ennius' poetry fragments, the *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*, emended the forms as *Labrandio* and *Labrandius*,[26] while in the second edition (1903) reported the readings *Labryandio* and *Labryandus* of R. Due to the variety of the attested readings it seems that scribes had no acquaintance with this word, and therefore tried to emend it in different ways. However, since there is no certainty about this form, I believe it has to be left aside and excluded from the corpus.

§ 2.7. *Stephan of Byzantium* 'Ethnika

Finally, in late antiquity, the grammarian Stephan of Byzantium (end of the fifth century AD) recorded the aforementioned variant forms of the epiclesis in his geographical lexicon, the *Ethnika* (Ἐθνικά):

Stephan of Byzantium, *s.v.* Λάβρανδα [Billerbeck's edition (2014)]
Λάβρανδα, κώμη Καρίας· Στράβων ιδ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λαβρανδηνὸς καὶ Λαβράνδιος καὶ Λαβρανδεύς.

"Labranda, Carian village. Strabo 14. The ethnicon [is] Labrandenus and Labrandios, and Labrandeus".[27]

This short list includes the forms Λαβρανδηνός mentioned by Strabo, Λαβρανδεύς recorded by Plutarch and Aelian and Λαβράνδιος, which does not seem to occur in ancient literature, but in epigraphy the similar form Λαβράνδος is attested, as we shall see. The place name is instead recorded as Λάβρανδα.

In conclusion, the local Zeus of Labraunda was known to ancient authors as Zeus Stratios, Zeus Labra(u)ndenus, Iuppiter Labrayndus, Zeus Labrandeus, and Zeus Labrandios. As already mentioned, the epithet 'Stratios' occurs in the texts by Herodotus, Strabo and Aelian: according to Carless Unwin (2016), Zeus Stratios

25. R = *Codex Parisinus BN lat*. 1663 (ninth century); B = *Codex Bononiensis* 701 (fifth century); V = *Codex Valentianensis* 147 (ninth century); P= *Codex Parisinus BN lat*. 1662 (ninth century); H= *Codex Palatino Vaticanus* 161 (ninth century); M= *Codex Montepessulanus* schol. med. 241 (ninth century); K= *Codex Casinensis* 595 (eleventh century); S = *Codex Parisinus BN lat*. 1664 (twelfth century).

26. Vahlen (1854: 173).

27. Translation by the Author.

and Zeus Labraundos were likely to coincide; she also suggests that, while the epithet Stratios could refer to the god's warlike attitude, Labraundos "was the preferred mode of addressing the deity within the sanctuary, and was the title by which the cult was known in the region more broadly".[28] With regard to the place name, Λαβράυνδα and Λαβράνδα are concurrent forms; as mentioned before, there is no epigraphic evidence for Λαβράνδα, whereas Λαβράυνδα occurs in inscriptions found at Labraunda.

§ 3. *Labraunda and the cult of Zeus Labraundos in the epigraphic record*

Before dealing with the epigraphic attestations of the epiclesis, it has to be remembered that both literary and epigraphic sources are consistent in identifying the titular deity of the sanctuary of Labraunda with Zeus. This, as underlined by Carless Unwin (2016), reflects the process of Hellenization that Carian deities underwent when they were identified with the gods of the Greek pantheon.[29] Furthermore, we do not know how the epiclesis under study could sound in Carian, since none of its occurrences is attested in Carian script: even the earliest inscriptions dated to the fourth century BC under the Hekatomnids record it in Greek,[30] thus limiting our knowledge about its original aspect.

§ 3.1. *A corpus based on the chronological distribution of the epigraphic attestations*

As mentioned in the Introduction, in the past scholars have gathered the plethora of variant forms derived both from the direct and the indirect tradition. Rivault (2021), focusing on the epigraphic attestations of the epiclesis within Caria, provided the most recent and updated corpus, which I have considered as a starting point for this study. Nevertheless, in none of these collections the alternative forms of the epithet are ordered according to their chronology, except for occasional remarks about the occurrence of the variant spellings.[31] For this reason, for the scope of this research I will first present a corpus whose forms are listed according to their chronological distribution, by taking in consideration the epigraphic docu-

28. Carless Unwin (2016).

29. Carless Unwin (2016). On the possible identification of Zeus with the Luwic storm god *Tarhunt* (Carian Trq*δ*-) see Herda 2013: 432–433 with references.

30. In this regard, Carless Unwin (2016) points out that the choice of the Hekatomnid dynasty of using the Greek language and script for their dedications to Zeus Labraundos is indicative of the bilingualism that characterized the Carian communities in the fourth century BC.

31. See Rivault (2021: 76–77) and Crampa (*ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 191–192 in particular).

ments from the fourth century BC (Hekatomnid and early Hellenistic period) to the second century AD (imperial period). Within this chronological span the occurrences have been divided by century.

I have also considered the geographical distribution, including all epigraphic attestations of the epiclesis, both within and outside Caria. Finally, I have adopted these exclusion criteria:

1. all variants wholly restored have not been included; the partially restored forms have not been considered insofar as their morphological aspect was not clearly identifiable;

2. all undated inscriptions have been excluded.

In a second stage of this study, I will discuss the forms thus collected from a linguistic viewpoint.

§ 3.2. *Attestations of the fourth century BC*

In the fourth century BC the epiclesis Λαμβράυνδος is exclusively documented. This form containing a nasal occurs in seven inscriptions: five from Labraunda, one from Mylasa and one from Herakleia Latmia, as shown in Table 1. Five out of seven inscriptions belong to the period when Caria was ruled by the Hekatomnid dynasty;[32] the one from Herakleia Latmia records a treaty of *sympoliteia* between Pidasa and Latmos that was made under the last satrap of Caria Asandros (323–313 BC). The date of one of the inscriptions from the sanctuary, namely *ILabraunda* 28, is, instead, less precise: it is a dedication by Ariarames, 'son of Maussollus', dated by Crampa to ca. 300 BC on the basis of the letter forms, which resemble those ones of the Hekatomnid period, and of the occurrence of the epiclesis in Λαμβρ-. However, Crampa himself acknowledges that his dating of the inscription "is very approximate and allows a wide margin" and that "the occurrence of the Persian names is certainly not conclusive, but speaks in favour of an earlier period".[33] As a matter of fact, both the dedicator and his father bear Persian names,[34] and, according to the scholar, it is not unlikely that this Ariarames was either the

32. *ILabraunda* 13 and 14 are dedications by Maussollus, who was ruler of Caria from ca. 377 to 353 BC; *ILabraunda* 17 is a dedication by Idrieus, Maussollus' brother, who ruled Caria from 351 to 344 BC. *ILabraunda* 83 is probably a decree; the date is based on the lettering of the text (*ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 161–162). *IMylasa* 3 contains a decree on the punishment of conspirators against Maussollus.

33. *ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 28.

34. On the spelling *Ariarames* instead of the expected *Ariaramnes* see Crampa (*ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 28 with references).

son of the ruler Maussollus or belonged to the family of the Hekatomnids, or, again, considered himself as its member.[35] Here I accept Crampa's dating of the inscription, even though I do not exclude the possibility that the text dates back to an earlier period.

Date	Inscription no.	Finding place	Attested form	Inscription type
Λαμβράυνδος				
377–353 BC	*ILabraunda* 13	Labraunda	Λαμβραύνδωι (l. 3)	dedication by Maussollus
377–353 BC	*ILabraunda* 14	Labraunda	Λαμβραύνδωι (l. 1)	dedication by Maussollus
351–344 BC	*ILabraunda* 17	Labraunda	Λαμβραύνδω ⋮ ι (l.1)	dedication by Idrieus
ca. 300 BC	*ILabraunda* 28	Labraunda	Λαμβραύνδωι (l. 3)	dedication by Ariarames (?), son of Maussollus
4thcentury BC	*ILabraunda* 83	Labraunda	Λαμ[βραύνδωι (l. 5)	decree
355–354 BC	*IMylasa* 3	Mylasa	Λαμβραύνδου (l. 4)	decree on the punishment of conspirators against Maussollus
323–313 BC	Blümel 1997	Herakleia Latmia	Λαμβραύνδου (l. 35)	treaty between Latmos and Pidasa

Table 1. List of the 4th century attestations

35. Moreover, in an attempt to identify the dedicator, Crampa also advances the idea that the Ariarames in question might have come from the Carian city of Amyzon, where a family with Persian names held the hereditary office of νεωκόρος at the temple of Artemis. Since from the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus (320 BC), Bagadates and his son Ariaramnes, who got the citizenship in Amyzon, were known, and under Antiochus III a man named Arieramnes was known, Crampa suggests that the same family might have become important also in Labraunda or might have had contacts with the sanctuary (*ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 29).

In Rivault's corpus *ILabraunda* 13, together with *ILabraunda* 15,[36] are recorded as showing the variant Λαμράυνδος.[37] Actually, the text of *ILabraunda* 13 bears the form Λαμβραύνδωι, as the photograph in Figure 1 clearly shows:

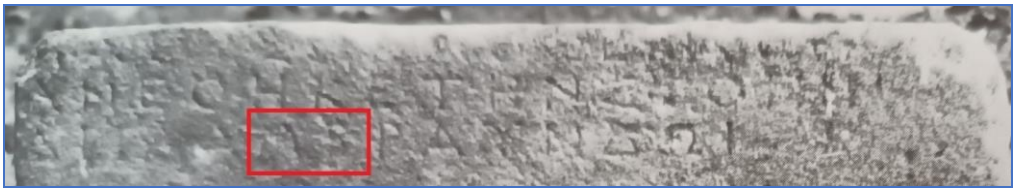

Fig. 1. *ILabraunda* 13, detail. The presence of -MB- in ΛΑΜΒΡΑΥΝΔΩΙ is clearly distinguishable (source: *ILabraunda*, vol. 2)

It follows that a variant *Λαμράυνδος does not exist and therefore both McCabe's and Rivault's corpora need to be emended. Also, with regard to *ILabraunda* 28 Rivault records the variant Λαβράυνδος, but in this case as well the epiclesis is documented in the inscription as Λαμβράυνδος.[38]

These emendations confirm that under the Hekatomnids and in the period immediately after their dynasty the deity worshipped at Labraunda was referred to as Ζεὺς Λαμβράυνδος. Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions of the same period documenting the place name, in order to verify whether its form was *Λαμβράυνδα or not.

§ 3.3. *Attestations of the third century BC*

Λαμβράυνδος occurs only in the fourth-century epigraphic texts: as a matter of fact, from the third century BC onwards it is replaced by the most commonly – although not exclusively – documented variant, Λαβράυνδος. The variant spelling without nasal Λαβρ-, attested from the Hellenistic to the imperial period, is found in fourteen texts dated to the third century from Labraunda, Milasa, Iasos,

36. I excluded *ILabraunda* 15 since the epiclesis is mostly restored: the attested form is in fact Λαμβραύν]δωι. See *ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 11.

37. The same occurs in McCabe's digitalized corpus of the Packard Humanities Institute (McCabe 1991).

38. See *ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 28, with Plate 8. The photograph of the inscription is of poor quality, and the text is engraved with a thin stroke.

Athens, and Miletos.[39] In the same period two spelling variants are also recorded: Λαβράιονδος – which may be the antecedent of Λαβράυνδος, documented from the second century BC to the imperial period (see *infra*) – occurring in an inscription found at Miletos, and Λαβραυνδαῖος from Egypt, found on a fragment of papyrus of the Zenon archive datable to 256–255 BC.[40] Table 2 shows the third-century attestations of these variant forms.

Date	**Inscription no.**	**Finding place**	**Attested form**	**Inscription type**
Λαβράυνδος				
240 BC?	*ILabraunda* 1	Labraunda	Λαβρ]αύνδου[41] (l.2)	letter of Seleucus II to Olympichus
240 BC?	*ILabraunda* 3	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδου (ll. 12; 28)[42]	letter of Olympichus to Mylasa
220 BC	*ILabraunda* 5	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδου (l. 6)	letter of Philip V to Mylasa
220 BC	*ILabraunda* 6	Labraunda	[Λα]βραύνδωι (ll. 8–9 text A)	letter of Olympichus to Mylasa
Early second half of 3rd c. BC	*ILabraunda* 11	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδ[ου] (l. 13)	honorific decree
Ca. middle of the 3rd c. BC	*ILabraunda* 30	Labraunda	Λ]αβραύνδωι (l. 2)	dedication
Second half of the 3rd c. BC	*ILabraunda* 137	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδου (l. 6)	letter of Olympichus to Mylasa

39. Λαβράυνδος is also documented in a small group of undated inscriptions: 1. *CIG* 2750, inscription on altar from a burying place between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis (Λαβραύνδου; see also Michaelis 1882: 586, no. 201); 2. *CIG* 2896, inscription on two stones from Herakleia Latmia (Λαβραύνδου); 3. *GIBM* 904, inscription on altar from Halikarnassos (Λαβραύνδου); 4. *IStratonikeia* 1109, dedicatory inscription from Stratonikeia (Λαβραύνδωι, l. 2); 5. *Milet* 4.3.1270, inscription on altar from Miletos (Λαβραύνδου).

40. See Edgar (1931: 95, no. 31).

41. I decided to include this partially restored attestation in the corpus since it is consistent with the one in *ILabraunda* 3, dated to the same period.

42. In l. 28 the epiclesis is not fully legible.

225–200 BC	*SEG* 57–1074	Iasos	Λαβραύνδου (ll. 4, 17)	honorary decree
3rd c. BC[43]	Marek/Zingg 2018 no. 27	Mylasa (Uzunyuva)	Λαβραύνδωι	dedication
3rd/2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 652	Mylasa	Λαβραύνδω (l. 12)	decree
298/297 BC	*IG* II^2 1271	Athens	Λαβραύνδου (l. 6)	honorary decree
209–208 BC	*Milet* 1.3 146A	Miletos	Λαβραύνδου (l. 20)	treaty with Mylasa
209–208 BC	*Milet* 1.3 146B	Miletos	Λαβραύνδου (ll. 73; 76–77)	treaty with Mylasa
3rd/2nd c. BC	*Milet* 4. 3 1265	Miletos	Λαβραύνδου (l. 2)	inscription on altar
Λαβράιονδος				
3rd/2nd c. BC	*Milet* 4. 3 1269	Miletos	Λαβραιόνδου (l. 4/5)	inscription on altar
Λαβραυνδαῖος				
256–255 BC	Edgar 1931 no. 31	Cairo	Λαβραυνδαίωι	fragment of papyrus

Table 2. List of the variants attested in the third century BC

In the third century BC the most common form of the epithet is Λαβράυνδος, which is not only documented in Caria: it is from this century that the cult of Zeus Labraundos begins to be attested outside the Carian region as well.[44] Furthermore, beside the cult of Zeus Labraundaios, whose epithet with the suffix -αιος may be regarded as a local variant, in Miletos the first variant with different internal vocalism Λαβράιονδος appears together with Λαβράυνδος.

43. The inscription was first published by Marek and Zingg (2018, no. 27), who regarded it as Hellenistic, not earlier than the second century BC. After Blümel's claim that the form of the letters points to an earlier date (Blümel 2018: 41), the two scholars have agreed in dating it back to the third century BC (Zingg/Marek 2019: 167).

44. On the cult of Zeus Labraundos outside Caria see Carless Unwin (2014).

Finally, consistently with the variant spelling of the epithet Λαβράυνδος, in the third century the name of the cult place is documented as Λαβράυνδα in a small number of inscriptions found at the sanctuary:

- *ILabraunda* 4 (ca. 220 BC): Λαβράυνδα (l. 10); Λαβραύνδοις (l. 11)
- *ILabraunda* 5: Λαβράυνδα (l. 24; l. 43, here restored)
- *ILabraunda* 6B: Λαβραύνδοις (ll. 7/8); Λαβράυνδα (l. 8, here partially restored)
- *ILabraunda* 137: Λαβράυνδα (l. 2; l. 7)

§ 3.4. *Attestations of the second century BC*

In the second century BC the epiclesis is documented in a fairly remarkable number of variants:

1. Λαβράυνδος. Attested in ten inscriptions from Labraunda, Mylasa, Olymos, Miletos and Patara in Lycia.

2. Λαβράιυνδος.[45] Four attestations from Olymos, where this variant spelling thus coexisted with the most common one, Λαβράυνδος.

3. Λαβράινδος. Documented twice in an inscription from Olymos.

4. Λαβράενδος. One attestation from Mylasa.

5. Λαβρένδος. One attestation from Mylasa.[46]

6. Λαβραυνδεύς. One attestation from Miletos.

Table 3 shows all the second century BC variants.

Date	**Inscription no.**	**Finding place**	**Attested form**	**Inscription type**
Λαβράυνδος				
Late 2nd c. BC	*ILabraunda* 8B	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδου (l. 26)	letter of Olympichus to Mylasa
Late 2nd c. BC	*ILabraunda* 69	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδου[47]	catalogue of lands

45. Λαβράιυνδος also occurs in two undated inscriptions: the former is a dedication on altar from Mylasa, *IMylasa* 311 (Λαβραιύνδῳ, l. 3); the latter is an inscription on altar found at Yeşilbağcılar (*IStratonikeia* 813, Λαβραιύνδωι).

46. In addition to this occurrence, Λαβρένδος is attested in an undated inscription on altar, *Milet* 4.3.1268 (Λαβρένδου), where the sequence καὶ Διός Λαβρένδου (ll. 9–10) seems to have been added at a later stage.

End of 2nd/ beginning of 1st c. BC	*IMylasa* 501	Mylasa	Λαβραύνδου (l. 4)	list of donors for building of *stoa*
2nd c. BC[48]	Marek/Zingg 2018, no. 28	Mylasa (Uzunyuva)	Λαβ(ρ)αύνδωτ[49]	dedication
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 814	Olymos	Λαβραύνδου (l. 5)	land transaction document
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 817	Olymos	Λαβραύνδου (l. 2)	land transaction document
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 831	Olymos	Λαβραύνδο̣[υ (l. 3)	land transaction document
Late Hellenistic	*Milet* 1.7. 276	Miletos	Λαβραύνδου	inscription on altar[50]
Late Hellenistic/ Roman	*Milet* 1.7. 277	Miletos	Λαβραύνδωι	inscription on altar
2nd c. BC	*SEG* 57. 1674	Patara	Λαβραύνδωι (l. 2)	sacred law
Λαβράιυνδος				
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 801	Olymos	Λαβραιύνδου (l.22)	decree
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 806	Olymos	Λαβραιύνδου (l.17)	land transaction document
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 841	Olymos	Λαβραιύνδου (l.7)	fragment of land transaction document
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 848	Olymos	Λαβραιύνδο̣[υ (l.4)	fragment of land transaction document
Λαβράινδος				
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 816B	Olymos	Λα]βραίνδο̣υ,	land transaction

47. Thirteen occurrences: l. 2 (partially restored); l. 5; l. 12; l. 14 (partially restored); l. 16; l. 18; l. 19; l. 24 (partially restored); l. 26 (partially restored); l. 32; l. 35; l. 43 (partially restored).

48. Marek and Zingg (2018: 185) date the inscription to the Hellenistic period. I have included it in the second-century sub-corpus considering the date suggested for the inscription no. 27. See paragraph 3.3 with note 40.

49. As Blümel (2018: 41) points out, here the use round brackets is not clear.

50. Due to the shortness and the layout of the text, for most of the inscriptions on altars the line number of the occurrences has not been specified.

			Λαβραίνδου (l. 1; l. 7)	document
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 816C[51]	Olymos	Λ]αβραίνδου (l.4)	land transaction document
Λαβράενδος				
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 655	Mylasa	[Λ]αβραένδο [(l. 14)	decree
Λαβρένδος				
2nd c. BC	*IMylasa* 314	Mylasa	Λαβρένδου	inscription on altar
Λαβραυνδεύς				
Late Hellenistic	*Milet* 1.7. 275	Miletos	Λαβραυνδέως	inscription on altar

Table 3. List of the variants attested in the second century BC

The second century BC is characterized by a noticeable number of variants of the epiclesis: beside Λαβράυνδος, the alternative spelling with *iota* Λαβράιυνδος begins to circulate,[52] alongside variants showing -αι- and -αε- vocalism (Λαβράινδος and Λαβράενδος), as well as monophthongization (Λαβρένδος).

In addition to these altenative spellings showing a variation in the vocalism of the internal syllables, the attestation of Λαβραυνδεύς, a variant form with a different suffix, is remarkable. Λαβραυνδεύς resembles, but does not coincide with Λαβρανδεύς, the form mentioned by Plutarch and Aelian. However, Λαβρανδεύς is in fact documented, namely as ethnicon in *IMylasa* 863, found at Olymos and datable between the second half of the second century and the first century BC. In this inscription Λαβραγ̣[δεῖς] (l. 2, referred to the people of Labraunda) is restored

51. I have not considered *IMylasa* 816D since in this inscription the epiclesis is entirely restored.

52. In this regard, the inscription *IMylasa* 101 from Mylasa, datable to the Hellenistic period, shows that at this stage the place name is also spelled *Λαβραιύνδα: τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐλ Λαβραιύνδοι[ς] (l. 19), where the ἐλ is effect of assimilation (*IMylasa*, vol. 1: 25). In addition to *IMylasa* 101, two inscriptions of the same chronological period record the spelling Λαβράυνδα: the one from Myndos (now Gümüs̱lük) recording the name of Zeus + the place name instead of the epiclesis, ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Λαβραύνδοις (l. 15) (see Blümel, 2011: 115–120), and *ILabraunda* 46 (dated from ca. 200 BC; see *ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 61–63), bearing ἐν Λαβραύνδοις (l. 8). These occurrences of the place name with and without ι may indicate that in Caria in the second century BC different spellings for the place name coexisted.

consistently with the preceding word Ὀλυμεῖς (= inhabitants of Olymos). Therefore, in the second century BC two very similar variant forms are documented in Miletos and in Olymos: Λαβραυνδεύς as epiclesis and Λαβρανδεύς as ethnicon. Unfortunately, the epigraphic evidence is too little to shed light on a hypothetical distribution of both forms.

§ 3.5. *Attestations of the first century BC*

The first century BC variants of the epiclesis are:

1. Λαβράυνδος. Attested in five inscriptions from Labraunda and Mylasa.
2. Λαβράιυνδος. One occurrence at Labraunda.

The first century BC forms are listed in Table 4.

Date	**Inscription no.**	**Finding place**	**Attested form**	**Inscription type**
Λαβράυνδος				
1st c. BC	*ILabraunda* 31	Labraunda	Λ[αβ]ραύνδου (ll. 4–5)	dedication by a priest
Republican period	*ILabraunda* 51	Labraunda	Λαβραύν[δου Λ]α[β]ραύνδου (l. 6–7; l. 9)	official document
Late 1st c. BC	*ILabraunda* 52	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδωι (l. 2)	document concerning offerings to Z. Labraundos
1st BC/ 1stAD	*IMylasa* 326[53]	Mylasa	Λαβραύνδου (l. 5)	dedication by a priest
Roman period	*IMylasa* 533	Mylasa	Λαβράυνδον (l. 7)	inscription on altar
Λαβράιυνδος				
1st c. BC	*ILabraunda* 71	Labraunda	Λαβραιύνδωι (l. 1)	name list

Table 4. List of the variants attested in the first century BC

53. This inscription corresponds to *LBW* 348, where the editors wrongly reported the form Λαβρααύνδου (recorded by Krestchmer 1896: 303 in his list). See Zgusta 1984: 320 and *IMylasa*, vol. 1: 130.

The number of variants of the first century BC is remarkably reduced compared to the previous century. Λαβράυνδος remains widely attested, and Λαβράιυνδος occurs for the first time at Labraunda, whereas in the previous century this variant was not documented at the cult place.

§ 3.6. *Attestations of the first and second century AD* (*imperial period*)

In the imperial period, in addition to the most commonly documented Λαβράυνδος (four occurrences from Labraunda[54] and one from Mylasa) and Λαβράιυνδος (three occurrences from Labraunda and one from Miletos), the monophthongized form Λαβράνδος[55] occurs in an inscription from Stratonikeia, as shown in Table 5.

Date	**Inscription no.**	**Finding place**	**Attested form**	**Inscription type**
Λαβράυνδος				
Imperial period	*ILabraunda* 21	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδωι (l. 1)	dedication of a roof of a *stoa* by a priest
Imperial period	*ILabraunda* 22	Labraunda	Λαβ]ραύνδωι (l. 1)	dedication of an undressing room by a priest
Imperial period (reign of Trajan)	*ILabraunda* 23	Labraunda	Λαβραύνδῳ (l. 3)	dedication of parts of Maussollus' *stoa* by Poleites
2nd c. AD	*ILabraunda* 60	Labraunda	Λαβραύν[δου] (ll. 3–4)	decree
Late imperial period	Blümel 1989 n. 351	Mylasa	Λαβ]ραύνδου (l. 4)	sacral inscription
Λαβράιυνδος				
Early imperial period	*ILabraunda* 32	Labraunda	Λαβραιύ̣[δ]ῶι (ll. 1–2)	dedicatory inscription

54. *ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 20, on *ILabraunda* 21 argues that "From the Flavian period the spelling of the name of the local Zeus reverted to the usual Λαβράυνδος".

55. The spelling Λαβράνδος is also documented in an undated inscription on altar from Miletos, *Milet* 4.3.1266, which contains the form Λαβράνδου.

Imperial period	*ILabraunda*53	Labraunda	Λαβραιύνδῶι (l. 3)	regulation
Middle 1st c. AD	*ILabraunda*65	Labraunda	Λαβραι[ύνδ]ῳι (ll. 7–8)	official inscription
Imperial period	*Milet* 4.3.1267	Miletos	Λαβραιύνδ[ῳ *vel* εῖ	inscription on altar
Λαβράνδος				
Roman period	*IStratonikeia* 1543	Stratonikeia	Λαβρᾰ́νδου (ll. 2–3)	dedicatory inscription

Table 5. List of the variants attested in the first and second centuries AD

In Table 6 all variant forms are listed by chronological distribution.

DATE	FORM	FINDING PLACE
4th century BC	Λαμβράυνδος	Labraunda (5) Mylasa (1) Herakleia Latmia (1)
3rd century BC	Λαβράυνδος	Labraunda (7) Iasos (1) Mylasa (2) Athens (1) Miletos (3)
	Λαβράιονδος	Miletos (1)
	Λαβραυνδαῖος	Egypt (1)
2nd century BC	Λαβράυνδος	Labraunda (2) Mylasa (2) Olymos (3) Miletos (2) Patara (1)
	Λαβράιυνδος	Olymos (4)
	Λαβράινδος	Olymos (1)
	Λαβράενδος	Mylasa (1)
	Λαβρένδος	Mylasa (1)
	Λαβραυνδεύς	Miletos (1)

1st century BC	Λαβράυνδος	Labraunda (3) Mylasa (2)
	Λαβράιυνδος	Labraunda (1)
1st/2nd c. AD	Λαβράυνδος	Labraunda (4) Mylasa (1)
	Λαβράιυνδος	Labraunda (3) Miletos (1)
	Λαβράνδος	Stratonikeia (1)

Table 6. Chronological distribution of the variant forms. In round brackets the number of inscriptions attesting the epiclesis is given

From the analysis of the corpus, it emerges that the epiclesis of Zeus of Labraunda evolved in the centuries: first, its root changed from Λαμβρ- to Λαβρ-; the forms in Λαμβρ- are only typical of the fourth century BC, while from the following century onwards they are superseded by the ones without nasal. Secondly, in the second century BC, forms with a different internal vocalism from -αυ- are documented, and sometimes two variant spellings are employed in the same city at the same time, as in Mylasa, where Λαβράενδος and Λαβρένδος are equally attested. However, this considerable number of variants is drastically reduced from the first century BC, when only Λαβράυνδος and Λαβράιυνδος, the second most commonly attested one, appear in the epigraphic texts. Moreover, if we combine the literary with the epigraphic data, we can argue that:

1. ancient authors never record the epiclesis as Λαμβράυνδος, which occurs in epigraphic texts only;

2. the epithet Λαβρανδηνός / Λαβραυνδηνός recorded by Strabo and Stephan of Byzantium is never attested in epigraphy, even though this does not necessarily mean that it has never existed;

3. *Labrayndus* recorded by Pliny is the closest literary attestation to Λαβράυνδος, the most common form of the epiclesis documented in epigraphy;

4. Λαβρανδεύς, as recorded by Plutarch, Aelian and Stephan of Byzantium, does exist, even though it occurs as ethnicon and not as the god's epithet, this one being Λαβραυνδεύς;

5. Λαβράνδιος, reported by Stephan of Byzantium, is instead attested as Λαβράνδος, which might be recalled by the variant *Labrandi* in Pliny's manuscripts;

6. the place name Λαβράνδα, as it occurs in Stephan of Byzantium, is never found in epigraphy, where the cult place is named Λαβράυνδα and, in one occurrence, *Λαβράιυνδα. But, as pointed out for Λαβρανδηνός /Λαβραυνδηνός, it is not unlikely that the variant *Λαβράνδα did in fact exist, as the epiclesis Λαβράνδος may suggest.

Finally, it should be remembered that for the Greek-speaking ancient writers these were foreign names: this aspect must be taken into account when dealing with their understanding and transmission of such 'exotic' forms.

§ 4. *The chicken or the egg?* Λαμβράυνδος *and* Λαβράυνδος

The chronological distribution of the forms shows that in the fourth century BC the epiclesis of Zeus of Labraunda was epigraphically attested only as Λαμβράυνδος, without any other concomitant variant, and that Λαβράυνδος began to be documented at a later stage, namely from the third century BC. It seems to me that this crucial aspect has been disregarded by most scholars, who still tend to consider Λαβράυνδος as the original form of the epiclesis,[56] regarding Λαμβράυνδος as either a spelling mistake or as the effect of the so called 'parasitic nasalization' or, again, as the mere attempt to render the text earlier than it really was.[57] According to Rivault (2021: 76) Λαμβράυνδος and Λαβράιυνδος are "simples fautes d'ortographe", but in my opinion this may sound like an oversimplification: it is very unlikely, if not impossible, that two spelling mistakes have been retained in a number of texts engraved by different hands in diverse geographical areas and in a space of a century (and more, in the case of Λαβράιυνδος).

Other scholars, such as Crampa (*ILabraunda*) and Zgusta (1984), accepted the hypothesis suggested by Schulze (1966[2]), who argued that the -μ- in Λαμβράυνδος is a parasitic nasal.[58] This suggestion implicitly relies on Herodotus' testimony, the

56. Even though the form with the nasal occurs in the oldest inscriptions, according to Crampa (*ILabraunda*, vol. 2: 191) "it cannot be doubted that this form was derived from Λαβρ-"; additionally, Rivault (2021: 76) states that "l'ortographe la plus employée est Λαβράυνδος, qui domine dans les textes entre le IV^{e} s. a.C. et l'époque impériale, dans toute la Carie".

57. Schäfer (1912: 353–354) in regard to Λαμβραύνδου attested in *LBW* 379 = *IMylasa* 3 argues that "forsitan vetustatem magis imitetur quam re vera conservaverit" and that of this form "nullum aliud exstat vestigium". Schäfer, however, only knew this occurrence of Λαμβράυνδος, since the excavations at Labraunda began in 1948 and therefore most of the documents containing the form with the nasal were brought to light from the second half of the twentieth century.

58. See Schulze (1966[2]: 282), with a list of examples basically related to the Greek language at page 281 ff. The original article, entitled "Samstag", was first published in *KZ* 33, 1895: 366–386.

earliest reference to the sanctuary of Labraunda and his god: by the fifth century BC the cult place was known as Λαβράυνδα, thus implying that the derived epithet was a form in Λαβρ-; according to this view, in the following century the epiclesis may have occurred with an unetymological nasal that ceased to be attested from the third century BC onwards.[59] Schulze investigated the development of parasitic nasals in Greek, which was, according to him, "eine bisher noch nicht im zusammenhange untersuchte sprachgeschichtliche erscheinung, von deren umfang die vorhandenen bearbeitungen der lautlehre keine irgend genügende vorstellung geben",[60] and offered a list of cases of parasitic nasalization occurred in the Greek language: among the instances he provided there are λάμβδα (~ λάβδα), ὄμβριμος (~ ὄβριμος, 'strong, mighty'),[61] and Λαμβράυνδος. Nevertheless, we are dealing with a Carian word that should not be explained by means of a linguistic feature that characterizes another language; in my view, the Greek forms the scholar took as examples are not comparable with the one under study.

My idea is instead that Λαμβράυνδος is the earliest form of the epiclesis, as confirmed by the epigraphic evidence,[62] as well as the one that best reflects the genuine spelling of the underlying Carian word. That the epithet originally had a nasal was suggested by Hester (1957: 117 n. 7), who presumed that the variant Λαμβρ- derives from *Λαμρ-; his hypothesis was only mentioned in passing by Crampa, but, according to me, it deserves more attention. Unfortunately, it cannot be supported by any evidence, since the alleged occurrences of *Λαμράυνδος in *ILabraunda* 13 and 15, as I have demonstrated, do not exist. However, within Carian onomastics there is another example, in addition to Λαμβράυνδος, of a proper name adapted to Greek that shows the consonant cluster -μβ-: it is the personal name Ιμβρασις, Ιμβρασσις, which represents the Greek rendering of Carian *iβrsi-*/*iβarsi-*.[63] The Carian name has been etymologically connected to CLuw.

59. Crampa (*ILabraunda*, vol. 1: 7 with n. 3), referring to Λαβρ]αύνδου in *ILabraunda* 1 (probably datable to 240 BC), claims that "the spelling is always Λαβράυνδα, Λαβράυνδος, i.e. without the parasitic nasal, which the name had the cent. before".

60. Schulze (1966[2]: 281).

61. The variant ὄμβριμος occurs in the manuscript tradition; it is documented on a papyrus manuscript of Homer edited by Kenyon (1891) that is "not earlier than the 4th or 5th century" (Kenyon 1891: 82). See Γ 357, at p. 90.

62. That the spelling Λαμβράυνδος chronologically precedes Λαβράυνδος is proved by the fact that the two variant spellings are not documented at the same chronological stage.

63. With regard to the correspondence between Car. β and Gr. -μβ-, the phonetic value of the Carian letter β is still unclear; according to Adiego (2007: 247) β in Carian may reflect: 1) a

im(*ma*)*ra*/*i*-, 'open country', namely to the possessive adjective *im*(*ma*)*rašša*/*i*-, and to Hitt. *gimra*-, 'the outdoors, countryside, field, military campaign', from a PAnat. **ĝimro*-.[64] Adiego (2007: 262) suggested that, given this etymological explanation, the Carian personal name underwent a sound change *-*mr*- > * -*mbr*- with the addition of an epenthetic consonant, a development that is common to Greek. As a result, it is not implausible to presume that the same change may have occurred in the form under study, which may have developed from **lamr*- to **lambr*-.

It may be argued that the suggestion that Λαμβράυνδος is the original spelling of the epithet is untenable, for at least a couple of reasons. First, assuming that the original form of the epithet of Zeus of Labraunda was Λαμβράυνδος implies that it has no etymological connection neither with the alleged Lydian word λάβρυς recorded by Plutarch nor with the Greek word λαβύρινθος. The existence of such a word indicating the double axe – of which, apart from Plutarch's reference, we have no other evidence – and the iconographic parallel between the Cretan double axe and the one of Zeus Labraundos have already been questioned by Yakubovich (2002: 107). Furthermore, as mentioned before, the double axe is one of the most important attributes of Zeus Labraundos, and in the Hekatomnid period it is *already* part of his imagery: a fourth-century relief on a marble votive stele from the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea (Arcadia), now preserved in the British Museum, shows Idrieus and his wife Ada venerating Zeus Labraundos, carrying the double axe;[65] additionally, on coins issued by Hekatomnos, Maussollos, and Idrieus, Zeus Labraundos appears with the same attribute.[66] The fact that in the fourth century the Zeus worshipped at Labraunda was referred to as Λαμβράυνδος and was iconographically represented with the *labrys* provides substantial evidence against the hypothesis of an etymological association between Λαμβράυνδος and λάβρυς.

Another objection against the hypothesis of Λαμβράυνδος as the original spelling regards Herodotus' account, which entails that in the fifth century BC the place name and subsequently the toponymic epithet were spelled as Λαβρ-. Actually, it should be pointed out that, over the long time span existing between the com-

consonant cluster -*mb*-; b) a pre-nasalized consonant /^{m}b/; c) an oral voiced stop /b/ after a nasal (that would not be written), whereas in all other phonetic contexts the sound would be fricative ([β]).

64. See Kloekhorst (2008: 476) *s.v. gimra*-, Melchert (1993 [2001]: 89) *s.v.* **im*(*ma*)*ra/i*-, and Adiego (2007: 335).

65. See Herda (2013: 457) and Williamson (2021: 167). The picture of the relief is available on the British Museum website at the following link:

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914–0714–1.

66. On coinage minted by the Hekatomnid dynasts see Williamson (2021: 164–171) with references.

position of Herodotus' work and the beginning of the manuscript tradition, different type of changes – grammatical, textual and lexical – may have occurred; this is particularly true for those personal and place names scribes had little acquaintance with: these words could have been either misunderstood and subsequently erroneously transmitted in later manuscripts, or emended with others that sounded more familiar, and this might have happened with Λαβράυνδος, the most commonly attested variant compared to Λαμβράυνδος, and the place name Λαβράυνδα.

In conclusion, from the analysis of the epigraphic record it seems that Λαμβράυνδος was the earliest form of the epiclesis of Zeus of Labraunda. As to the Carian form, we may presume that its root was **lambr*-, reflected in the spelling of the Greek rendering, or **lamr*-, with an epenthetic labial: as shown in the case of the PN Ιμβρασις, Ιμβρασσις, epenthesis may be plausible in Carian.

At some time between the fourth and the third century BC, in this original variant the nasal disappeared, and Λαβράυνδος began to be attested. In this regard, I think that the possibility that the word λάβρυς played a crucial role has not to be excluded: it is not unlikely that the etiological account of Plutarch, establishing a connection between the epithet and the *labrys*, was known in earlier times. This might have modified the spelling from Λαμβρ- to Λαβρ-, thus creating a new form through a process of etymological reinterpretation. The epithet, originally containing a nasal, might have been reinterpreted on the basis of the word indicating the most important attribute of the deity it was referred to.

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Iasos and its cults of Zeus between the Greek and the Carian World (6th–4th century BC)[1]

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The aim of this paper is to examine the cults of Zeus known in Iasos between the 6th and 4th centuries BC and to place them in a wider historical perspective, centered on the question of the civic and ethnic identity of Iasos. Polybius (16.12.2) attributes both Argive and Ionian origins to the city, but his account has nothing to do with any supposed ancient historical events that determined the ethnic 'nature' of the community once and for all. This narrative was developed much later, not prior to the Classical period, when Iasos already defined itself as a Greek community.[2]

At the end of the Archaic Age Iasos was probably a mixed community, whose members were Carian and Greek bilingual speakers. Being Carian or Greek could not have been a very significant identity issue. However, important elements to consider are a dedication from the Late Archaic period to the Carian storm god *trquδe kλmuδ*[? and later ample 4th–century evidence for the cult of Zeus *Megistos*.

1. The perspective I propose here owes much to the research of Michele Loiacono, whose important doctoral thesis on the cult of Zeus *Megistos* in Iasos (Loiacono 2019) will be published shortly. I am very grateful to Michele for sharing this research with me. I would also like to express my warmest thanks to Fede Berti, Nicolò Masturzo and Massimo Nafissi.

2. Cf. Fabiani in press, where I posit that the traditions concerning the origin of Iasos (reported by Polybius) could not have been, at least in part, consolidated before the middle of the 5th century BC. According to Polybius, Iasos was an Argive colony (line 18.246 of the *Odyssey* –εἰ πάντες σε ἴδοιεν ἀν' Ἴασον Ἄργος Ἀχαιοί– must have played a role in this tradition), which was re-founded by the Ionian Miletus after losses in the war with the Carians. On the foundation of Iasos, see Raffaelli 1995; Biraschi 1999; Bresson 2009: 110–111; Fabiani 2015b, 59–60.

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These are particularly significant indications of the Iasian devotion to the most important cult of the Carian *ethnos* that Herodotus (5.119.2) calls by the Greek name of Zeus *Stratios*. Given the social level and the public engagement that they reveal, the epigraphic testimonies of Iasos go far beyond the ordinary everyday cult of the god. With their different linguistic *facies*, frequency and importance, these inscriptions suggest an evolution that parallels the identity choices of the *polis* and its shifting political positioning.

§ 1. *Iasos and the cult of* trquδe ƙλmuδ[? / Zeus *in the 6th and 5th centuries BC*

The earliest evidence of the cult of Zeus in the city is the Carian graffito *C.Ia* 3 (Fig. 1)[3] engraved on the rim of an Attic black figure crater found in the votive deposit of *naiskos* A, a small temple in the city sanctuary near the East Gate (Fig. 2).[4]

Fig. 1: The Carian graffito *C.Ia.* 3 (photo by Maurizio Molinari)

3. Pugliese Carratelli 1985: 150–151 (*ed. pr.*); Gusmani 1988: 145–149; Adiego 2007: 147–148; more recently Loiacono 2019.

4. On the votive deposit, see Laviosa 1985; Landolfi 1985; Landolfi 2013, 107–109. On *naiskos* A and *naiskos* B (which stands next to A and of which only the western wall, ending in an *anta*, is visible today), see Masturzo 2019.

Fig. 2: Plan of Iasos (2013): 1. The East Gate; 2. Sanctuary near the East Gate and surrounding archaeological remains (by Nicolò Masturzo)

This sanctuary was certainly dedicated to Zeus. *Naiskos* A was located next to a *naiskos* B in an open space paved with shale slabs (Fig. 3) and entered through a portal. Engraved on the jambs of the latter between the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC were decrees in honor of foreign judges (Clazomenae, Teos and Chios)[5] to be published in the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera.[6] From the surrounding area there is also a late 4th–century BC *psephisma* (*I.Iasos* 52), republished some years ago by

5. *SEG* 41 [1991], 930–933. The access portal is called an 'ingresso' in Masturzo 2019, fig. 1.

6. ἀνα[γράψ]αι | [δὲ] καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας [ἐν τῶι ἱε|ρῶι] τοῦ Διὸς και τῆς Ἥρας: *SEG* 41 [1991], 930, 27–29.

the author,[7] which deliberates on assigning a citizen a priesthood of Zeus *Idrieus* and He[ra].

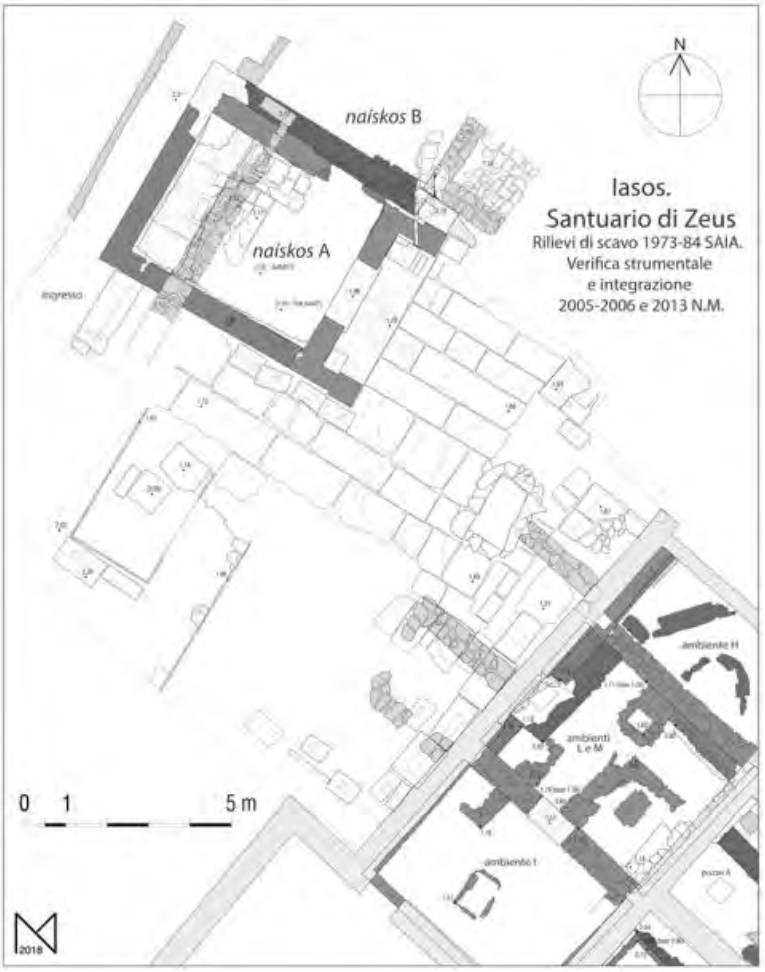

Fig. 3: Plan of the excavated area of the sanctuary of Zeus at the East Gate (from Masturzo 2019, fig. 1)

7. Fabiani 2015a (the interpretation is accepted in Rivault 2021: 136–138). According to the inventory book (no. 2227), the decree was found during the excavation “della strada a nord del quadriportico fiancheggiante la Basilica presso la porta Est”. The reference is no longer clear, but the so-called "Basilica" is a building that is next to the area in question, which is named after Zeus (s. Fabiani 2015a: 173, 180–181).

The stele with the text of the treaty between Ptolemy son of Lagos,[8] three mercenary chiefs and the city of Iasos (*I.Iasos* 2) – the publication clause of which stipulated that it should be inscribed in the sanctuary of Zeus – was reutilized in the Byzantine wall that partially closed the nearby East Gate.[9] On a large block of stone in the late Classical city walls (probably from the Hecatomnid period), immediately to the right when entering the East Gate, there is a *horos* (*I.Iasos* 233: Οὖρος τεμένεος | Διὸς Μεγίστο) marking the boundaries of the *temenos* of Zeus *Megistos*.[10]

It is not clear whether all these references are to a single sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, perhaps given different names over time, or to different areas dedicated to the god in close proximity.[11] Indeed, the *horos* of the *temenos* of Zeus *Megistos* (*I.Iasos* 233) is engraved on a block of the wall to the right when entering the city through the East Gate, while the sanctuary dedicated to Zeus and Hera in the Hellenistic period was evidently inside the city on the left of the same road. In particular, it is unclear precisely where the shrine or the sanctuary of Zeus *Megistos* stood, and whether it was an integral or separate part of a large area dedicated to Zeus near the East Gate. None of the evidence for Zeus *Megistos* comes directly from the sanctuary with the two *naiskoi* where, on the contrary, the crater with the Ca-rian graffito was found. However, in my opinion the simplest solution is that there was *only one sanctuary* devoted to Zeus in Iasos (later called the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera), maybe with several shrines and altars where the god was worshipped under different epithets. It is hard to imagine that there were two such important sanctuaries of Zeus in close proximity.

Be that as it may, it is clear that from at least the 4th century BC the area of the city near the East Gate was dedicated to the cult of the Father of the Gods, probably already associated with Hera (at least in part of the area).[12] And this is where the Carian graffito *C.Ia* 3 is found.

8. Ptolemy was not yet king when he signed the treaty with Iasos (*I.Iasos* 2), although he had become king in the subsequent letters of his officials engraved on the same stele (*I.Iasos* 3).

9. *I.Iasos* 2, 59–61: τοὺς νεωποίας ἀνα[γράψαι - - - - -] καὶ στῆναι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῶι. A sanctuary of Zeus without epithets is also mentioned in *I.Iasos* 82, 26.

10. Another *horos* engraved on a cippus (*I.Iasos* 234: Οὖροι τ[ε]μένους Διὸς Μεγίστου) was found at some distance from the city at the end of the 19th century. For further evidence on the cult of Zeus *Megistos*, see later in the text.

11. This second option is preferred by Rivault 2021: 142–146.

12. The presence of female statuettes, male statuettes and couples among the votive material of the stipe found in *naiskos* A suggests that the sanctuary was dedicated to a divine couple: Landolfi 2013; Rivault 2021: 144–145.

The graffito reads as follows: ?]*areš* | *šanne*[|?] *mλne* | *siykloś* | *šann* | *trquδe* | *ƙλmuδ*[*?*. The inscription dates back to 530–520 BC[13] and shows us without any doubt that Carian speakers lived in Iasos. Their presence is also documented by other inscriptions: Carian graffiti are relatively common in Late Archaic and 5th century Iasos, long before we encounter Greek inscriptions.[14] We also notice that the dedicator's name, Ares(sis??),[15] is not Greek. Moreover, I. Adiego has long suggested that the deity to whom the dedication is addressed is Tarhunt (*trquδ*), the Anatolian storm god.[16] The content of the graffito thus "speaks Carian" in all respects!

At the same time, however, this inscription is engraved on an *Attic* black-figure crater. Furthermore, it should be noted that most of the prestige objects from the end of the 6th century BC found at Iasos, whether public or private, show a predilection for a Greek artistic language:[17] the public include an Ionic frieze with Milesian characteristics depicting a scene of chariot racing, possibly from a sacred building[18] (similar reliefs are also documented at Myous, Larissa on the Hermus and also on *columnae caelatae* of the Archaic *Didymaion*),[19] while the private include votive material found in the same deposit in *naiskos* A where the crater was retrieved. In itself, it is difficult to say whether this prevalence of Greek-style artifacts in Iasos is simply the result of coeval Greek cultural dominance on the Carian coast, which also led to a community with a Carian identity and language

13. For this dating, see Landolfi 2019: 3–4. In an as yet unpublished work, the same scholar concentrates on interpreting the scenes painted on the Attic crater: Landolfi in press.

14. *C.Ia.* 5–7, with Piras 2009, 233–235.

15. For the complex onomastic formulae, I refer to the work to be published by M. Loiacono. There are some considerations of I. Adiego in Kızıl, Adiego 2021, 92.

16. Blümel, Adiego 1993: 94–95; Adiego 2007: 286–287, accepted by Parker 2017: 107 and recently by Rivault 2021: 144.

17. Landolfi 1985; Berti 2011 (on reliefs); Landolfi 2013 (on votive choroplastics); Angiolillo 2019 (on reliefs). It is also worth mentioning that Pliny, *HN* 36.5.12–13, attributed the famous cult statue of Artemis of Iasos to the Chios sculptors Boupalos and Athenis, sons of Archermos. However, Angiolillo suggests that at least one of the Iasian Archaic reliefs – perhaps on a metope – depicting a standing nude fighting figure of uncertain interpretation, is of non-Greek, maybe Oriental or Hittite origin. The potential presence of interesting and sometimes divergent elements does not alter the overall picture: an environment in which different languages coexisted, but with Greek predominating in the artistic field.

18. The shrine of Artemis *Astias* according to Berti 2019b: 458.

19. Dirschedl 2018: 20–24, with tables 5–8.

favoring this artistic language because it enjoyed greater prestige,[20] or whether the Greek presence was actually quite marked, and the community was rather mixed in character. As we shall see at the end of this section, however, there may be a stronger indication that Iasos was a mixed community.

Indeed, it is well known that Greco-Carian cohabitation was common on the fringes of Caria. The case of Halicarnassus is particularly significant with abundant documentation at the onomastic level from the early 5th century BC.[21] In many cities, as a matter of fact, Greek and Carian speakers generally lived side by side in the same community for a long time. The Carians are known to have been bilingual, and we have evidence of this from at least the beginning of the 5th century BC thanks to Herodotus' account (8.133–135) of the Carian Mys of Europos, sent by Mardonius to consult the Greek oracles.[22] It would not have been any different for Greeks living alongside Carians in the same civic community: they too must have been bilingual.

Caria was therefore characterized by complex linguistic and cultural *facies* as well as multi-layered civic and ethnic identities. Michele Loiacono's recent important interpretation of the Carian graffito *C.Ia.* 3 further improves our understanding of this complex situation, at least in Iasos, clarifying which deity is the recipient of the dedication of the Attic crater. By accepting Adiego's hypothesis that, in the sequence *trquδe* | *ƙλmuδ*[?, *ƙλmuδ*[? was an epithet of Tarhunt,[23] Loiacono is able to show that it refers to the military sphere: "Tarḫunt *warlord*".

The Carian god who most likely corresponds to *trquδe* | *ƙλmuδ*? must therefore be Zeus *Stratios*, 'Zeus of the army', which is the name Herodotus (5.119.2) gives to the Zeus of Labraunda. The Carian communities were integrated

20. Berti, Masturzo 2000 recognize the work of Ionian craftsmen in the Archaic decoration of the sanctuaries of Iasos.

21. The inscription Meiggs - Lewis, *GHI* 32 (second quarter of the 5th century BC: for the text now see Fabiani 2017) records the joint decision of the Halicarnassians, Salmacitians and Lygdamis. Both communities evidence mixed names: Greek anthroponyms with Carian patronymics (for the most part) and Carian anthroponyms with Greek patronymics. The same kind of information is found in *Syll.*[3] 46 (revised by Blümel 1993 and Delrieux 2013: 232–241). On the mixing of names, see Aubriet 2013: 194–195; Carless Unwin 2017: 40–41.

22. Thucydides (8.85.2) mentions an envoy of Tissaphernes, a certain Gaulites, a "bilingual Carian" (Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον). In his account of Cimon's expedition to Caria before the Battle of Eurymedon, Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 191, 8, in Diod. 11.60.4) distinguishes between coastal cities founded by Greeks and bilingual cities. On bilingualism in Caria, see in particular Carless Unwin 2017: 42–51; Carless Unwin 2019.

23. Adiego 2007: 287, 378.

into an ethnic system that seems to have centered on the cult of Zeus *Stratios* in Labraunda:[24] both cult and sanctuary were therefore central to Carian identity. And the Zeus of Labraunda famously had the *labrys* as an attribute, which was already an attribute of Tarhunt.[25] Zeus *Stratios* therefore seems to have been the *interpretatio graeca* of the earlier indigenous cult of *trquδe | ḱλmuδ*[?,[26] which suggests that Iasos was an active participant in the Labraunda cult.[27] This may have some signi-ficance in terms of the ethnicity of the *polis* given the centrality of Labraunda to the Carian identity.

On the other hand, there would be nothing strange (in fact, it would be all too credible) if the community had also shown its devotion to a nearby great deity, such as the Apollo of Didyma, which we tend to think of as Greek. However, participation in the cult of Apollo *Didymaios* would not have had the same implications in terms of ethnic affiliation as the 'national' cult of Labraunda. Nor would the relationship of Iasos to the god have had the same 'colonial' implication as it is known to have had in the early Hellenistic period when devotion to the god was based on the notion of the Milesian origin of Iasos.[28]

We do not know whether the Iasians fought in the Ionian revolt, and we do not know whether they sided, or would have sided, with the Greeks of Ionia or with the Carians, whose *koinon*, like the Greeks, fought against the Persians.[29] The inscription *C.Ia.* 3 might suggest that the Iasians joined, or would have joined, the Ca-rians. In any case, individual towns such as Iasos, inhabited by people of Greco-Carian culture, were able to develop a civic identity in which the distinction

24. Hdt. 5.119.2. Another central site for the Carians were the so-called *Leukai stelai* on the Marsyas river (Hdt. 5.118.2). On Zeus *Stratios*: Rivault 2021: 79–82.

25. Rivault 2021: 89–92.

26. Parker 2017: 66 and 103 fn. 111. Rivault 2021: 80: "Il est tout à fait possible que l'épiclèse du dieu local de Labraunda ait été hellénisée par Hérodote".

27. As we have said, the Zeus of Labraunda is known to have been depicted with a *labrys*, a double-axe (Rivault 2021, spec. 82–94). In the *agora* of Iasos an enclosure was found with numerous lead or bronze plates in the shape of a double-axe together with other material that can be dated to between the Hecatomnid and the late-Hellenistic periods (Berti 2019a and Masturzo in press).

28. Nafissi 2015a.

29. On the Carians in the Ionian revolt: Hdt. 5.117–122; 6.25. The only monograph on the revolt itself is still Tozzi 1978; see also Badian 2004 (online: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com /entries/encyclopaedia-iranica-online/*-COM3469). According to Hornblower 1982: 55, this collective enterprise of the Carians is the first evidence of the Carian *Koinon*; more cautious is Carless Unwin 2017: 52. On the Carian *Koinon*, see Debord 1999: 178–181; *Id.* 2003: 118–125. For a more general discussion on Carian communal identities, see Carless Unwin 2017: 51–57.

between 'Greeks' and 'Carians' was not a marked feature of everyday political and social life.[30]

Nonetheless, the Greek victory in the Persian Wars marked a fundamental turning point. At this moment, defining oneself as Greek or not Greek could be crucial for communities and individuals in Asia Minor (and Caria). The decisive factor was whether to join (or not join) the Delian League with its anti-Persian aims.[31] By becoming allies of Athens in the Delian League, which was strongly rooted in the principle of *syggeneia* (a primarily Ionian but more generally a Hellenic kinship), the *poleis* were encouraged to define their own ethnicity more firmly. In the communities that were invited to join, individuals must have felt the pull of a more intense adherence to triumphant Greekness.

Iasos clearly joined the League.[32] This could have been the result of Cimon's extensive search for alliances before the Battle of Eurymedon.[33] Iasos subsequently remained stubbornly loyal to Athens, even in difficult times such as during the latter phase of the Peloponnesian War: Amorges, a rebel against the Great King and ally of Athens, chose to stay in the city from at least 413 BC.[34] He must have done so because he recognized the *polis* as a loyal *symmachos* of Athens. It did not end well: Iasos was conquered by the Peloponnesians and Persians, and Amorges was captured.[35]

In this way, the city quickly and determinedly positioned itself in the Greek and, more specifically, the Ionian world.[36] A famous document from the

30. Carless Unwin 2017: 40–42, 58–60.

31. Fundamental works on the Delian League are Meiggs 1972, Mattingly 1996, Ma, Papazarkadas and Parker 2009 and Hornblower 2011[4]: 8–42; A very recent rethinking is in Nudell 2023: 18–89, who, however, tends to reduce the importance of the theme of *syggeneia* as the drive and the glue of the Delian *symmachia*. On the central role of religious politics and *syggeneia* (particularly of Athens as the *metropolis* of the Ionians) in the creation and consolidation of the Delian League, see Smarczyk 1990, esp. 328–384. On the choice of Delos for its religious centrality for the Ionians, see Fragoulaki 2013: 209–248; Constantakopoulou 2007: 61–75.

32. Fabiani 2020: 2. From 450 BC (*IG* I[3] 263, col. V.2, 21) on, Iasos appears regularly in the *Athenian Tribute Lists* (a further ten times up to 415/4 BC). In the first period Iasos paid one talent; with the redefinition of the *phoros* (*IG* I[3] 71) of 425/4 it paid three.

33. Fabiani 2004: 19–23.

34. Thuc. 8.5.5.

35. Thuc. 8.28.2–29.1: cf. Fabiani 2020, 4.

36. In Iasos we find Greek political institutions and magistrates, and a Greek calendar (with one exception). Iasos' firm political stance is evident in the Amorges episode (see text) and in the decision of the *polis* to support the expedition of the Spartan king Agesilaus against the Great King (396–394 BC): see Fabiani 1999, 2004 and 2020.

Hecatomnid period (*I.Iasos* 1), to which we will return later, documents that from at least the 430s, newborn babies (the fathers of the citizens listed in the inscription) were almost exclusively given Greek names. Iasos then advertised this decisive choice by depicting Apollo, the god *par excellence* of the Delian League, as *parasemon* on its coins.[37]

By allying itself with Athens, and even more so by remaining loyal to it, Iasos detached itself from the world of inland Caria, which in contrast, after initially adhering to Athens, later distanced itself from it.[38] I believe that the adherence to the Delian League and the very process that led individuals giving their children Greek names can be better explained, and understood, if, like Halicarnassus, Iasos too is seen as a mixed community rather than a purely Carian one.

§ 2. *Iasos and the cult of Zeus in the 4th century BC*

Unfortunately, we have no further evidence of the cult of Zeus for the rest of the 5th century BC. We do find some from the beginning of the 4th century BC, and particularly from the Hecatomnid era. From the time of the King's Peace at the latest, Iasos was incorporated into the satrapy of Caria, which was established by the Great King of Persia in 392/1 BC and was entrusted to the rule of a local satrap, Hecatomnus, who was succeeded by his five children (Mausolus, Artemisia, Idrieus, Ada and Pixodarus).[39] During this period the *polis* was torn by violent political tensions. It was even the scene of a conspiracy against the satrap Mausolus, which, as I have shown elsewhere, can be interpreted as a clash between a political group close to Hecatomnid policy and another which opposed the return of the city to Persian rule and the close links to the Carian world that the satraps favored.[40]

The conspiracy, documented by the aforementioned stele now in the Louvre (*I.Iasos* 1),[41] brought the faction loyal to the satraps to power. These then paid the most overt homage to the dynasts, by dedicating them a *Maussolleion*, i.e., a

37. On Apollo and his sister Artemis, and their early importance in the city's *pantheon* and political life, see Fabiani and Nafissi 2023, esp. 373–377.

38. Meiggs 1972: 117–119, 306–307; Keen 1993; Briant 1996: 1000–1001.

39. Diod. 14.98.3. On this event and on the Hecatomnids, see Hornblower 1982, esp. 34–51, Ruzicka 1992: 15–32 and, in brief, Müller 2013.

40. Fabiani 2013; Fabiani 2015b.

41. The most recent reading of the inscription is by F. Delrieux (2013: 210–215).

building in honour of Mausolus, probably with cultic functions,[42] and a large family monument consisting of many blocks. On the monument stood at least four statues: the founder of the dynasty, Hecatomnus, his wife Aba, and two of their children (siblings of Mausolus), the ruling satrap couple, Idrieus and Ada.[43] The Iasians, or rather the dominant faction in the city, therefore, began to regard Mausolus, Idrieus and Ada and their parents as benefactors and almost certainly bestowed religious honors upon them. It is also noteworthy that the city walls seem to date from this period and were probably built with Hecatomnid support.[44]

The cult of Zeus is attested from this period in six inscriptions with the epiclesis of *Megistos* (some of which have already been mentioned). These include five texts from the first half of the 4th century BC and a later document from the early 2nd century BC. Some of these testimonies are of considerable historical importance:

- a regulation concerning the rights of the priest of Zeus *Megistos* of which a second copy has been found (*I.Iasos* 220[45] = *CGRN* 42) – first quarter / around the middle of the 4th century BC (the copy);
- the aforementioned Louvre stele regarding the confiscation of property of those who conspired against Mausolus (*I.Iasos* 1) – probably from the 60s of the 4th century BC;[46]
- two *horoi*, one lost (*I.Iasos* 234) and the other not (*I.Iasos* 233), which delimited the *temenos* of Zeus Megistos (*I.Iasos* 233) – probably from the Hecatomnid period, like the wall;
- a decree on the measures to be taken to ensure the continuity of cults and the restoration and financial management of sanctuaries in what appears to be an emergency situation (*I.Iasos* 219)[47] – early 2nd century BC.

42. On the building, see Maddoli 2007: 248–252, no. 11–13; Nafissi 2015b: 86–87; Nafissi 2015c: 30.

43. On the monument and its reconstruction, see Masturzo and Nafissi 2015; on the epigram inscribed on it, see Nafissi 2015b and 2015c.

44. Franco 1994: 177–178; Berti 2012; Masturzo 2016: 75–76; Cornieti 2018: 124–127; there is a more in-depth discussion in Masturzo 2021: 145–148.

45. On the copy of this *nomos*, of which only a fragment remains, see Fabiani 2016, the text of which has been accepted in *CGRN* 42.

46. Fabiani 2015c: 14.

47. New edition in Fabiani 2019.

The cult of Zeus *Megistos* has some very intriguing aspects. One indisputable element, chronologically speaking, is that almost all testimonies of it (5 out of 6) fall into the Hecatomnid period.

The inscription on the suppression of the conspiracy (*I.Iasos* 1) is particularly significant. It shows that some of the conspirators were killed while others were exiled. Their property was confiscated and sold under the supervision of magistrates and other citizens (ll. 2–6).[48]

In this context, the names of the eleven *hiereis* of Zeus *Megistos* are mentioned among the officials who were involved in the confiscations and sale transactions (ll. 14–18). The *lex sacra* on the prerogatives of the *hiereus* of Zeus *Megistos* (*I.Iasos* 220 = *CGRN* 42) seems to refer to a single priest. How do we explain the fact that in *I.Iasos* 1 there were *eleven* priests? They have generally been interpreted as a board, since they are listed after other boards of magistrates (*archontes, tamiai, astynomoi, synegoroi, prytaneis*).[49] But the number eleven is unusual and in no way corresponds to the four *phylai* that existed in Iasos at that time. Moreover, priestly *collegia* are not the norm in ancient Greece. It seems to me that Michele Loiacono[50] is right to consider the eleven from Iasos not as priests who were all in charge that year, but as one priest in charge plus the *hierateukotes*, i.e., the former priests, as they are called in other inscriptions from Lindos, Lagina, Panamara and Cos.[51] Indeed, the perfect tense gives the sense of an achieved and permanent status. Implicitly, we have a similar situation in *I.Iasos* 1. After the suppression of the conspiracy, all the former priests of Zeus *Megistos* who were still alive at the time, together with the priest in office (which is why they are referred to collectively as the *hiereis* and not *hierateukotes*), were called upon to preside over the confiscation and sale of the conspirators' property, thus partaking in the punishment of those who had acted against Mausolus. By deploying all these magistrates, the city wanted to prove its loyalty to the Hecatomnid dynasty. As I have noted elsewhere, the Iasians presented the conspiracy as damaging not only to Mausolus but to the community itself ([τ]ῶν ἀν[δρ]ῶν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Μαυσώλλωι καὶ τῆι Ἰασέων πόληι).[52] The former priests of Zeus *Megistos* are, it

48. Fabiani 2015b: 51–59.

49. Hicks 1887: 115: "We must understand this of a college of ten with a chief priest at their head". This is similar to Laumonier 1958: 598, who saw in the collegial structure 'un trait oriental'.

50. Here Loiacono takes up a suggestion made by Hiller von Gaertringen (*Syll.*[3] 169).

51. *I.Lindos* II 346, 40–88; 350, 14–40; 378b, 4–26, 96 ff.; *I.Stratonikeia* 224, 4 (Panamara); 676, 4–5 (Lagina); *IG* XII 4, 365, 4 (Halasarna). Dignas 2003: 43–44.

52. Fabiani 2015b: 52.

should be noted, the only *hiereis* involved in the operation. And it must have seemed appropriate to have them play a role in these circumstances. It thus seems reasonable to assume that they must have had strong links with the Hecatomnid dynasty.

At this point it is useful to recall a short inscription engraved on a small altar found not far from Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2.2750). On the front of the monument the name of Zeus is repeated twice in the genitive with two different epicleseis: that of *Labraundos* and that of Zeus *Megistos* (Διὸς Λαβραύνδου | καὶ | Διὸς Μεγίσ|στου). In the space above the inscription there is a high-relief representation of a double axe, the symbol of Zeus of Labraunda.[53] Although, palaeographically speaking, the indication of Zeus *Megistos* appears to be a later addition – a fact that certainly mitigates the strength of the evidence – the dedication of an altar to Zeus *Megistos previously* dedicated only to Zeus *Labraundos* suggests a possible link between the cult of Zeus *Megistos* and that of Labraunda. At the very least, we have an indication that the use of the epithet *Megistos* was not deemed to be antithetical to that of *Labraundos*.

The importance of the cult of Zeus *Labraundos* to the Hecatomnid dynasty is well known. The Hecatomnids, particularly Mausolus and Idrieus, undertook considerable building activity at the sanctuary of Labraunda. It appears to have been a key site for the display of dynastic power, where satraps held banquets during religious festivals (the two brothers had *androne*s built there) and where Mausolus and Idrieus granted audiences.[54] In recent years, it has been suggested that part of the area may have served as a royal residence of the Hecatomnids.[55] As Massimo Nafissi has convincingly asserted, the satrapic rule of the Hecatomnid family must have been linked to their priestly role in a cult that was central to Carian identity.[56]

An interesting picture emerges from the well-known Mylasa inscription (*I.Mylasa* 3 = Rhodes - Osborne, *GHI*, no. 54) concerning an episode that took place in 355/4 BC at Labraunda: the failed attempt by Manitas, son of Paktyes, to assassinate Mausolus ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου while he was attending the festival (sacrifice and *panegyris*: θυσίης ἐνιαυσίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἐούσης). The inscription states that Mausolus was able to save himself thanks to

53. On Zeus *Labraundos*, see Rivault 2021: 76–79.

54. On all this, see Strootman and Williamson 2020: 105–114, with earlier bibliography.

55. Hellström 1996; Carstens 2009: 86–91; Carstens 2011; Henry 2017a: 578–579; Henry 2017b.

56. Nafissi 2015c: 30–36.

the benevolence of Zeus (Μαυσσώλλου μὲν σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Διί). I think that like Zeus *Labraundos* in Mylasa, Zeus *Megistos* was the Zeus who protected Mausolus among the Iasians.

If Zeus *Megistos* can be linked to Zeus *Labraundos*, as the inscription at Aphrodisias shows, then the priests of Zeus *Megistos* were duly involved at Iasos when loyalty to the dynasty had to be voiced, as it did after the plot attested by *I.Iasos* 1. It also cannot be ruled out that the treasury of Zeus *Megistos* received a tenth of what was confiscated.

A small additional note on the cult: the *lex sacra* concerning the prerogatives of the priest of Zeus *Megistos* (*I.Iasos* 220 = *CGRN* 42) gave the *hiereus* the right to take one of the *enthrypta* (ll. 3–4) from each basket offered to the god. As J.-M. Carbon explains, the *enthrypton* was "a cake which was made of coarsely ground meal (θρύπτω) and which could at the same time be crumbled (θρύπτω) into a liquid (or which might soak up such a liquid)".[57] The *enthrypta* – Carbon adds – appear as a priestly prerogative in the elaborate misrepresentation of the rituals of Sabatios that Demosthenes describes in his accusation of Aeschines' mother in *De corona*.[58] Carbon suggests that in the eyes of the Greeks this type of cake may have been particularly associated with foreign or Anatolian (i.e., non-Greek) rituals: in Zeus *Megistos* we can thus once again identify a cult with non-Greek features.

The abundance of evidence for the cult of Zeus *Megistos* in Iasos during the Hecatomnid period seems to be the result, and a reflection, of the city's close relationship with the dynasty. *Megistos* could therefore be another Greek epithet, at least in Iasos, for the god mentioned on the Attic crater with the inscription *C.Ia.* 3 and referred to by Herodotus as *Stratios*, the god of Labraunda.[59] R. Parker notes that the epithet *Megistos* "may have been coined to convey the idea of this great indigenous deity (*scil.* Tarhunt) in Greek".[60]

It is a cult that, at that moment, once again closely bound the city to the Carian world as in previous times.[61] The existence of such a bond in this particular period is further demonstrated by at least two elements:

57. Carbon, *CGRN* 42.

58. Dem. 18.260.

59. Rivault 2021: 79–82. It should be noted that of the material found in the so-called "Recinto delle doppie asce" (one of the attributes of the Zeus of Labraunda) in the *agora* of Iasos, the oldest dates back to the Hecatomnid period (see *supra* fn. 25; Berti 2019a; Masturzo in press).

60. Parker 2017: 44, 88 fn. 42, 107, 143 (hence the quote).

61. For more on this cultural development, see Fabiani 2020.

- all surviving honorary decrees of Iasos from this period honor only citizens of other Carian *poleis*;[62]
- Iasian representatives, along with envoys from other Carian communities, even very small ones, are called to witness the sale of land from Kindye to Mylasa in 353/2 BC (*I.Mylasa* 11).[63] Even if they were not present as members of the Carian *Koinòn*, as I think is reasonable to presume,[64] the inscription shows that Iasos was part of a regional network.

Several epicleseis thus seem to emerge for the god of Labraunda: a toponymic one (*Labraundos*),[65] a functional one (*Stratios*) and one that refers to the majesty and centrality of his cult (*Megistos*).[66]

The relationship between the Hecatomnids and the cult of Zeus at Iasos is also evident from another Zeus cult attested in the *polis* at the time of Alexander: that of Zeus *Idrieus*. Evidence of this cult is found in a decree from the late 4th century BC (*I.Iasos* 52) from the area near the East Gate. The decree confers honours on an Iasian citizen and, among other things, appoints him priest of Zeus *Idrieus* and He[ra]. As I have shown elsewhere, the epiclesis *Idrieus* is not directly related to the name of the satrap Idrieus, brother of Mausolus and brother and husband of Ada. Like the anthroponym, it is an ethnic adjective derived from the regional or sub-regional Carian choronym *Idrias*, recorded by Herodotus (5.118) as the meeting place of the Carians at the time when they joined the Ionian revolt.[67]

This hypothesis is supported by the bilingual Carian-Greek text found in the sanctuary of Sinuri. In the first line of the Carian text (*C.Si* 2a), which precedes the Greek version of the document (*I.Sinuri* 75), we read the sequence [—]*ryin ktmñoś: sb ada ktmñoś*, which corresponds to [Ἰδριέως Ἑκατόμνω] | [και Ἄ]δας Ἑκατόμνω κα[| in the Greek part of the inscription (ll. 1–2). This suggests that in the first line [*id*]*ryin* should be supplemented, since it can only be the Carian name of the dynast, the son of Hecatomnus. And the suffix *-yin* is the one used in Carian

62. Fabiani 2021: 191–193 (with Fig. 1).

63. It is the inscription *I.Carie hautes terres*, 90. For a more convincing reading of text and context, see van Bremen 2013.

64. Fabiani 2015b: 55; van Bremen 2013: 1–10 is of a different opinion.

65. Rivault 2021: 76–77 (with a list of the numerous variants of the form of the epithet).

66. The Hecatomnids were satraps of the Great King of Persia, but in literary sources and in the epigram inscribed by Iasos in their honour (*SEG* 63.876) they are referred to as *basileis*. For a fundamental discussion on Hecatomnids and kingship, see Nafissi 2015c: 30–41.

67. On this decree, see Fabiani 2015a.

for ethnic adjectives.[68] The cult of Zeus *Idrieus* was therefore a regional, or sub-regional, Carian cult.

Thanks to the brilliant insight of Michele Loiacono, we now know that the god called Zeus *Stratios* in the *interpretatio graeca*, and in particular by Herodotus, was worshipped in Iasos in Archaic times. Zeus *Stratios* of Labraunda was the main common cult of the Carians. Even if we only know of one private dedication, presumably at a high social level, it seems reasonable to assume that the god of Labraunda was 'publicly' honored at Iasos; we can also assume that the Iasians participated in religious ceremonies at the great ethnic sanctuary of Labraunda, and also at the meetings that the Carian communities occasionally held there to make common decisions. It is possible that sacrifices were made at the altar of this god at Iasos before attending the Carian communal feasts at Labraunda.

In the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the cult of Zeus thus had the capacity to link Iasos with the Carian world. And under Hecatomnid rule, when membership of the Carian *ethnos* once more became a crucial issue in civic life, this role again came to the fore. The cult of the god, now called Zeus *Megistos*, was able to express not only a sense of belonging to the ethnic community as in the past, but also a loyalty to the ruling dynasty, which may have held the priesthood of this deity.

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68. Adiego 2007: 381 and esp. 438.

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Give a god a bad name and beg him: the Lycian theonym Σουμενδις/Σομενδις[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction: a local Lycian god mentioned in Greco-Roman inscriptions*

A rather unusual sanctuary has recently been found in the Bonda Tepesi, a mountain range in the region of Limyra. It is located in open country, on an ancient pathway between a village in the hills and the coastal plain (Marksteiner *et al.* 2007). Unlike other sanctuaries, this one has no building, only pillars, altars and steles. In total, around 40 dedications were found on the surface; some were just small altars, while others were two-metre-high pillars. Nine inscriptions from Roman times were also found among the dedications (*SEG* 57.1653–1661; *ed. pr.* M. Wörrle in Marksteiner *et al.* 2007: 253–277), which offered information about the name of the god of this sanctuary: Σουμενδις/Σομενδις. This deity was actually not completely unknown, since he had already been mentioned in a votive inscription found in Arykanda in the third century AD (*IK Arykanda* 82). Thanks to these Roman testimonies, M. Wörrle was also able to review a funerary inscription from Istlada (s. M. Wörrle in Marksteiner *et al.* 2007: 274–275, *ed. pr.* Petersen and von Luschan 1889: 47, no. 85), a village that was later incorporated into Myra, in which

1. Several parts of this work benefited from the comments and additional information provided by S. Görke, H. C. Melchert, L. Puértolas Rubio, E. Rieken and I. Yakubovich, to whom I would like to express my gratitude. The usual disclaimer applies. This study was made possible thanks to the support of the Humboldt Foundation, which I would like to thank.

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a passage posed interpretation problems: lines 6 and 7 of the inscription should now read εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σομενδιος λόγον "for the treasury of Soumendis".[2]

According to A. Chaniotis (*EBGR* 2007: no. 90), the Arykanda inscription may refer to the place of worship of Yalak Başı, while the mention of a treasury of Soumendis in Istlada suggests that there would have been another place devoted to the same deity there. Of course, the evidence is most abundant at Yalak Başı, which has received many devotional testimonies. However, it must be acknowledged that, despite several direct attestations, it is difficult to identify precise characteristics about the deity honoured there, except to say that he was a god who received vows. Indeed, the epicleses associated with Soumendis, namely μέγαλος "great", ἐπήκοος "who listens", and ἐπιφανής "manifest", are not particularly specific, since they are usually associated with deities to whom prayers are addressed. One inscription (*SEG* 57.1653) refers to its author, his children and his friends, probably in relation to their good fortune. In *SEG* 57.1654, however, the formula κατὰ βοὸς καὶ θρε[μ]άτων seems to refer to the sacrifice promised to Soumendis by Alexandros, namely that of an ox and small animals, rather than constituting a request for protection of livestock. Indeed, as shown by C. Schuler (2012: 78–79; following M. Wörrle), περὶ βοῶν, as found in other rural cults in Asia Minor, would otherwise have been expected.

To shed light on the original functions performed by this god, it is also important to investigate the very form of the divine name, Σουμενδις/Σομενδις, which is somewhat indigenous in appearance.

§ 2. *Methodological preamble*

Before proposing an analysis of this divine name, I feel it necessary to highlight a few methodological precautions that are relevant to any interpretation of an Anatolian theonym, especially when it is transmitted *only* through Greek sources, even though we are dealing in this case with direct sources and not with attestations transmitted indirectly by Byzantine lexicographers, which present additional difficulties.

First of all, it must be kept in mind that a theonym may have travelled, in the context of the adoption of a foreign cult and might therefore have a foreign origin. There are multiple examples of this, such as *Isis* in the Greco-Roman world and

2. Both variants Σουμενδις and Σομενδις are attested; however, for the sake of simplicity, the transliterated form *Soumendis* is conventionally used throughout the article.

Hebat in the Anatolian world (probably still also seen in Lyc. B *Xba=ladã* "Lady Hebat").

It is also important to remember the phonetic ambiguity necessarily involved in the adaptation of a non-Greek proper name into Greek; the exact phoneme in the source language might not exist in the borrowing language, and some discrepancies or variations in the adaptation of the name can therefore arise. In the specific case of onomastic borrowings, assonance effects often slightly blur the original form of the name: compare Lycian theophoric compounds in *Arma-* (indigenous Moon-God) → Ἑρμα/ο- (Greek Hermes) with interchanges within the same family (e.g. Ερμαδαπιμις father of Ἑρμάφιλος, Ερμαδονεμις father of Ἑρμόλυκος, Ερμακαρταδις son of Ἑρμόλαος, Ερμακοτας son of Ἑρμῶναξ, etc.).[3]

Finally, where possible, the etymology of a divine name must also be supported by the characteristics of the deity concerned. Such work can be based on textual sources and Indo-European phraseology, as several convincing studies in this field have shown.[4] It must be immediately acknowledged that, in the case of Soumendis, this last point will pose a particular difficulty in the absence of external descriptive elements that make it possible to identify the deity with this name, which will probably lead us to propose provisional conclusions.

§ 3. *The contribution of theophoric personal names*

In the absence of extensive material to shed light on the formation of the name Soumendis, one can resort to data provided by anthroponymy. It is well known that the large amount of onomastic data from the various Anatolian linguistic corpora can help fill in certain gaps in both linguistic and religious fields. It appears that most Luwic personal names (Luwian, Lycian, Carian, etc.) can be interpreted as theophoric, formed using one or more bases corresponding either to a theonym or to a divine epithet, which sometimes replaces a divine name.[5] In the case of Soumendis' name, it seems to be found in anthroponyms, mainly from Greek sources from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but also from the Carian corpus. The names are listed below:

3. Concerning this specific issue, see Balzat (2014). On the Greek compounds in Ἑρμα/ο-, see *Lexonyme*: 382–385.

4. See, in particular, several papers by J. L. García Ramón, such as his 2016 article about Hera's name.

5. On this question, see my recent summary in Réveilhac 2024a.

- Σεμενδησις (m.): Istlada (Lycia), 1st c. BC–1st c. AD (*SEG* 56.1730.1). D. Schürr (2013: 28) connected this personal name to Σουμενδις/Σομενδις. This name may have the Lyc. B possessive suffix *-e*/*ase*/*i*-, like in *Masasa*/*i*- (→ Gk. Μασας) "Belonging to the god(s)".

- Συμαδ̣ιπυ̣ι̣ς (m.): Arykanda (Lycia), hell. (*IK Arykanda* 107.1). The shape of the first member is slightly different, with a nasal reduction, which is not without parallels.[6] The second member of this compound can be found in Κουδρο-πολις/Κουδρο-πωλις/Κυδρο-πολις (Pamphylia, hell.; *LGPN* 5B), which is also a theophoric personal name.[7]

- Ι̣αζυμανδορμους (m.): Hamaxia (Cilicia), 1st–2nd c. AD (Bean and Mitford 1970: 81, no. 54b.12, list of priests). The second element can be isolated as °ορμους: compare Ορμα (Pamphylia, 2nd c. BC; *LGPN* 5B), Ορμα-μουας (Isauria, imp.; *LGPN* 5C), Ορμαλις (Pisidia, imp.; *LGPN* 5C), Νενα-ορμις (Cilicia, 2a; *LGPN* 5B), Μο-ορμις (Cilicia, imp.; *LGPN* 5B). A very tentative connection with Luw. /warma-/ "?" can temporarily be suggested on purely formal grounds (cf. CLuw. *warmalla*/*i*- ~ Ορμαλις). In any case, whatever the underlying lexeme, such segmentation provides the first element Ιαζυμανδ°, which can in turn be interpreted as the univerbation of a divine onomastic formula /Iya- + ts./ "Ea *z*". This interpretation is strongly supported by the existence of another case of univerbation of Ea's name with an epithet: CLuw. ^{D}*Iyašall*(*i*)- "Great-Ea" (see attestations in Melchert 1993: 97). Replacing a divine name with the univerbation of the theonym and its epithet is also common and has many parallels, especially with short divine names: compare Myc. *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /Sīto-potnia/ "Mistress-of-Grain", Gk. Δη-μήτηρ, Lat. *Dies-piter*, *Iu-ppiter*, etc.[8]

6. Compare Κενθηβης/Κενδηβης/Κεδδηβης/Κεδηβης, all attested in Hippokoume in the 1st century BC (*LGPN* 5B) and related to Lyc. B *xñtaba*-. The Lycian digraph <ñt> corresponds to [nd]/[^{n}d], possibly resulting in [d(:)] in some cases; thus, *dde*° could equate to the preverb *ñte*- (Yakubovich 2005: 39–40, n. 26; however, refuted by Sasseville 2022).

7. The first element can be compared to Lyc. *Xudrehila*-, *Xudara*-, Pamph. Κουδρις, Κουδραμου(ι)ας, etc., perhaps reflecting **hudara*(/*i*)-, derived from *huda*- "haste" (cf. CLuw. *ḫūda*-) and meaning "swift, quick" or "the swift one", whose Hittite equivalent is also used as a divine epithet in [*n*]*untariyaš* ^{D}UTU-*uš* and *nuntaraš* ^{D}LAMMA-*i* (van Gessel 1998: 879); it is also important to mention the Hittite "Festival of Haste", EZEN$_4$ *nuntarriyašḫaš* (see *CHD* L–N *s.v.*).

8. The first member of Ι̣αζυμανδορμους is discussed in more detail in section 6.

- Car. *Smδýbrs* (with <δ> = /nd/ or /n̥d/), from a stem *Smδýbr-* or *Smδýbrs-*:[9] Halicarnassus (Caria), u.d. (C.Ha 1; Adiego 2007: 114). D. Schürr (2013: 28) linked the first element of this compound to Σουμενδις/Σομενδις, whereas M. Valério (2015: 334–335) compared it to Luw. /tsammant(i)-/. The second element probably reflects **tubar*(*i*)-, attested as the heronym Τούβερις in indirect Greek sources from Lycia, as well as a prolific onomastic base in the Luwic area of the first millennium (e.g. Ερματοβορις/Ερμαν-δυβερις and Ρων-δ(ο)βερρας; see Réveilhac 2023).

Thanks to these complementary names, the same onomastic base appears to have several variants in the Greek and Carian corpora, which can be summarized as follows:

Σομενδις (divine name):	/somend(i)-/	(Lycia)
Σουμενδις (DN):	/sumend(i)-/	(Lycia)
Συμαδι-πολις (personal name):	/sumad(i)-/	(Lycia)
Σεμενδησις (PN):	/semend(i)-/	(Lycia)
Ια=ζυμανδ-ορμους (PN):	/tsumand(i)-/	(Cilicia)
Car. *Smδýbrs* (PN):	/sm̥n̥d(i)-/	(Caria)

§ 4. *Reconstruction of the Lycian and Proto-Luwic divine name*

The forms listed in the section above probably reflect linguistic variants in Lycian, Luwian and Carian, respectively, which can be reduced to a Proto-Luwic form. This can be done by looking at the phonetic differences between them.

The first discrepancy concerns the initial phoneme: it is written with a *sigma* in Lycian forms of Greek transmission, with a *zeta* in the attestation from Cilicia, which supposedly reflects a Luwian form, and with <*s*> in the Carian name. It is true that the prism of Greek makes the evidence for Lycian forms particularly ambiguous, since a *sigma* can theoretically correspond to three different phonemes: lyc (A, B) /s(:)/ (e.g. bil. Μλααυσις ← *Mlejeuse*/*i*-, bil. Σαπιας ← *Ssepije*-), /ts/ (e.g. bil. Σπιγασα ← *Sbikaza*-) or /c/ (e.g. bil. Τισευσεμβρα ← *Tikeukẽpre*-). However, thanks to the forms from Cilicia and Caria, it is possible to eliminate the latter possibility. Lycian could therefore have the voiceless sibilant /s/ or the affricate

9. The final -*s* of the attested form could theoretically belong to the stem or could be a inflectional suffix: see Adiego 2007: 283–284, and Melchert 2021: 111–112.

/ts/, while Luwian had the affricate /ts/ and Carian /s/ (itself resulting from the simplification of a pre-Carian */ts/).[10] Finally, at the Proto-Anatolian level, the initial phoneme can go back:

– either to *$\hat{k}$ before a front vowel, *yod*, and a syllabic sonorant:[11] > Luw. /ts/ (e.g. *$\hat{k}e\underset{\cdot}{i}$- "to lie" > /tsi-/), Lyc. /s/ (e.g. *$\hat{k}e\underset{\cdot}{i}$- "to lie" > *si*-), Car. /s/ (e.g. *$\hat{k}e$/*o*- > *s*(*a*)*n*-);

– or to *$t\underset{\cdot}{i}$: > Luw. /ts/, Lyc. /ts/, Car. /s/ (e.g. adj. suff. *-$t\underset{\cdot}{i}o$- > Luw. /-tsa/i-/, Lyc. -*ze*/*i*-, maybe Car. -*si*-).[12]

The second problem to be addressed concerns vowel variations within the base. The exchanges between <υ>, <ου> and <ο> could indicate an original near-close near-back rounded vowel [ʊ], but this would exclude the personal name Σεμενδησις from the equation. Yet, another solution is equally plausible: the underlying phoneme was the syllabic nasal /m̥/, at least in Lycian, as also illustrated in Carian. In Greek adaptations of Luwic names, the syllabic sonorants can indeed be associated with various vowel qualities, as shown by the multiple adaptations of the Storm-god's name in anthroponyms displaying Ταρκονδ°, Τρακονδ°, Τροκονδ° or Τερκανδ°. A very good parallel is provided by the onomastic adaptation Lyc. *Ddapssm̃ma*- → Δαψυμμας/Δαψεμμας (Adiego 2020: 55), where the original syllabic nasal /m̥/ is adapted as both <υμ> and <εμ>. In our case, the predominance of rounded *o*- and *u*-vowels in Greek adaptations must be due to the bilabial articulation of /m̥/: compare Lyc. *Hrixm̃ma*- → Ὑρικομμας, Lyc. *Pixm̃ma*- → Πιγομας, Lyc. *Arm̃pa*- vs. Αρυμβ-ασις/Αρυνβ-ασις.

With this in mind, we can provisionally restore the following stems behind the variants of the onomastic base: Lyc. *z*m̃m*(*V*)ñt(*i*)- or *s*m̃m*(*V*)ñt(*i*)-; Car. *smδ*(*i*)-; (late) Luw. */ts(V)m(m)ant(i)-/.

§ 5. *Luwic lexical candidates for the underlying base*

In all likelihood, the onomastic base is an adjectival derivative in -*nt*(*i*)-, but on what stem? First of all, it is necessary to eliminate any connection with †*Ssm̃ma*

10. For more detail about historical developments, see Melchert 1994: 233–234 (Luwian); 286–287 (Lycian); Melchert 2002 and Adiego 2007: 261 (Carian).

11. Melchert 2012.

12. Regarding *$t\underset{\cdot}{i}$ as a possible origin of Carian /s/, see the cautious suggestion by H. C. Melchert (2002: 310, n. 13), based on the hypothetical connection of Car. -*si*- to Lyc. -*ze*>/*i*-.

(TL 5.3), which turns out to be a ghost name; the whole form is now read as *Ddạ*[*p*]*ssm̃ma* (Schürr 2023: 2, after autopsy).

a. Lyc. A *zum̃me-*

The first solid candidate is therefore the substantive Lyc. A *zum̃me-* n., which is formally suitable; one would then have to assume a syncope in the initial syllable during the derivational process with the suffix *-ñt*(*i*)-. The real difficulty lies in the semantics of this noun, which appears exclusively in curse formulae, mainly as a complement of the verb *adi* "(anyone) does/makes" (TL 59.3; 91.3; 95.2; 135.2; N314b.3), *aiti* "(they) do/make" in an unclear context (TL 44c.17) and *xbati* "he attaches" (TL 106.2). Based on the context, such formulae are generally understood as denoting an action that harms the integrity of the funerary installation (e.g. Melchert 2004: 89). Whatever the exact meaning of this lexeme, it appears in a restricted context in which the divine world does not seem to be involved.[13]

b. Lyc. A *sm̃ma-*, *sm̃ma-*$^{(ti)}$

Another lead is provided by the group of Lyc. A *sm̃ma-* c. "binding, obligation" (TL 29.2; 13), *sm̃ma-*$^{(ti)}$ "to attach, to bind" (TL 29.4; 7; 15; 17; 39.4; 84.7; 44b.12; N 320.20; 37–38; 337.11) and, perhaps, Lyc. B *sm̃mẽt*(*i*)- "binding (?)" (TL 44d.60–61).[14] These terms appear in legal contexts specifying the obligations of certain individuals, sometimes according to commitments taken before the gods, as in the Trilingual of the Letôon: *me=pddẽ: mahãna: sm̃mati: ebette* "he shall be responsible before these gods" (N 320.37–38), whose Greek counterpart is ἁμαρτωλὸς ⟨ἔ⟩στω τῶν θεῶν τούτων. If *sm̃ma-* was the derivational stem of Soumendis' name, one might assume a derivative in *-nt*(*i*)- meaning "binding", possibly referring to a deity before whom a commitment is made, like the *tesẽti trm̃milejẽti* "Lycian Oath-Gods". This hypothesis might, however, give rise to a minor objection: if Soumendis/Somendis really was a god to whom one made a pledge, one would expect him to be mentioned in inscriptions with legal provisions (and there is no shortage of these in Lycia), rather than as a deity to whom objects of devotion are addressed. Of course, this objection has limited weight, given how little is known about the sanctuaries devoted to Soumendis and, moreover, given that the functions of a deity can evolve, so that the origin of his designation no

13. In a study to appear, I suggest linking this name to the PIE root **ţieg^{u}-* "to retreat, leave" and translating it as "removal (of the door), opening" (Réveilhac forthc.).

14. Although formally very interesting, this form cannot be interpreted with any certainty because the context of its appearance is far from clear.

longer appears clearly. There is, however, a second, formal problem with this hypothesis. Indeed, *sm̃ma-* is etymologically related to Hitt. *išḫāi-*/*-iya-*$^{(i)}$ "to bind; to impose upon", $^{(KUŠ)}$*išḫiman-* c. "rope", Luw. /hishiya-$^{(i)}$/ "to bind" < PIE **sh₂eḭ-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 391–393; Sasseville 2020: 52–53), thus implying that the Luwian sequence /-sh-/ should be apparent in the Cilician form (cf. */Mira-washa-/ → Μιρα-ουησκη);[15] in other words, one would expect *°σκυμανδ° instead of °ζυμανδ°. One solution would be to assume that °ζυμανδ° is borrowed from Lycian with a special phonetic development *sm̃m°* > **zm̃m°* → ζυμ° (with <ζ> = [z]). The objections raised are certainly not insurmountable, but they require sometimes ad hoc justifications, so this hypothesis should be considered possible, but not likely.

c. CLuw. *zamman-*, *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)-

A final, more promising hypothesis can be proposed: the group of Luw. *zamman-* n. "damage, witchcraft" and its adjectival derivative *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- "having *zamman-*". Both are attested in Cuneiform Luwian ritual texts and as Luwianisms (with or without gloss wedges) in Hittite texts (Melchert 1993: 276; Rieken and Sasseville 2023; Rieken 2023). It is also important to mention the existence of HLuw. "SCALPRUM"-*su-na za-ma-ti-i-na-'* (KARKAMIŠ A15b, Hawkins 2000: 131), whose meaning "defiled stele" cannot be confirmed with certainty in the absence of other occurrences.

Formally, the connection is impeccable, because one expects the initial consonant of Soumendis' name to be /ts/ in Luwian, /ts/ or /s/ in Lycian, and /s/ in Carian (see §4 *supra*). This is, moreover, perfectly compatible with the recently proposed etymology of *zamman-* as linked to /tsappa-$^{(ti)}$/ "to treat (ritually)", which would reflect PIE **k̂ep-* "(ver)fluchen", cf. Ved. *śápati* (Taylor *ap.* Nikolaev 2019: 190–191, n. 49; followed by Yakubovich and Mouton 2023 vol. 1: 18–19). With respect to the first syllable of *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)-, it is plausible that it already included a syllabic nasal in Luwian (and even in Proto-Luwic), even if this is difficult to prove given the very nature of the cuneiform graphic system.[16] In addition, even if there had been no syllabic nasal in *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)-, one can envisage a secondary syncope in the initial syllable. In either case, it is reasonable to formally associate *zammant*(*i*)- with the various bases isolated above (cf. § 3).

15. On names in /°washa-/, see Zehnder 2010: 97–98.

16. On the possible existence of nasal vowels in Luwian, see Yakubovich 2010a: 324–325; Yakubovich 2020: 383–384.

The difficulty here lies in the semantics, since *zamman*-, and *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- have negative meanings.[17] Used mainly in ritual contexts, the noun *zamman*- is translated as "witchcraft" in Yakubovich and Mouton 2023 (vol. 1: 16) and as "damage" in Rieken and Sasseville 2023. Its derivative *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- can theoretically mean "damaging, bewitching" or "damaged, bewitched" (Starke 1990: 279). Nevertheless, in the specific context of a song from Ištanuwa (KBo 4.11 rev. 58-59 [CTH 772]; Starke 1985: 341), the passive meaning seems more appropriate, since *zamnant*(*i*)- ^{D}*Warwaliya*- "god of sowing/fertility having *zamman*-" is opposed to the *alannin zamniyan* "hostile damager". Whatever the precise meaning(s) of the adjective *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- (which probably corresponds phonologically to /tsm̥mant(i)-/), it appears to be closely linked to the sphere of rituals and the divine world in all attestations, so that its connection with the theonym Soumendis is perfectly possible on both a semantic and a formal level. In the next section, we will look at the use of such an adjective as a divine name in greater detail.

§ 6. *From an epithet /tsm̥mant(i)-/ to the divine name* Σουμενδις/Σομενδις

Formally, Σουμενδις/Σομενδις certainly contains the adjectival suffix -*nt*(*i*)-, thus suggesting that the theonym was first a divine epithet. Such evolution from a divine epithet to a divine name is cross-linguistically trivial, as shown in several well-known examples such as /Tarhunt-/ "Overcoming", Φοῖβος "Bright", Κόρη "Daughter" and *Bel* (Βῆλος, *Bēlus*) "Lord". As seen above (cf. § 3), the adjective in the Cilician name Ιαζυμανδορμους appears closely associated with the divine name /Iya-/ "Ea", thus providing some evidence that /tsm̥mant(i)-/ was a divine epithet.

Regarding the negative value associated with /tsm̥mant(i)-/ "damaging" or "damaged", a parallel can be drawn with CLuw. *paratt*(*a*)- "impurity", whose derivative appears in the ritual of Puriyanni as attached to the Storm-god of the Open Country: *nu* LÍL-*aš* ^{D}U-*an* ^{D}*Pa-ra-at-ta-aš-ši-in ki-iš-ša-an* BAL-*hi* (*KUB* 7.14 i 2–3; *CTH* 758) "I perform the following sacrifice to the Storm-god of the Open Country, (i.e.) '(that) of impurity'", although "the context is formally compatible with treating Parattašši as a separate deity", according to Yakubovich and Mouton 2023 (324, n. 6). Exploring the role played by this deity in the ritual treatment of a house, L. Puértolas Rubio (2023) analyses it as follows: because the Storm-god is

17. For detailed analyses of these contexts and a discussion on semantics, see, in particular, Rieken 2023; Rieken and Sasseville 2023; and Yakubovich and Mouton 2023, vol. 1: 16 and 18–19.

the one who validates the destruction of impurity during the ritual, there is a risk that he himself will be affected by this impurity. It is therefore possible that the term /tsm̥mant(i)-/ associated with a deity refers to a similar function, i.e. that of being "damaged" during a purification ritual. In the particular case of /tsm̥mant(i)-/, it is clearly associated on one occasion with a deity, ^{D}*Warwaliya*-, the god of sowing/fertility, who is himself threatened by the *alannin zamniyan* "hostile *z*" (*KBo* 4.11.57–58; *CTH* 772). However, a case that is perhaps even more enlightening for our purposes can be found in the Zarpiya ritual against the pest (*CTH* 757; Starke 1985: 46–55),[18] where the god Ea,[19] who is mentioned along with other deities, probably plays a central role in the execution of the ritual.[20] Admittedly, the terms *zamman*- or *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- are not used in the surviving passages from the ritual, but we can legitimately assume that the very presence of the god during the ritual could potentially affect him, so that the epithet /tsm̥mant(i)-/ might be appropriate to designate this specific function of the deity. Such a designation would then have been deeply ingrained, as the divine onomastic formula /Iya-tsm̥mant(i)-/ is still reflected in Roman times in the name Ιαζυμανδορμους, which would have been particularly appropriate for a priest. It should be noted that this link can also be made on geographical grounds, since the attested Greek name comes from Hamaxia, in Cilicia, and corresponds to the Kizzuwatna region of the second millennium, where the Zarpiya ritual itself originated.

Just as the epithet "impurity" can be found in personal names such as Περτατουβαρις (Pisidia, imp.)[21] and Παρτασις (Lycia, imp.), probably in reference to the previously described function, the base /tsamna-/ or its equivalent in related languages also enters the formation of several personal names from the second and first millennia. Due to its obvious unfavourable connotations, the use of CLuw. *zamman*- in personal onomastics has puzzled several scholars (e.g. Starke 1990: 277–279; Melchert 1993: 276). However, I. Yakubovich (2013: 101) shed light on the use of this base by interpreting it as an elliptical substitute for the formula DINGIR^{MEŠ} *zamnašša*/*i*- "gods of damage" (van Gessel 1998: 990). Thus, these personal names can also be interpreted as theophoric names:

18. For the text, see Görke 2015. On the ritual itself, see Hutter 2007.

19. For a discussion about this deity in Hieroglyphic texts, see Yakubovich 2010b: 390–393.

20. Hutter 2007: 404, based on the end of the ritual and its interpretation by H. C. Melchert (1989: 34–35).

21. On this compound, see Réveilhac 2023: 319.

- Cun. ^{m}*Zamna*-LÚ- (Laroche 1966: no. 1529) “Man of (the god[s] of) damage”;
- Cun. ^{f}*Zamna-wiya*- (Laroche 1966: no. 1530) “(God[s] of) damage, send (her)!”;
- Car. *Somne*- (C. St 1; E. Me 21; 34; Adiego 2007: 414) → Σωμνης “(God[s] of) damage” (Caria, 354/353 BC?; *SEG* 40.991.10);[22]
- Car. *Smnwdiq* (E. Th 38; Adiego 2007: 439) and possibly [*S*]*m̥nydiq*- (Greece; Adiego *et al*. 2012: 196 and 198);[23]
- Gk. Σεμνοας (Lycia, 1st AD; *SEG* 56.1781.1; 2) “(Gods of) damage, favour (him)!”, possible *Satzname* with Lyc. *uwe*- (compare Ερμανδ-οας, Αλ-οας);[24]
- ? Gk. Σεμνωτασις (Pisidia, 2nd–3rd centuries AD; *TAM* III, 753.1 and 754.1, already Houwink ten Cate 1961, 166), of unclear formation.[25]

It is clear that *zamman*-, despite its negative connotations, has become a divine attribute, particularly in reference to the role played by deities in ritual practices to ward off various ailments. The onomastics of the first millennium also bear witness to the deeply rooted nature of this association and the fact that it extended across much of the Luwic area.

It is therefore entirely plausible that the epithet /tsm̥mant(i)-/ subsequently replaced the name of a deity originally invoked in similar rituals in the Lycian region of Limyra and Arykanda, be it Ea or another deity. In other words, the name Soumendis, which is attested in Roman times, would testify to the originally purifying function of the deity who was honoured there. Of course, in the absence of precise information on the function associated with this god in the Greco-Roman

22. For regular *a* > *o* change, see Adiego 2007: 258 and compare Car. *Armo*° vis-à-vis Lyc. *Arm̃ma*-.

23. As suggested by the editors of the fragment recently found in Karabournaki (Greece), this would be a compound name, whose second member °*ýdiq*- → °υδιγος is well attested, albeit not yet understood (Adiego 2007: 262–263).

24. On these names in Lycian, see Réveilhac in press.

25. In addition to these names, one should also consider the probable Greco-Lycian *noms d’assonance* Σέμνος and Σέμνη, found in the Lycian area. From a Greek perspective, such names represent the anthroponymic conversion (cf. Bechtel 1917: 502, with Σέμνον) of σεμνός “venerable, august, solemn” (*h.Cer.*, Ion.-Att.+), but from a Lycian or, more broadly, Luwic perspective, they reflect a well-represented indigenous onomastic base. On these specific personal names, see Réveilhac 2024b: 71–72.

period, it is difficult to be categorical on this point, but future evidence could confirm this hypothesis.

§ 7. *Summary*

The god Σουμενδις/Σομενδις was honoured until Roman times in Central Lycia, especially in the rural cult site recently found in Yalak Başı, near Limyra, but also in Arykanda and Istlada. Although the functions associated with the deity are not clear, the theonym itself or the adjectival stem behind it can also be found in Carian, as well as in Lycian and Luwian personal names of Greek transmission. Probably reflecting an old adjectival epithet in *-nt*(*i*)-, several possible candidates for the derivation base have been examined. The most convincing connection is to the CLuw. group *zamman*- "damage, witchcraft" and its derivative *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- "damaging, damaged". Soumendis' name would then reflect the conversion of the latter, first used as a divine epithet, as suggested in the Cilician compound name Ια=ζυμανδ-ορμους, whose first member reflects the divine onomastic formula /Iya-tsm̥mant(i)-/ "Damaged-Ea" (*vel sim.*). Eventually, at least in Lycia, the epithet replaced a divine name, whichever male deity was first associated with it. The Luwian occurrences of *zamnant*(*i*)-/*zammant*(*i*)- show that the lexeme had a negative connotation, which probably referred to the central role played by certain deities in purification rituals, as already evidenced by the Luwic theophoric personal names formed with the base /tsamman-/, used as a substitute for DINGIR^{MEŠ} *zamnašša*/*i*- "gods of damage".

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An oracle of Ares Kiddeudas in southern Anatolia?[1]

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Research on religious issues in Anatolia, a territory historically characterised by a great variety of peoples and cultures,[2] is an inexhaustible source of topics due to the amount of data available, which is constantly increasing every year thanks to new archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic discoveries. As is well known, religion in the ancient world permeated virtually every aspect of everyday human experience, both individual and collective, to such an extent that many documents can provide relevant cultic information, supplementing what is known from literary sources or revealing something entirely new. The scientific basis for the analysis of any given divinity or group of divinities is usually the attested theonyms, epithets and attributes, which are particularly significant in cross-cultural contexts, but other aspects such as iconographic representations, cult practices and places of veneration must also be considered.[3]

The cases of Ares in Anatolia, especially concentrated in the southern part of the peninsula, have generated considerable consensus since the great epigraphist L.

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2. For a history of Anatolia see Marek and Frei 2017.

3. As the list of studies could be endless, here are just a few representative and varied works: de Hoz 1997, 1999 on Lydia; Talloen 2015 on Pisidia; Parker 2016 on Athena in Anatolia; Rivault 2021 on Zeus in Caria.

Robert stated that they were local cults of indigenous gods assimilated to their Greek counterpart, logically because they shared a predominantly warlike character.[4] Iconographically, although there may be slight variations, the figures in question appear as infantrymen, recognisable mainly by the helmet, shield and spear,[5] and they are sometimes depicted as god-riders, which is typical of the region.[6] The popularity of these warrior gods among Anatolian worshippers is probably due to a protective function that goes beyond the context of warfare –preserving crops and perhaps livestock[7]– but what is most striking is an unusual group of oracles that deserves to be revisited in order to contextualise a well-known altar dedicated in the territory of the city of Sagalassos in Pisidia at the behest of a god called Ares Κιδδευδας.[8]

Thus, the present research begins by claiming the Pisidians as the people who possess the earliest attested oracle of Ares in Anatolia (§ 1); it then proposes to restore the term βωμός in an oracular response found in the territory of the city of Side in Pamphylia (§ 2); and finally, the hypothesis is advanced that the aforementioned votive dedication to Ares *Kiddeudas*, an epithet of enigmatic meaning, is precisely the result of an oracular consultation with this god (§ 3). With all the data collected, the last part briefly considers the relationship between all the oracular manifestations (§ 4).

§ 1. *Herodotus and the oracle of Ares among the Pisidians*

The first record of an oracle of Ares in Anatolia comes in the 5th century BC, when Herodotus of Halicarnassus describes in Book VII of *Histories* the armament of the troops that invaded Greece under the leadership of the Persian king Xerxes

4. Seminal works on this are Robert 1955: 72–78; 1983: 572, 578–583 (with note 149 for further references). For some pertinent remarks on Robert's words see Millington (2013: 553–562), who also explores the possibility that Luwian Iyarri and Roman Mars influenced the development of cults of Ares in Anatolia while comparing with Greece.

5. See in detail Dökü and Kileci 2022, with the publication of a votive inscription to Ares in the rural highlands of Kabalis.

6. See in detail Delemen 1999: 69–70, 194–197.

7. See Akçay 2023 for pre-assessments on the sanctuary of Ares at Ekizce in the territory of Phaselis.

8. As Gonzales (2005: 273), who has studied the cult of Ares in depth in his doctoral thesis (see Gonzales 2004), has pointed out, "Ares was not known as an oracular god among the Hellenes, nor did the Romans ascribe such powers to Mars". On the oracular culture in southern Anatolia, where Apollo is prominent, see Stoneman 2011: 100–103.

in 480 BC. It seems clear that this is a case of *interpretatio graeca* based on the warrior essence of the Anatolian deity,[9] but unfortunately, we do not know with certainty to which people this oracle would belong because there is a lacuna in the text. The only thing that can be said is that the ethnonym must be sought in the area of Lycia, in south-western Anatolia (this is the origin of the other two peoples of the same contingent, the Kabelees and the Milyai, all under the command of Badres son of Hystanes, and the Greek text speaks of spears "of Lycian workmanship"). Gonzales (2005: 261–271), who offers a detailed discussion with relevant bibliography, has argued that the ethnonym of the Solymoi (Σόλυμοι) is a better choice for the lacuna than the Pisidians (Πισίδαι), although he is aware that "absolute certainty is not to be had."

Hdt. VII, 76–77:

<...> ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὦτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίχατο. ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἔστι χρηστήριον. Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

Translation:[10]

"[…] had small ox-hide shields and each had two spears of Lycian workmanship. Upon their heads were bronze helmets with the bronze ears and horns of an ox attached and crests on top. Their shins were girded with scarlet strips of cloth. Among these men is an oracle of Ares. The Meionian Kabelees (though they are called Lasonians) had the same equipment as the Cilicians, which I shall describe when I come in course to the Cilicians' detachment. The Milyai had short spears and their vestments were fastened with pins. And they had bows like those of the Lycians, but on their heads they wore leather helmets fashioned from strips of hide. Of all these Badres son of Hystanes was commander."

9. In this sense, see also Talloen 2015: 63, 96.

10. I quote the full English translation by Gonzales except for the Greek word λυκιοεργέας. There he speaks of "wolf-hunter's spears" as if reading λυκοεργέας, which seems to be *falsa lectio* (see https://logeion.uchicago.edu/λυκοεργής).

In addition to the historical arguments that can be put forward in favour of the Pisidians, the amendment that seems most appropriate from a textual point of view is undoubtedly <Πισίδαι>, already proposed by Stein, with a re-position of the particle δέ between the restored name and ἀσπίδας, so that the Herodotean text would have read as follows: <Πισίδαι> δὲ ἀσπίδας ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικράς.[11] The main argument against the Pisidians is that they are not mentioned elsewhere in Herodotus' work, nor does their region, Pisidia, appear in the *Histories*, but this is not as compelling as it might seem at first glance. In fact, if one thinks about it carefully, this is what might best explain the very origin of the problem, following Stein's own conjecture: any copyist could have missed the form Πισίδαι because of the similarity with what would follow, δὲ ἀσπίδας,[12] the more so if the ethnonym was not recognisable to him because it would be the only mention in all the *Histories*. No other proposal can fully explain the existence of the lacuna, which is the key to the whole issue.[13]

Not much can be said about the mode of communication between the god and those who consulted his oracle, as the only source, Herodotus, is silent on the matter. However, there is one literary testimony that allows for some speculation: Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes in his *Roman Antiquities* another very ancient χρηστήριον Ἄρεος, but this time on Italian soil and translated accordingly as an "oracle of *Mars* (my italics), the nature of which was similar to that of the oracle which legend says once existed at Dodona; only there a pigeon was said to prophesy, sitting on a sacred oak, whereas among the Aborigines a heaven-sent bird, which they call *picus* and the Greeks *dryokoláptes*, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same" (D.H. I 14,5).[14] Of course, given the different cultural milieus, we cannot simply deduce that the Ἄρεος χρηστήριον located in southern Anatolia by Herodotus was similar, but it is worth mentioning that the region was famous in Antiquity, among other things, because there were peoples such as the Pisidians who interpreted the flight of birds as a means of divination.[15]

11. See on the whole Doni 2009: 217–219. For Stein's other proposals, which revolve around the names Ὑτεννέες and Λασόνιοι, see the following note.

12. See *Herodotos erklärt von Heinrich Stein. Vierter Band. Buch VII. Mit drei Kärtchen von H. Kiepert. Fünfte verbesserte Auflage*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1889: 81 (retrieved from https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hxjvn1&seq=87).

13. It is true that the problem cannot be definitively solved, as Vannicelli *et al*. (2017: 387–388) conclude in their commentary *ad loc.* ("il problema resta aperto"), but preference should be given to the Pisidian solution in all discussions on the matter.

14. On this passage and the oracle see Green 2023: 49–50.

15. See Talloen 2015: 58, 147.

§ 2. *Oracular responses of Ares in the territory of Side in Pamphylia*

Regarding the epigraphic testimonies, there are a couple of inscriptions found in the territory of the city of Side in Pamphylia that reveal oracular responses of Ares. These are two votive dedications from the Roman Imperial period using the participle χρηματισθείς (*I.Side* II 377–378), a typically oracular term but somewhat ambiguous because the oracle could have been obtained through a dream state that does not necessarily involve a formal consultation procedure in a sanctuary or other physical location.[16] However, as Kajava (2009: 219–220) has rightly observed, the provenance of the dedications and the historical-geographical context can provide decisive clues for the interpretation of the term. Thus, if we consider the existence of a χρηστήριον of Ares among the Pisidians back in the 5th century BC (§ 1), it is logical to assume that these two oracular responses found in the same area of Pamphylia also come from an oracular site of Ares in southern Anatolia, which may or may not be the same as the one mentioned by Herodotus, regardless of its possible location.[17]

The main aim of the following section is to offer a new epigraphic reading in relation to the votive content of the oracular answer *I.Side* II 377, which is on a "Fragment eines halbsäulenartigen Basisteils aus Kalkstein" as described by the *editor princeps* Nollé, who adds that "die Inschrift ist vorn ausgesplittert."[18] The inscription is dated to the advanced Roman Imperial period according to the lunar form of the letters:

Καικωνι[ ]α-
γος κατ[ὰ εὐχὴν].α
Ουωξου, [χρηματισθεὶ]ς ὑ-
πὸ θεοῦ [ἐπιφανεστ]άτου
Ἄρεως, τ[ὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ] τῶν 5
ἰδίων καὶ [τὸ εἰκόνιο]ν σὺν τῇ
ϝ βάσι ἀνέ[θηκεν] τῷ θεῷ.

16. See Robert 1963: 381; Nollé, *I.Side* II, p. 603; Petridou 2009: 87.

17. For discussion see Gonzales 2005: 278–281.

18. It seems that the photos of the document ("Tafel 107a und b") will be included in a third volume dedicated to Side, the publication of which is still pending (https://ifa.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/zeitschriften-reihen/inschriften-griechischer-staedte-aus-kleinasien-ik/fortsetzung-ausstehend).

Admittedly, the state of the inscription is somewhat fragmentary, but Nollé's reconstruction, which is largely based on the other oracular response of Ares found in Side's territory (*I.Side* II 378),[19] seems quite plausible and it fits the space available. However, his interpretation concerning the lines 5 and 6 is problematic.[20] As Gonzales (2005: 274–278) has pointed out, if the ἄγαλμα of the god has already been mentioned, as seems likely, "it makes little sense to refer to the same object again in the next line, but by a different term, εἰκόνιον", and the syntax of the inscription seems to preclude this interpretation too, "for καί must connect two separate objects of the verb ἀνέθηκεν". Gonzales (*ibid*.) proposes instead that "two distinct objects were dedicated to the god, a statue and an εἰκόνιον with the base", and offers the following translation of the inscription while hypothesizing that such εἰκόνιον ("icon") may refer to a medallic plaque that would decorate the statue of Ares:[21]

"Kaikoni[... son of ...]ax, in accordance [with the vow of ... son/daughter] of Woxes, [having received an oracl]e from the [most manifest] god Ares, ded[icated] at his own expense the [statue] and the [ico]n, along with the base, to the god."

As the text stands, the above proposal about the meaning of εἰκόνιον seems quite tenable, but the syntagm σὺν τῇ βάσι which follows could lead to another restoration, [τὸν βωμό]ν,[22] with the number of letters needed to fill the available space ([τὸ εἰκόνιο]ν is two letters longer, but including two *iotas*). In fact, such a combination of words is attested in an inscription from the city of Side dated 251–253 AD on occasion of the third celebration of the local Phytian games in honour

19. For the sake of completeness, here I quote the full inscription, written on a block of white limestone, broken on the right and at the back, and dated to the late Rom. Imp. period: θεῷ Ἄρει τὸ χάλ̣κ[ινον ἄγαλ]||μα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔ[στησεν], | χρηματισθεὶς ὑ[πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ], | Μέμνων Τρεβη[μεως ὑπὲρ] | Τρεβημεως Νεσβα· .ΐ[λεως γε]||νομένου θεοῦ ἀ̣π̣[έδωκεν εὐχήν]. The *editio princeps* is Tomaschitz 1998: 16–17 nº 7 (see *SEG* 48.1789; *Gnomon* 75 (2003: 272), for some alternative readings not included in *I.Side* II 378).

20. "In diesen Zeilen wird zunächst das Votiv als solches — nämlich ein Götterbild, gr. ἄγαλμα — genannt und dann in Zusammenhang mit dem Weiheakt noch einmal in seiner Struktur genauer beschrieben (wahrscheinlich εἰκόνιον, βάσις)" (Nollé, *I.Side* II, p. 604).

21. It would have been something like the votive plaque with bust of Ares that is preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (https://collections.mfa.org/objects/155286/votive-plaque-with-bust-of-ares).

22. See e.g. *IG* XII,4 3:2861 for a (funerary) altar in Kos during the 3rd c. AD: τ[ὸν] | βωμὸν σ[ὺ]|ν τῇ βάσ[ει] (ll. 9–11).

of Apollo. It is a well-known dedication, the interpretation of which is not straightforward, revealing that two individuals have dedicated an altar, which they had provided and gilded, together with the base (τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαντες καὶ χρυσώσαντες ἀνέθεσαν | σὺν τῇ βάσει, ll. 3–4), decorated with reliefs and two oracles in verse attributed to Apollo, perhaps the one at Delphi.[23] It may well be the case that the oracular Ares prescribed something similar (though probably more modest) in addition to the *agalma*,[24] inferring that the *bomos* with the *basis* was once nearby, with or without its own inscription. This would imply the existence of another altar to offer sacrifices to the god (§ 3).

However, since absolute certainty is not possible at this point, one could also argue that both words are used together, although the syntax is slightly different, in the dedication of a statue of the goddess Hestia in Laodikeia on the Lykos,[25] where the *bomos* would be an altar-shape pedestal and the *basis*, the block that carried it.[26] If so, given that photos of the dedication to Ares are not yet available (see n. 18), the main caution here is to what extent a semi-columnar ("halbsäulenartigen") form can be considered as having the shape of a normal (rectangular or round) type of *bomos* or whether it can function as a possible *basis*.[27]

§ 3. *An altar to Ares Kiddeudas in the territory of Sagalassos in Pisidia*

There is another intriguing epigraphic document that can be seen in relation to the oracular background of the indigenous warrior divinities assimilated to Ares in southern Anatolia. Published in 1983, it is a (probably early) Imperial altar of a

23. For discussion of the dedication as a whole, with texts, images and bibliography, see Weiss 1981 (*BE* 1982.450, pp. 417–422); *I.Side* II 134, pp. 442–451; *Steinepigramme* IV 18/15/11, pp. 153–157; Strasser 2003: 68–76. See also Coulton 2005: 143.

24. Compare with the other oracular response in the territory of Side (see n. 19), which would only mention a bronze *agalma* to the god Ares.

25. *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 65 (aft. 137 AD): θ̣εὰν · Ἑστίαν · ἴλεω̣ν | ̣τῇ πατρίδι σὺν τῇ βάσει καὶ τῷ̣ βωμῷ̣ (ll. 1–2). See also *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 51b (mid–2nd c. AD / 2nd half 2nd c. AD), the honorific statue of an elite woman: σὺν τ̣ὴ | [β]ά̣σει καὶ τῷ̣ βωμῷ̣ (ll. 4–5). Perhaps *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 66 (Rom. Imp. period): τὸν Ἡρακλῆ καὶ | [τὸν βωμὸν (?) σ]ὺν τῇ βάσει (ll. 5–6), following a suggestion by Corsten in the commentary *ad loc.*, p. 133.

26. On this interpretation see Coulton 2005: 135.

27. Moreover, note that the regular formula for statue bases in the *corpus* of Side is just σὺν τῇ βάσει: see particularly *I.Side* I 5 for the dedication of an *agalma* of Artemis during the earlier 3rd c. AD. See also Bean and Mitford, *Rough Cilicia* II 7, at Kagrai (Eastern Pamphylia): τὸν Δία σὺν τῇ βάσει (l. 4).

rectangular type, made of marble and decorated with relief sculptures on its four sides, which was dedicated to Ares *Kiddeudas* in the territory of the Pisidian city of Sagalassos.[28] The inscription, which is obviously on the main face of the monument, is accompanied by a *cornucopia* and a bunch of grapes that make clear the god's association with harvests, while the relief on the right side clearly shows the warlike nature of the god: there is a cuirass, a sword with an eagle's head forming the pommel, a crested helmet in the shape of a griffin's head and a round shield with two spears behind. The other two reliefs seem to relate to the sacrificial ceremony offered when the altar was consecrated: there is a wreath with ribbons on the left side and a *bucranium* (ox-head) on the back.

The following is the text according to the *editio princeps* by Robert (1983: 580–583) (*SEG* 33.1159), with photos:

Λ̣ηγεῖται καὶ
Σκωδες Μολε-
σιος
(reliefs: *cornucopia* and bunch of grapes)
κατὰ κέλευ-
σιν Ἄρεως 5
Κιδδευδα
ἀνέθηκαν.

Translation:
"The Legeitai and Skodes, son of Molesis, dedicated (this altar) at the behest of Ares Kiddeudas."

As stated in the inscription, the dedication of the altar was made κατὰ κέλευ|σιν of the god. Such expression is usually taken in the sense of divine orders obtained in a dream state, but Kajava (2009: 221), who deals with this formula and others like κατ' ἐπιταγήν, has cautiously expressed that in some cases one must at least consider the possibility that such divine orders are rather traceable to oracles: "questo è infatti altamente probabile nei casi in cui un contesto oracolare è suggerito sia da altre fonti, epigrafiche o letterarie, sia da ciò che si sa del luogo di ritrovamento di una dedica", as is the case with Ares in southern Anatolia (§ 1-2),

28. For the dedication and its context, see Robert 1983: 580–583; Mitchell 1993: 28; Lebrun 1994: 149–150 (*SEG* 44.1762); Waelkens 1999: 195–196 (*SEG* 49.1859); Renberg 2003: 529; Gonzales 2004: 407–410; Talloen 2015: 229–230; Sponsel 2017: 95–101.

and, sometimes, "l'esistenza di un oracolo può essere dedotta dal tipo di dedicante, soprattutto se si tratta di una comunità e non di gente privata." Kajava (*ibid*.) illustrates the point by quoting a dedication that the *Etsyenoi*, the inhabitants of a village in Galatia, made to Zeus *Galaktinos* at the command of Apollo, inferring that the community consulted the latter's oracle on agricultural issues.[29] This second argument could also be applied to the altar in the territory of Sagalassos if necessary, since the main dedicators would be a village, the ethnic of which could be something like *Legeitai*,[30] and the reliefs accompanying the inscription (*cornucopia* and bunch of grapes) fit perfectly with an oracular consultation with the god Ares *Kiddeudas* asking for *karpoí*. Another matter would be to elucidate what role the individual *Skodes* son of *Molesis* may have played in the dedication, as there is no information about his possible identity, status, or contribution (perhaps some kind of leader?). Moreover, his personal name is only attested in this inscription.[31]

The unique epithet Κιδδευδας, which reinforces the indigenous character of the god Ares, is evidently linked to regional onomastics: Robert (1983: 583) had already noticed this from the personal name Κιδδεας, attested in the Kibyratis-Kabalis and Pisidia,[32] and the toponym Κιδδιουκώμη, but this time in the region of Laodikeia on the Lykos.[33] Its meaning, however, remains unknown. On the one hand, the hypothesis that Κιδδευδας could be an epithet in relation to a place seems reasonable,[34] especially since the phenomenon is not uncommon in Anatolian religion,[35] but the question is which toponym.[36] On the other, following a stimulating

29. Ramsay 1890: 235 (Imperial period): Ἐτσυηνοὶ Δι[ὶ] | Γαλακτινῷ κ|ατὰ ἐπιταγὴν | [Ἀ]πόλλωνος ὑ[π]|[ὲρ] καρπῶν εὐχήν. For this inscription see now Iversen 2015: 47 nº 40.

30. Note in passing that the editors in *SEG* 33.1159 added in brackets a first line for "names of dedicants" before Ληγεῖται, while Robert (1983: 580) seems to take the ethnic of the village as the start of the inscription ("Au-dessus, la désignation des dédicants. D'abord l'ethnique d'un village, le début du nom ayant disparu dans une cassure").

31. See *LGPN* V.C. s.v. Σκωδες (1), p. 393. The father's name is a quite common Anatolian name in the area: see *LGPN* V.C. s.v. Μολεσις (42), p. 299; Zgusta 1964 § 946–7.

32. See *LGPN* V.C. s.v. Κιδδεας, p. 218.

33. See Zgusta 1984 § 500; Corsten, *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 1, pp. 7–17 (an honorary decree mentioning a sanctuary of Apollo in 267 BC).

34. For Κιδδευδας in this sense «(toponymique ?)» see the Greek Cult-Epithets Data Base: https://epiclesesgrecques.univ-rennes1.fr/aff_fiche.php?id=1052&lang=en. See also Wallensten 2023: 44 n. 32, stating that *Kiddeudas* "renvoie probablement à un lieu de culte."

35. See e.g. Zgusta 1984 § 518–1, Κινδύη in Caria (Ἀρτέμιδι Κινδυάδι; τῆς Κινδυάδος Ἀρτέμιδος).

36. It is important to stress that Robert (1983: 583) did not consider Κιδδιουκώμη as the place of Ares Κιδδευδας, but merely cited it as a parallel.

discussion,[37] it has come to my attention that anthroponyms such as Κιδδεας could be connected through assimilation to personal names in Κινδ°, which can be the Greek reflex of the cluster Lyc-Mil. *xñt-* related to the rulership semantic domain in some Anatolian languages (e.g. Luw. *handawat*(*i*)- 'king', Lyc. *xñtawat*(*i*)- 'ruler') according to Martínez-Rodríguez (2021: 150–152). If so, then one might wonder whether Κιδδευδας is not precisely a cognate of Lycian *xñtawat*(*i*)- /kn̥dawati/,[38] which sounds so appropriate for a god.[39] This interpretation would reveal that the indigenous god Ares was once worshipped as the "ruler" of the community.

§ 4. *Oracles of Ares in southern Anatolia*

To close this research, the next step would be to investigate whether the presumed oracle of Ares *Kiddeudas* has anything to do with the Ἄρεος χρηστήριον mentioned by Herodotus, especially if the Pisidian ethnonym was in the textual lacuna of the *Histories* (§ 1), or with the two oracular responses epigraphically attested in the territory of Side in Pamphylia, where admittedly the only epithet of the god Ares is the restored ἐπιφανέστατος (§ 2). However, since the results would not convince everyone due to lack of firm evidence, it seems preferable to assume that the presence of different cults to the indigenous warrior gods called Ares in southern Anatolia probably implies the existence of more than one oracle, as was the case with Apollo, and perhaps giving responses in different ways.[40]

37. F. Réveilhac and E. Martínez-Rodríguez deserve special recognition for their suggestions, but of course all responsibility is mine if what follows is inadequate.

38. The remaining vowel and consonant differences should not be insurmountable obstacles, but it is now up to Anatolian linguists to test the theory. Note in passing that the fact that the personal name Γδεβετις (gen.) in Pisidian corresponds to Lycian *xñtawat*(*i*)-, Luwian *handawat*(*i*)- 'ruler' (see Simon 2017: 31–32) is not necessarily incompatible with it, as the linguistic and cultural realities of the Sagalassian territory and its inhabitants are complex.

39. For research purposes, the case of the god "Kaunian King" in the trilingual stele set up in the Letoon near the Lycian city of Xanthos is illustrative: see Molina Valero 2016: 35–36; Parker 2017: 87–88.

40. Any research in this direction should probably begin by examining the role of Ares in two verse oracular responses found at Syedra and Iconium (see Robert 1966: 91–100; Gonzales 2005: 278–281); an alphabetical oracle in the rural highlands of Kabalis (see Dökü and Kileci 2022: 107–110), and dice-oracles in southern Anatolia (see Nollé 2007: 149).

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Doumoi, sacred villages, and indigenous gods in Roman Asia Minor[1]

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The non-Hellenic term δοῦμος is attested in several Greek inscriptions from Roman times across a wide area of Asia Minor.[2] The largest group is constituted by funerary and votive inscriptions from an area in northeastern Lydia corresponding to what was known as the Katakekaumene, around the Hermos valley and between the Kogamos and Hillos rivers, found in the territories of the ancient settlements of

1. This publication is part of the project "The gods of Anatolia and their names in Hellenistic and Roman Greek texts" (PID2021–124635NB–C32). In 2017, at a symposium held by Marijana Ricl in Belgrade in homage to Professor Fanula Papazoglu, I proposed that the term *doumos* might refer, in its original territory corresponding to ancient Phrygia and Lydia, not to an association but to an entire village in terms of its sacral context and functions. I am grateful for the comments from both the participants on that occasion and those at the workshop held in Barcelona that led to this paper, and especially to Aitor Blanco, Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Ilya Yakubovich for their thorough reading and relevant comments on earlier versions of this paper. The fundamental article by Eckhardt (2016) on the isomorphic change occurring in Roman Phrygia was already a central support for this hypothesis, which is now further supported, I believe, by Thonemann's recent and exhaustive monograph on the territory he has named Hieradoumia, to which a good number of the testimonies belong. The abbreviations for the epigraphic corpora are those of the *Diccionario Griego Español*, which may be consulted in http://dge.cchs.csic.es/lst/lst4.htm.

2. These testimonies, together with those from areas outside Asia Minor, have been collected by Polito (2004) in a very complete monographic study including all the texts known. Petzl 2019, nos. 140 and 146 should now be added.

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Iaza (Ayazviran/Ayazören), Maionia (Menye), Kollyda (Gölde) and Saittai.[3] In Phrygia there is an attestation at the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petarenos near Amorion, and a doubtful one in the Tembris valley between Nakoleia and Dorylaion. A further testimony is found at Misthis, on the border with Lycaonia.[4] Outside Asia Minor, it occurs in Greek inscriptions from the Roman period in Thessalonica (Macedonia) and Serdica (Thrace), and in Latin near Tomi in Scythia, Novae in Moesia, and in northwestern Hispania. A mention in Philodemus, *AP* VII, 222 must be added to these epigraphic testimonies, together with two probable ones in Hipponax 41 (Degani = 30 West) and Hesychius s.v. δοῦ[μ]ος, though in both cases the term transmitted, possibly incorrectly, is δοῦλος. In addition, the term appears in the Phrygian language in Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions from Gordion and Soğukçam in the province of Bolu, and in a Neo-Phrygian inscription from Dorylaion, which confirms the antiquity of this term and its probable Phrygian origin.[5]

Since 1898, when Karl Buresch drew attention to the non-Greek δοῦμος in an inscription from Lydia (*TAM* V1, 179, de Hoz 1999, 63.13),[6] numerous attempts have been made to interpret it both etymologically and semantically. This author identifies δοῦμος, which he considers an indigenous term, with the Gr. δόμος (and Lat. *domus*), meaning "cultic house of association" or "association". In 1999 Neumann linguistically supported this proposal and suggested that the basic meaning of the term (pp. 345–53) was the idea of a built space (*Haus, Gebäude; Zimmer, Gelass*) and, from there, metonymically, a "collective" or "grouping". In 2002 following the appearance of an inscription in the area of Amorion (*infra*), he saw the intermediate step in his theory confirmed by the sense of "Private Hausgemeinschaft" which the expression ὑπὲρ ἰδίου δούμου seemed to have here according to

3. This territory forms the eastern part of what Thonemann (2022: 2 with n. 5) has recently called Hieradoumia precisely because "numerous examples of small-scale cultic associations designated as sacred *doumoi*, all probably kinship-based groups" are attested there.

4. We exclude from the testimonies the inscription of Aeolian Kyme (*IKyme* 37), considered by several authors (Engelmann, Vermaseren, de Jong and Polito) to be a text relating to a *doumos*. Cf. in this regard and with the above references, Polito (2005, with the previous references), who, based on these authors and the idea that the *doumos* is a cultic association of the Magna Mater, adds arguments for considering this text to be a *doumos*. Since most of the testimonies are not related to this goddess, and there are no other elements that identify the group as such, I see no reason to include it.

5. A Lydian origin should nevertheless not be excluded.

6. Buresch 1898: 58–72, with extensive commentary that also includes and explains Philodemus' mention.

him.[7] Overall, the most widespread theory is that the term is indigenous (either Phrygian or Lydian), and has an Indo-European root *$d^{h}eh_{1}$- "put" in common with the Greek θωμός[8] (heap), and Germanic words such as the Gothic *doms* (judgement) or the Slavic ones such as Russian *duma*.[9] Several authors (Masson, Polito, and Beekes), based on the supposed mention in Hipponax (although the text being previously corrected) and in Philodemus, and/or in some epigraphic examples, relate this term to an Anatolian religious community connected with Magna Mater.[10]

It seems clear that this word originated in Asia Minor, possibly in Phrygia, both for linguistic reasons and due to the distribution of the testimonies, and it is on the latter that this article focuses. This is not a study based on the linguistic origin of the term, for which I am not competent and to which skilled scholars have already devoted much attention. Instead, my interpretation is based on the Greek translation κώμη for the Phrygian *dume* found in a Neo-Phrygian inscription (Obrador-Cursach 2020, 1.1), and on the analysis of the specific contexts in which the term appears in Asia Minor.

My proposal is that *doumos,* in its origin or according to the evidence from Asia Minor, does not designate what we understand today by "association", which is properly a Greco-Roman concept and possibly one unsuitable for a pre-Hellenic society in this area. While is true that the word may have acquired the Greco-Roman sense of "association" outside Asia Minor, I still think that it retains the indigenous semantics in this territory: a village whose origin was in a grouping, possibly of kinship, around a cult.

The main arguments, which are not conclusive individually, but which I believe are undeniable, if taken as a whole, are as follows:

1. The use of an indigenous term in Greek inscriptions indicates that the speakers could have maintained a pre-Greek reality that was not translatable with its full meaning in this language.

7. Lubotsky (1997, 124–25) rejects the idea of an original sense of "building".

8. Although cf. Chantraine 1968: 102, who attributes a vowelism /o/ to Gr. θωμός.

9. Cf. Polito 2004: 9–10, for a summary of the main theories; subsequently, Beekes 2010: 350, s.v. δοῦμος; Obrador-Cursach 2020: 215–16, who identifies the root of the Phrygian word as *dum-* and its inflection as athematic (as opposed to the Greek loanword δοῦμος), but claims that the etymology remains unconvincingly clarified.

10. Masson 1987; Polito 2004; Beekes 2010, s.v *doumos*. Cf. Voutiras 2005, who considers the term to designate an "association" of any kind.

2. The term δουμε appears in a Neo-Phrygian inscription (contemporary with all the Greek testimonies from Asia Minor) translated in Greek as κώμη.

3. "Association" is a concept applicable to Hellenistic and especially Roman times, but the very fact that an indigenous term is used here when Greek has numerous words to designate "association" suggests that it conceals a non-Greek and non-Roman phenomenon.

4. It appears in rural, isolated and conservative areas, where territorial and kinship units in particular were very frequent.[11]

5. It appears in connection with other indigenous elements of the region such as native gods, confession inscriptions, *hierodouloi*, sacred councils, and a very conservative social organisation.

6. In the testimonies of Asia Minor, *doumos* does not appear in any case delimited in its denomination or content with any other element than *hieros*, with the exception of the dedication to Mater Ouegna in Mysthia (*infra*), whose identification (οἱ περὶ Ερδιν Κιδδεου καὶ Κόϊντον Μαμα) supports the equivalence of *doumos* with a population group.

7. The number of inhabitants in these villages is, when attested, very small,[12] which would make the existence of associations unnecessary and difficult.

§ 2. *Phrygian* *dum- (*village or sacred village?*)

The Greek-Phrygian bilingual inscription, which is my starting point, comes from the area of Dorylaion, present-day Eskişehir, in the Phrygian Epiktetos. Although lost today, a manuscript copy of the stone has survived and has been the subject of numerous publications.[13] The Greek text is not exactly a translation of the Phrygian, but rather a mixture of translation and code-switching, although it does seem to express the same content: κώμῃ (l. 12) is certainly the term by which δουμε (l. 7) is translated.

11. Thonemann (2022: 356) stresses the conservatism of the area that he calls Hieradoumia, where life must not have changed much, and where few inhabitants migrated.

12. See Eckhardt 2016: 13–16 for northern and eastern Phrygia, an area comparable in these respects to Maionia. The author notes that in these villages there must not have been many more inhabitants than those corresponding to the 17 or 24 families attested in two inscriptions (cf. *infra*, note 42), and mentions the dedication of a village near Akmoneia by a *symbiosis* of nineteen "splendid and noble Achaeans" to Zeus Alsenos *patrios* to be propitious to the *katoikia* (*MAMA* XI 110).

13. Obrador-Cursach 2020, 1.1, with previous bibliographical references. Cf., for a detailed commentary on the inscription, Lubotsky 1997 in particular, with references to earlier interpretations and the copy (p. 117) of the inscription made by T. Ignatova-Wezel.

[- - -].
ε[--]γεν̣τουμενος
νιοισιος ναδροτος
ειτου. Μιτραφατα
κε Μας Τεμρογε-
ιος κε Πουντας
Βας κε ενσταρνα̣
δουμε κε οι ουε-
βαν αδδακετ ορου-
αν, παρεθέμην τὸ
μνημεῖον τοῖς προ-
γεγραμμένοις θε-
οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ
ταύθ’ ὁ πατὴρ
Ἀσκληπιός.

Phrygian (trans. Obrador-Cursach): “let him become X-ed and νιοισιος and impotent. Mitrapata and Mas Tembrogios and the Pontic Bas (vac?) and for the community the father does his tomb.”[14]

Greek (my translation): “I, the father Asklepios, have put this memorial under the protection of the above-mentioned gods and the village.”

This funerary inscription guarantees the protection of the tomb by means of an imprecation, as was particularly common in Anatolian cultures and, through their influence, later in Greco-Roman Asia Minor. The imprecation, the final part of which can be read in the preserved part of the Phrygian text, is implied in the Greek text by saying that the tomb is placed under the protection (this is the sense of the verb παρατίθημι in the middle voice, cf. *IAssos* no. 8) of the gods and the village. Lubotsky interprets κώμη in this inscription as “cultic association”, thinking that this must be the meaning of *doume* since the name Μιτραφατα and the mention of a πατήρ undoubtedly refer to a Mithraic association.[15] Mithraic associa-

14. The interpretation of the Phrygian part remains problematic. More progress will likely be made in the interpretation of some forms and their translation. See, for example, the new proposal of ουεβαν as “protection” (instead of tomb) by Oreshko and Alagöz (2023: 812). While it cannot be confirmed, it would fit very well both the funerary formula and the Greek text.

15. Lubotsky 1997: 120; cf. Haas 1976: 51, who in his earlier edition of the inscription interprets κώμη as “religiöser Verein”. Probably, if that were the meaning of *dume*, in Greek any of

tions, however, are scarcely attested in Asia Minor outside Cilicia, with their main area of diffusion being the Roman West; the Persian name Mithra-, on the other hand, occurs very frequently throughout northern Asia Minor, especially in Pontus, Bithynia and northern Phrygia in connection with the Persian presence and power in the area.[16] We do not know exactly where the stele was originally erected, but in the area of Dorylaion there are several ancient Phrygian sacral areas, among them the so-called Midas city, with rock altars dedicated to the goddess Kybele and rock-cut tombs. If Μιτραφατα is really a personal name, it might refer to a deified hero, which would explain its presence with two other divinities well attested in Roman Phrygia and whose cult probably dates back to much earlier times. A deified hero, a local deity (Mas Temrogeios), and the ancient Phrygian god Bas, related to Zeus and with a regional epithet in this case, would be the deities appealed to as protectors together with the whole *kome*/*doumos*.[17]

The Phrygian term is already attested in the 6th century BC in the form *dumeyay* (Obrador-Cursach 2020: G–01) in one of seven fragments of a limestone slab found in a building in the Phrygian city of Gordion; [?]*dumasta eia*[---] (Obrador-Cursach 2020: G–131) is written on the handle of a jug, probably from the 5th century BC, found under a mound in the area of a Persian building in the same city; and *ḍumast.v.*[?] (Obrador-Cursach 2020: G–245) on two fragments of mortar discovered with filler material near the western wall, dated to the 4th century.[18]

The meaning of the term *duman* as "village" or "settlement" and its possible relationship with the gods in the Neo-Phrygian inscription is supported by another Phrygian inscription engraved under a niche near Germanos-Soğukçam, in the area of Bolu, north of the Sangarios river and datable to the 6th–4th century BC (Obrador-Cursach 2020: B–01, ll. 1–3):

the many terms that can designate a religious association in this language (οἶκος, σύνοδος, θίασος, σπεῖρα, etc.) would have been used. Lubotsky (*op. cit*.) interprets the name Μιτραφατα as the theonym Μιτρα Φατα, with an unidentified second element.

16. Cf. Obrador-Cursach 2022: 301–02 for the possibility that the derivative Mithraphata could hide the name of a deified hero; for a cult to the deceased in Phrygia, cf. de Hoz 2017.

17. Cf. Obrador-Cursach 2022: 140 on *Mas Temrogeios*: *Mas* could be the Phrygian equivalent to Greek Μήν / Μείς, and *Temrogeios* is surely an hydronym derived from the river name *Thymbris*, which flows through Doryleion (Eskişehir); *op. cit*. 129 on the theonym *Bas*, a Phrygian god related to *Ti-* (Zeus), or even an epithet of this main god.

18. G. Neumann 1988: 12–13: δουμετας "Angehöriger des δουμος", d.i. die Ratsversammlung der Männer eines Dorfes dem formal Griechisch οἰκέτας entspricht". According to Lubotsky (1997: 125), who accepts a previous proposal of Bajun and Orel, it is a name or title derived from the name *duma*.

si bevdos adi..[..]
kạyarmọyo imroy edaes etovesniyo
matar kubeleya ibey a duman ektetoy
yos tivo ---

"This statue was made by Adi- for this field?...
(This) Mother Kybeleia was acquired by the doumos for himself …"[19]
(transl. Obrador-Cursach, personal information; cf. *Id*. 2022: 113).

At the site of the inscription there are some remains that could correspond to a small settlement, as well as hot springs.[20] It is possible that the particularity of the site was conducive to the construction of a niche for the goddess Cibele and a settlement around it.[21]

§ 3. Doumos *in Greek inscriptions from Roman Asia Minor*

This relationship between village and cult that can be deduced from the use of the term *dum*- in Phrygian is, I believe, a key element for our interpretation of how the term δοῦμος was adapted in Greek. As we shall see, the Greek testimonies both of this term and of the relationship between kinship societies, villages and cults support the idea that *doumos* refers to a community closely related to a kinship group whose foundation can be linked to the cult of a deity who is viewed as the protector and, even, its owner or ruler. The adjective *hieros* with which *doumos* is

19. The accusative *duman* would be governed by the preposition *as*: **as duman* > **adduman* (without geminate notation as is normal in Palaeo-Phrygian). This syntagm has the value of agent in Neo-Phrygian (information from Obrador-Cursach).

20. Cf. Obrador-Cursach 2022: 113: "the connection between Soğukçam and Matar may also be related to hot springs, which are very common in the whole of Bolu province. In fact, the heteronym of the Turkish villa, Germanos, can easily be explained as the Greek adaptation of the Phrygian *germā, derived from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **g*^{wh}*er-mo*-, as in the Greek θερμός 'warm', Armenian *jerm* 'warm' and Albanian *zjarm*, *zjarr* 'heat'…".

21. Haas (1969: 70–75) describes and identifies the rock on which the inscription is engraved and the niche just above it as a space dedicated to Cybele, although he interprets the text as funerary and the term *douma* as tumulus (related to Greek θωμός), a translation which he also proposes in the inscription from Eskişehir mentioned above, but that is now discarded in both cases. Cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 8 for the probability that "the niche at Germanos belonged to a hitherto unrecorded settlement, as traces of walls and Phrygian sherds were observed on a kale close to the niche". Cf. Obrador-Cursach 2022: 105–115 for Matar and Matar Kybeleia, with reference to this inscription in pp. 107–09.

sometimes qualified might be due to the fact that the term retains its sense of "community" in the first place, being sometimes necessary to make explicit the sacred character of that community.

§ 3.1 Doumos *and* katoikia*, gods' council and senate, sacred and prophane*

An old *doumos* may expand through the addition of a new population, becoming a bigger village, which may possibly then no longer share the cultic conditions with the *doumos*. This difference between an original *doumos* and the *katoikia* that arose around it could explain texts such as the following from Kollyda (Gölde, now İncesu) from 205/206 AD.

Herrmann-Malay 2007, no. 85, Pl. 48 (*SEG* 57. 1186):[22]

ἔτους σϙ′, μη(νὸς) Περιτίου· Ἀμμι-
ανὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης Τρύφω-
νος πάρισιν ἐρωτῶντες το-
ὺς θεοὺς Μῆνα Μοτυλλίτ-
ην καὶ Δία Σαβάζιον καὶ Ἄρτε-
μιν Ἀναεῖτιν καὶ μεγάλην συ-
νᾶτος καὶ σύνκλητον τῶν θε-
ῶν, ἐρωτῶντες τὴν κατοικία[ν]
καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν δοῦμον, ἵνα ἐλέ-
ου τύχωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐκολάσθη[σ]-
αν οὗτοι, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἐκρά-
τησαν ἐξομολογούμενον
τὰς δυνάμις τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐλη-
μοσύνην μὴ λαβόντος τοῦ πα-
τρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀποτελεσθέ-
ντος αὐτοῦ 'μή τίς ποτε παρευ-
τελίσι τοὺς θεοὺς' διὰ τὰς π̣[ρ]-
ώτας προγραφὰς αὐτοῦ ἔγρα̣[ψ]-
αν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν εὐλογοῦντε̣[ς]
τοῖς θεοῖς. *vacat*

22. Cf. Ricl 2011: 150–52; Chaniotis 2012: 217s.; Harland 2014, no. 119; Petzl 2019, no. 146; Thonemann 2022: 341.

"In the year 290, in the month Peritios, Ammianos and Hermogenes, sons of Tryphon, appear (at the temple) asking the gods Men Motyllites and Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis and the great Senatus and the Council of the Gods, asking also the *katoikia* and the *hieros doumos* in order that they will find mercy as they were punished because they overcame their father, while he was acknowledging the power of the gods; and their father did not obtain pity, but after his death, on account of his first (primary) written declarations they wrote 'nobody at any time should disparage the gods' on a stele and set it up praising the gods." (transl. Herrmann and Malay 2007: 114).[23]

The authors of this propitiatory inscription, having been punished by the gods, ask them and also the "great senate", the council of the gods, the *katoikia* and the *hieros doumos* for mercy. The expressions μεγάλην συνᾶτος καὶ σύνκλητον τῶν θεῶν could be two ways of explaining the same concept,[24] but they could also refer to the civil assembly of the *katoikia* and the sacred assembly of the *hieros doumos* respectively.[25] Possibly the *doumos*, pleonastically identified as *hieros* precisely to distinguish it from the *katoikia*, refers here to that central nucleus of population born around the cult of the three gods (or more probably of one of them, the local Men of Motylla). The relationship of the entire community to cult affairs is especially close in this area (cf. *infra*). The epithet Motyllites of Men could be formed from a toponym *Μοτυλα referring to a place in the Ayazören area, where the inscription was found.[26] Sabazios has numerous attestations in the Katakekaumene (as

23. The iconographic representation above the inscription of a man assaulted by an animal with a shield on one side is possibly related to the punishment inflicted by the gods on the father of the propitiators.

24. This is the opinion of the editors Herrmann and Malay (2007: 115), as well as of Thonemann 2022: 242.

25. Cf. also Petzl 1994, no. 5 (de Hoz 39.7) for the gods' council. For a possible Hittite origin of the belief in an assembly of the gods in Lydian inscriptions cf. Ricl 2014: 15–16. Thonemann (2022: 242–43), supporting Chaniotis and other authors who study the terminology of these inscriptions as a translation of Roman legal technique, rejects the existence of an official legal administration by the sanctuaries, although he accepts that the sanctuaries claimed land and labour by traditional right, something that the so-called confessional inscriptions seem to confirm.

26. Buresch 1898: 82; Zgusta 1984: 401. According to Robert (1964: 36) the place would have had nothing to do with the Phrygian Motella nor the Μηνὶ Μοτελλείτῃ attested in the area of Kollyda (*TAM* V1, 348). Given the short distance between Kollyda and Iaza, the fact that the inscriptions have not been found in their place of origin, the linguistic characteristics – specifically the phonetic ones of the period and the area, and the normal orthographic errors – I think it is more likely that these

well as in Sardis and Philadelphia), for the most part assimilated with Zeus Sabazios, and Anaitis is together with Men the best-attested goddess throughout Maionia, either as Artemis, Meter or simply Anaitis, as well as being worshipped in practically all of Lydia.[27] It is worth noting here the joint presence of a very local god together with two others, also indigenous but with a much wider scope, supports the interpretation of an original local nucleus to which other settlers have joined later, and with them, other gods.

It is very likely that the *hieros doumos* may have acted as an intermediary between the god and the transgressor who was punished and forced to propitiate the deity in another very fragmentarily preserved inscription from the area of Iaza (Ayazviran/ Ayazören), dating from the 2nd/3rd century AD.[28]

The idea that the *hieros doumos* constitutes the divinely governed community, or perhaps the human representatives of that divine council (*ekklesia*), is supported by another inscription transferred from a vineyard near the village of Menye (ancient Maionia) to Kula and dated 171/2 AD. As a *lex sacra*, the *hieros doumos*, by command of the gods Zeus Masphalatenos, Men Tiamou and Men Tyrannos, obliges to maintain a prayer for nine days (for nine days? from the ninth day onwards?) on pain of suffering "the powers" of Zeus. *TAM* V1, 536 (de Hoz 1999: 39.67):

a sinistra: protoma Iovis Masphalateni radiati
a dextra: protoma Luni Phrygii

κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτα-
γὴν ἱερὸς δοῦμος εὐχὴν
Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῷ καὶ Μηνὶ
Τιαμου καὶ Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ
ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀ-
πὸ ἡμερῶν θ′· εἴ τις δὲ τού-
των ἀπειθήσι, ἀναγνώσ-

testimonies (to which we should perhaps add that of Men Moty[leites], also from Iaza (*SEG* 33. 1002) refer to the same deity and his patronage over the same village in the area north of the Hermos.

27. Cf. on this goddess and her Lydian testimonies Ricl 2002. For the testimonies of all these gods in Lydia cf. de Hoz 1999 and, for those that appeared later, Malay and Petzl 2017.

28. Herrmann and Malay 2007, no. 56 with photo, Pl. 31, Fig. 56 (*SEG* 57, 1174); Petzl 2019, no. 140. Line 3 ([- τὸν ἱερὸν δ]οῦμον ἱερᾳ[-) together with the terms ἐκολ]άσθην (l. 2), and δυνά]μις καθὼς ἐκέλ[ευσ- (l. 8) make it virtually certain that this is a propitiatory inscription.

ε̣ται τὰς δυνάμις τοῦ Δι-
ός·ἐπιμεληsαμένου
Διονυσίου Διοδώρου
καὶ Ἑρμογένους Βαλερίου.
ἔτους σνς′, μη(νὸς) Δύστρου.

"By order of the gods the *hieros doumos* has obliged to maintain for nine days the prayer to the gods Zeus Masphalatenos, Men Tiamou and Men Tyrannos, and whoever does not obey, will be aware of the power of Zeus; Dionysios son of Diodoros and Hermogenes son of Balerios have been in charge (of erecting the stele) in the year 256, in the month Dystros."

The *doumos* in this case may be the community formed around the cult of a deity assimilated to Zeus in a place called *Masphalata.[29] We would then have a case similar to that of the previous inscription, in which a very local deity appears together with two others of much wider scope: Men Tiamou and Men Tyrannos, two versions of the same deity attested throughout Asia Minor, especially in Lydia, Phrygia, Pontus, Pisidia and Cilicia. The epithet Tyrannos is an explanatory adjective, as *megistos*, and not an identifying one, so the divinity alluded to is generically Men.[30] The epithet Tiamou, on the other hand, is specific, and only found in Lydia, although in various localities: in Asar, possibly ancient Azita, where the god has a sanctuary together with Artemis Anaitis; in other places of the Katakekaumene; and also, though sparsely, in Sardes and Philadelphia.[31] It has been interpreted in various ways: as a genitive of a proper name, a phenomenon well known in Asia Minor and especially in connection with this deity;[32] as a name related to the alleged Lydian *tiam*- (earth), and thus equivalent to Luwian *tiyamm*(*i*)-, which

29. Cf. Zgusta 1984, s.v.

30. The epithet Tyrannos is also attested in Kula (*TAM* V1 255) and in Pergamum (*MDAI*(*A*) 37, 1912, 284,10), an also in Athens, where a cult of Men was founded by immigrants from Asia Minor (*IG* II^2 1365, 1366, 4856).

31. Cf. evidence in de Hoz 1999: 18; Malay and Petzl 2017, nos. 38–72, 74, 77, 81, 82, 193, 197.

32. Kretschmer 1896: 197–98, n. 5, already made this suggestion. Cf. Parker 2017: 116–19 for the phenomenon, with testimonies in Asia Minor and also in Syria. Cf. Men Artemidorou and other cases in Lydia (de Hoz 1999: 41–42); Zeus Brogimarou (Nakolelia) or Zeus Megas Menophilou (Daokometai, near Aizanoi; *SEG* 56. 1434) in Phrygia, to give only a few examples.

would make him a god of the earth;[33] as a word of Luwian etymology, either directly or through Lydian, which would not prevent it from being at the same time the genitive of an anthroponym;[34] as a proper name related to the Persian *Tiyama* attested at Persepolis; and as a Persian name introduced in Lydia in Achaemenid or later times.[35] It is noteworthy that in the *lex sacra* stated by the *hieros doumos* the punishing power is attributed to Zeus, apparently the most local deity (ll. 8–9).

In the same year and place, a new and sacred *symbiosis* makes a dedication (*TAM* V1, 537 = de Hoz 1999: 39.68) by order of the same gods (ἱερὰ συνβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κοιρίου Τυράννου, Διὸς Μασ[φ]αλατηνοῦ καὶ Μηνὶ Τιαμου εὐχήν), with a list of names probably corresponding to the members of the *symbiosis*, followed by the names of those in charge of erecting the stele and the dating (ll. 3–14). It is most logical to assume, with Polito, that this *symbiosis* is a subgroup within the *hieros doumos* of the previous inscription, which was therefore also affected by the mandate given by the gods to the *doumos*.[36] The existence of a new, sacral community supports the idea that the *hieros doumos* is a sacral village in origin that may have expanded over time with new families. It is possible that the latter brought with them other divinities that were integrated into the original cult of the first divinity, or that divinities of wider scope were needed to protect a community that had outgrown its original nucleus linked to a particular god.

Other cult inscriptions from the same area testify to the existence of a *doumos*, although they are not very explicit about its character.

North of Iaza, near Böğrülce, on the eastern slope of Mount Toma (Yeşiloba tepe), the following cultic inscription, *TAM* V1, 179 = de Hoz 1999: 63.13, dated to 172/3 AD, was found:

33. Neumann 1961: 71–72; on the possible interpretation of the epithet Tiamou as *katachthonios* cf. already Lane 1976: 68–70. Men Ouranios and Men Tiamou appear together in a confessional inscription from Kollyda in Lycia (Herrmann and Malay 2007: 83), and in an inscription from Lycaonia (*SEG* 57.1187).

34. Pisaniello 2021 dismisses Neumann's theory because the only attested term for "land" in Lydian is *klida*-, in the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual of Sardes.

35. Sekunda 2014: 149–56, Lemaire 2002: 179–84, respectively. In general, for the state of the art, cf. Pisaniello 2021; Labarre 2023. Cf. Ilya Yakubovich's paper in this monograph for a probable secondary identification of Men with the Lydian god Qλdãns.

36. Polito 2004: 20–21, with a discussion of earlier interpretations (mostly in favour of *symbiosis* and *hieros doumos* being the same community), reflects the complexity of the population groupings in these testimonies and the great variety of possibilities. It might be also, as Aitor Blanco proposes to me, the group of worshippers who followed the mandate of the *hieros doumos* with members that not necessarily resided in the sacred community.

ἔτους σνζ′, μη(νὸς) Ἀρτεμεισί[ου]
γι′. ἀνεστάθη ὁ βωμὸς προνο[ήσαν]-
τος τοῦ δούμου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων [διὰ]
τῆς ναυκόρου.

"In the year 257, on the 13th day of the month Artemisius, this altar was erected on the initiative of the *doumos*, with its money and through the mediation of the *neokoros*."

The *doumos* has decided to erect and finance (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, i.e. with the resources of its community) an altar to a deity which does not need to be identified, surely because it was the deity of the *doumos* (note that in this case the term does not carry the adjective *hieros*), i.e. of the village under the protection of that deity, and the *neokoros* of the sanctuary carries out the commission. The altar has been financed from the resources of the *doumos* (the public resources of the sacred village, or did the *doumos* have its own funds as a sacred community?). Buresch deduces from the female office of *naukoros* that the goddess is female; he reviews the possible divinities, especially those attested at Katakekaumene, and assumes that the inscription refers to the cult of the Mother Goddess, who must have had an important shrine on the site, judging by the large pieces of architecture he found there, which fits in well with the large pine mountain overlooking Maionia.[37]

§ 3.2 Doumos*, a sacred village based on kinship groups*

An honorific inscription unearthed in a field ca. 150 m southwest of Ayazviran, dated to 223/4 AD, is dedicated to a hereditary priest of the goddess "of the family". *TAM* V1, 449 (de Hoz 1999: 3.47):

ἔτους τη′, μηνὸς Πανήμου ιη′.
ὁ ἱερὸς δοῦμος ἐτείμησαν Αὐρ.
Γλύκωνα Διονυσίου τὸν ἐκ προ-
γόνων ἱερέων πρῶτον Ἀρτέμι-
5 δος Ἀναείτις τῆς συνγενικῆς
θεοῦ σὺν καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ
κ(αὶ) Χαμάσωνι τῷ ἐκγόνῳ αὐτοῦ διὰ

37. Buresch 1898: 58–72; cf. Herrmann (commentary in *TAM*), for the possibility that it is a shrine to a mountain goddess Orea or Akraia.

τὴν ἰς τοὺς θεοὺς θρησκείαν καὶ
τὰς ἰς τὸν δοῦμον πολλὰς εὐερ-
γεσίας καὶ τετελεκότα κ(αὶ) τελοῦντα.

In the year 308, on the 18th day of the month Panemou, the *hieros doumos* honoured Aurelius Glykon son of Dionysios, outstanding priest among his predecessors, of Artemis Anaitis, the *syngenike* goddess, together with his son Dionysios and his grandson Chamason, for their worship to the gods and their many services performed in the past and present on behalf of the *doumos*.

This inscription is a precious testimony of a hereditary priesthood in relation to a goddess "of the family" (4–6: Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναείτις τῆς συνγενικῆς θεοῦ) and to a *hieros doumos* honouring the priest, his son and his grandson for their favourable deeds to the gods (Artemis Anaitis and possibly Men) and to the *doumos*. The goddess of the Ephesian type is depicted on the pediment, and on the panel above the inscription three persons, possibly the priest and his descendants who are his heirs in office, are also shown.

It is most logical to think here that the *doumos* is a community based on kinship ties under the protection of a goddess specifically identified as "of the family" (*syngenike*), whose priesthood is hereditary and is thus held within that family, which possibly forms the core of the *doumos*.[38] The term *syngeneis* as a collective is recursive in the epitaphs throughout all the area of Maionia. It is not surprising that these collectives have their own deity, as did the *syngeneis* of Attinas in Loros, where in 55 BC they formed a civic group of their own (ἔδοξεν τοῖς περὶ Ἀττίναν Μενεκράτου[ς σ]υνγενεῖσιν).[39]

38. Cf. Thonemann 2022: 347 with n. 107 on the hereditary priesthood in Hieradoumia and the assumption that many cults in the villages of the area were closely associated with specific kinship groups.

39. *Sammlung Tatış* 37, Petzl 2018. Cf. Thonemann 2022: 343, note 100 for a possible restitution ἀγωνοθέτης Μη[νὸς θεοῦ] σ[υ]νγενέου on ll. 5–6. In a very deteriorated propitiatory inscription from Saittai (*TAM* V1 151; Petzl 1994: 23) [- συ]νγενικὸν (l. 5) could perhaps refer to a divinity (Men, as already proposed by Thonemann, *op. cit*. 346, n. 105), although one would expect in that case rather an indirect complement in the dative. Outside Lydia, in a Bithynian area with many elements in common with Phrygian Epiktetos and Maionia, a Zeus Syngenikos is attested (*I Iznik* 1130; cf. 1034 for a dedication in favour of the most holy *syngenikon*: l. 5 [ὑ]πὲρ τοῦ σιερω[..]του (<ε>ιε<ρ>ω[τά]του?) συνγενικοῦ; 1035: a votive offering to Apollo Lykios by the *syngenikon*), and the *syngenikon* frequently appears as a dedicator of epitaphs, or cult dedication (Attuda, *MAMA* VI, p. 143); cf. the dedication of a tomb κατὰ τὸ συνγενικόν in the Kaystros valley (*SEG* 60. 1294).

The relationship between the *doumos* and a family grouping with its specific deity and a hereditary priesthood leads us directly to another type of testimony in which this particularity of the *doumos* seems to gain strength. These mainly, but not exclusively, include epitaphs from the region of Maionia.

As Thonemann (2022) points out on many occasions in his recent book on the Lydian northeast, the number of dedicators who appear in the epitaphs from this area is striking. In general, these are relatives and people with a close relationship with the deceased, mainly biological or adopted kinship, but also through the same neighbourhood. In some cases, the relationship is identified as common membership of a *phratra* or *doumos*.

This is the case for two funerary inscriptions found together in the village of Ayazviran before 1974, northwest of Kula, between the Kogamos and the Hermos, in the Katakekaumene. The first one is the dedication to the deceased, Glykon Markos, son of Apollonios (*TAM* V1, 483a = de Hoz 1999: 63.30; I/II AD). It includes the usual formula along the lines of ἐτίμησεν ("has honoured him"), and the mention of the dedicated gold wreaths by, in this order, the *hieros doumos* (ll. 4–6: Γ̣λ[ύκων]α Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Μᾶρκον ὁ ἱερὸς δοῦμος ἐτείμησεν χροισῷ στεφάνῳ, his mother Ammias, his wife Ammias, his sons Asklepiades, Menophilos and Leukios, his brothers Apollonios and Asklepiades, his daughters-in-law Diodote and Apphias, his nephew Markos, his priest Glykon, his co-*hierodoulos* (συνιερόδουλος), his friend Glykon son of Terikometes, his *symbiotai* (neighbours, cohabitants? or even other followers of the god not included in the *doumos*?, cf. note 40) Philoxenos son of Demainetos and his brother Gaios, his kinsman (*syngenes*) Trophimos son of Metras, and Grapte and Trophimos, whom (τὸν θρέψαντα) the dead man had brought up or educated.

Judging from the single words preserved in the first lines (συνπαθὼν --- τῆς πατρίδος --- χροι]σοῖς στεφάνοις) we may infer that Glykon had some important involvement in the community and that the community has honoured him with golden crowns. Possibly the dead man and his namesake Glykon had been *hierodouloi* of the deity or deities around which the *hieros doumos*, as a village, was constituted. This Glykon was also, at least at the time of the dedication, a priest. Although the name Glykon is very common in Asia Minor and specifically in this area, we might even think that this inscription and the previous one are related to the same priestly family, who were originally the founders of a *doumos* around Artemis Anaitis. The area in which the inscriptions were found and the difference in years make it possible that the Glykon of this inscription was the grandfather of the previous one. The inscription raises an interesting problem regarding the figure of the *hierodoulos* and his relationship to the *doumos*. Thonemann's proposal, that

the *hierodouloi* were the people of the village obliged to perform services for the deity at some point in their lives, would explain very well, on the one hand, that a priest had previously been *hierodoulos*, or even that precisely because he was a priest he was *hierodoulos* (sacred servant or servant of the god), and, on the other hand, that the village (possibly the *doumos*) was sacral and all its inhabitants were at least potentially *hierodouloi*.[40]

The other epitaph found at the same site (*TAM* V1, 470a = de Hoz 1999: 63.32) and dated to 96/7 AD, is dedicated by the extended family (the parents, the brothers, the brother-in-law and his wife, the mother-in-law, who is also *syntrophos*, and her husband), the *hieros doumos* and the deceased's *phratra* (ll. 9–10: ὁ δο̣[ῦ]μος ὁ ἱερὸς καὶ ἡ φράτρα αὐτοῦ).

The expression ὁ δο̣[ῦ]μος ὁ ἱερὸς could be explained by the existence of a non-sacred *doumos*, which would support the identification of *doumos* with *kome*. The mention of a *hieros doumos* and at the same time of a *phratra* of the dead may in turn mark the distinction between the community ruled by the god and, within that wider *doumos*, the narrower, specific kinship community of the dead. The *phratra* would be, like the *neotera symbiosis* mentioned above, a subdivision within the whole village (the *doumos*), possibly based on kinship, governed by the gods themselves.[41] In the testimonies from Phrygian Epiktetos, *phratra* does not seem to have acquired in imperial times the sense of association, and this sense is rare in Maionia, although in the same area of Ayazviran we find a *neotera phratra* of Asclepius dedicating a statue of Hygieia (*TAM* V1 451, de Hoz 1999: 8.18; 28/9 AD).

40. cf. Thonemann 2022: 268–81. Although this interpretation cannot be confirmed, the author adduces numerous arguments in support of it. On *hierodouloi* as cult personnel cf., with testimonies and analyses, but with different interpretations, Debord 1982: 83–124; Ricl 2003: 87–91; for the testimonies in Lydia, de Hoz 1999: 94, all of them from Maionia, except the only one from the Hellenistic period, which comes from the territory of Hierokaisareia and mentions *hierodouloi* from a place called Doarrene (*TAM* V1 1253, de Hoz 1999: 3.6).

41. Contrary to what has been said, however, *phratra* and *symbiosis* are not necessarily synonymous either in the epigraphic texts or in Artemidorus 4.44, where a group of *symbiotai* in a *symbiosis* or in a *phratra* is mentioned. *Symbiosis* may be a general reference to people who are physically together, *phratra* a reference to a gathering of related people who form a delimited group and who, at that time, are *symbiotai*. For *symbiosis* in Lydia cf. de Hoz 1999: 98–99, to whose testimonies a συμβίωσις ἡ τῶν Καλοκαίρων should be added (Malay and Petzl 2017: no. 189). On these terms in Phrygian Epiktetos, cf. Eckhardt 2016: 13–16, whose conclusions I believe also apply to Lydian Katakekaumene. For testimonies of cultic associations in Lydia cf. de Hoz 1999: 98–102; Malay and Petzl 2017: nos. 79, 115, 189, 195, 203; in Lydia and Phrygia, Ricl 2003: 92–93.

But is it a cult association of Asclepius, or is it a family group whose patron deity is Asclepius?[42]

The likelihood that the *doumos* is a community with kinship ties is increased by another inscription from Gökçimen (Kolkurum, Lycaonia), located southeast of Mysthia in the Irmak River valley. This is quite far from Lydia and even beyond the eastern boundaries of Phrygia, so it could support the idea that the *doumoi* were communities with pre-Hellenic origin. It is a dedication of a *doumos* to Meter Ouegna engraved on a clay block, broken on the left and probably also on the top and bottom and found on the wall of a house in the village; to the left of the text is a representation, broken in half, of a seated female figure facing the front (Hall 1968: 75, no. 19, Pl. XII a; *Bull.Épigr.*1969, no. 575):

δο[ῦ]μ/ος οἱ π/ερὶ Ερ/διν Κιδ/δεου / καὶ Κό/ϊντον / Μαμ/α εὐ/χὴν / Μητ/ρὶ Ο/υε/γνα.

The *doumos* (consisting of) those around Erdin son of Kiddeas and around Kointos son of Mamas (dedicates) this prayer to Meter Ouegna.

Although Sterrett (1884–85: 129) suggests that the site could be identified with the δῆμος Γοργορομέων mentioned in an inscription east of Lake Suğla, Hall (1968: 75) states that, if there was once an ancient locality at this site, it must not have been very large. A small size fits with the identity of the *doumos* as a family grouping, as deduced from the expression δο[ῦ]μ/ος οἱ π/ερὶ Ερ/διν Κιδ/δεου / καὶ Κό/ϊντον / Μαμ/α. This same expression of περί + ac. of a personal name is to be found in other cases referring to clearly kinship groupings, such as that of Loros previously cited (ἔδοξεν τοῖς περὶ Ἀττίναν Μενεκράτου[ς] / [σ]υνγενεῖσιν), or the dedication of Tymandos in Phrygia, from the 3rd century AD (*MAMA* IV 230): οἱ περὶ Αὐρ. / Ἀρτέμωνα Ἑρμοκλ[έ]/ους φράτρα Μηνὶ / Πλουριστρέων εὐχήν.[43] Possibly this same reality is hidden by other kinds of expressions, such as the one in Tetrapyrgia dated to 4–3 BC (ll. 2–6): οἱ ἐν Τ̣ετραπ{ι}υργίᾳ κατοικοῦντες συνγενεῖς (Malay and Petzl 2017: no. 203), interpreted by the editors as a private

42. Cf. Eckhardt 2016: 13–16 for the problems in identifying these terms in relation to the process that leads them to mean "association" from a sense of "kinship grouping". Most of the cult and professional associations probably date from Roman times, when the more Hellenised Lydian and Phrygian peoples had grown sufficiently large to give meaning to such a division within society.

43. It could be a private association of a group within the village of the *pluristreoi,* but also of a family group within the village *Pluristra, whose patron god is Men of the *pluristreoi*.

association. Zeus Keraunios, to whom the stele with the representation of an ox and a goat is dedicated, is probably the god of this *syngeneia*. That a village or kinship group is identified by the name of its chief member (the founder or a descendant of the founder?) is attested elsewhere in the interior of Asia Minor. At Thiunta, a village north of Hierapolis, there are two inscriptions with lists of members of a *phratra* (φράτρα περὶ + the names of two chiefs, who change in the second list). Both inscriptions probably refer to the same community, since at least two persons in the second inscription can be identified as sons of two persons in the first, and this is very likely also in other cases.[44] In a village south of Hierapolis, between Laodikeia and Kolossai, in an inscription of 267 BC (*ILaod.Lyk.*1), a decree of the Neoteichitai and the Kiddiokomitai was erected (ll. 5–6: ἔδοξε Νεοτειχείταις καὶ Κιδδιοκωμίταις) in honour of two Seleucid offices. The decree had to be displayed in the sanctuary of Zeus at Baba (possibly the cultic seat of the Neoteichitai) and in the sanctuary of Apollo in the *kome* of Kiddias (ll. 20–21: ἐν τῶι τ[οῦ Ἀ]πόλλωνος ἱερῶι τῶι ἐγ Κιδδίου κώμηι, where Κιδδίου is the genitive of the proper name Κιδδίας/Κιδδέας).[45] The Εἰοκωμῆτ<α>ι dedicating an inscription to Zeus Syreanos in Phrygian Epiktetos may be a village formed by the family of Eia.[46] This phenomenon is not unique to Asia Minor. In the Syrian Hauran, for example, we find two dedications made respectively "to the god of Qasiu" and "to his god Baal[shamin] by the tribe of Qasiu", where Qasiu seems to be the name of an individual, the tribe founded by him and the deity of that tribe.[47]

The *doumos*, as well as transmitter of the orders of the gods and dedicator of cult inscriptions and epitaphs, appears as the beneficiary of a dedication by a person, whose name is lost, to Zeus in the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petarenos at Kurudere (SW of Amorion, Phrygia), from the 2nd cent. II AD:] ὑπὲρ ἰδίου δούμου / [---]τη/ς [Διὶ --]νῷ /[ε]ὐχήν. This inscription has been commented

44. Cf. Eckhardt 2016: 13–16, who cites other cases, several with a similar construction such as the *hetaireia* of the Arximneis (also περὶ + two names), who make a dedication to the gods of the Motaleis; the *phratra* of the Saloudeis and Melokometai, in the area of Dionysopolis, which unites men from two villages, and whose 17 or 24 members may well represent families.

45. Wörrle 1975: 59–87 on the whole inscription, 84–85 on the names of these *komai* and their social organization (cf. note 127 on *Kiddiou-*). For the name Kiddeas cf. a Lycaonian inscription from Asar Dağ brought to Kizilça, Amblada (Hall 1968: 78, no. 25), in which there is a list of 10 names headed by the same expression οἱ περὶ followed by the names in accusative, the first of them with their ancestors up to the fourth generation, the others up to the second.

46. Haspels 1971: 340, no. 109. Cf. Zgusta 1964, s.v. Ειᾱ (fem.; Ειας masc. in Bithynia, Phrygia and Pisidia).

47. Parker 2017: 118. Cf. *infra* for gods with the founder's name as an epithet.

on by Neumann (2002, cf. *supra*) as confirming the sense of *doumos* also as a private family grouping, which would be an intermediate step to the normal sense of cultic grouping. However, nothing prevents this grouping from being a village, possibly consisting of one or more family groups.

In Kuyucak (Phrygian Epiktetos), between the Parthenios and Tembris valleys, and between Nakoleia and Dorylaion, there is another possible testimony of a *doumos* (*MAMA* V 183), although the state of the inscription makes other readings possible.[48] A dedication to Hosios kai Dikaios, Hosia and Apollo could have been made by someone in favour of his *doumos* (---] δ̣ο̣ῦμο̣υ), but a sequence of Ω[…. ἀδελφι]/δ̣ο̣ῦ μο̣υ would also be possible, as is in fact read in *MAMA*.

§ 3.3 *The relationship between gods and villages in rural conservative Asia Minor*

The possibility that villages could adapt the form of cult associations was expressed by Poland in 1909, and has been taken up by Eckhardt (2016), who notes the differences existing in Roman times between associations in the more Romanised areas of west Phrygia versus northern and eastern Phrygia, where terms such as φράτρα and ἑταιρεία are used in a very vague way, possibly to adapt, at least in appearance and with an isomorphic tendency, the close social ties of the community members to the new associative tendency.[49]

In the references to Lydian and Phrygian local divinities, the village is the most obvious protagonist, whose life revolves around the sanctuary and for which the latter has its raison d'être. The number of dedications offered by or for the village as a whole is striking. The villages pray to the god for a good harvest and for their animals, but they also make judicial prayers to the deity when they see that one of their inhabitants has been mistreated.[50] In the more rural and isolated areas of Phrygia and Lydia the families – in the sense of the expanded family (συγγένεια), composed of the nuclear families of each of the members of the initial

48. Cf. Polito's commentary on this inscription (2004: 24–25, B1), with mention of Ramsay's reading of *doumos* as opposed to Cox and Cameron's in *MAMA*.

49. Poland 1909: 84–85; Eckhardt 2016, esp. 12–21. Cf. now Thonemann, 2022: 347 with n. 106, where he says that *doumos* could be a semi-technical term for an extended *syngeneia* functioning as a worship group; and p. 144, note 112, for the Phrygian word being used for kin-based cult associations.

50. Cf. e.g. Petzl 1994: no. 35 (de Hoz 1999: 39.53); and, for other cases where the village intervenes in the confessional process, Petzl 2019, nos. 48 (de Hoz 1999: 57.8a), 133, 169. Confessional inscriptions, attested primarily in Maionia-Katakekaumene, but also in neighbouring Mysia and Phrygia, and in Phrygian Epiktetos, are in fact largely explained as a form of social control by cultic personnel in rural areas with difficult access to legal administration (cf. e.g. Gordon 2004).

nuclear family, the whole village and its patron god – formed a whole that was difficult to divide.[51]

The importance of the deity in villages in these rural and isolated areas is easily understandable, but the inscriptions give us an idea of the extent to which in imperial times the gods were still the ones who regulated the life of the communities in Maionia, as well as in some areas of Phrygia, Bithynia or Pisidia. These include divine epithets derived from the village name,[52] as well as village names formed by means of a theonym,[53] in addition to references to gods as owners or kings of a village,[54] gods and the village as the victims or beneficiaries of an individual transgression,[55] villages as a whole or an individual together with the whole village as dedicators of votive offerings and prayers to the gods,[56] individuals dedicating to the god for the prosperity of the village as a whole,[57] individuals asking

51. On the characteristics of villages and their relationship to sanctuaries and gods in rural Phrygia and Lydia cf. Gnoli and Thornton 1997; Schuler 1998, especially 247–55; Chiai 2009; Ricl 2003: 77–80; Thonemann 2022 for northeastern Lydia.

52. For example, οἱ θε/οὶ οἱ Περκηνῶν (200 AD; de Hoz 1999: 43.2); Ἀπόλλωνι Περμινουν/δέων (I/II AD; *ICPisidia* 94); Ἀρτέμιδι Τιργοσαλλέων (I/II AD; *I.Isinda* 17); Μηνὶ Τολησέ/ων (Ormeleis (Tefenni) Pisidia (261/2 AD; Ramsay 1897: 304, nr. 99).

53. For example, ἡ Διοσκωμη[τ]ῶν κατοικία in the Phrygian territory of Sebaste (*IGR* IV 635, 246 AD), possibly reflecting the existence of a *kome* of Zeus (a *doumos*?) which has evolved into a *katoikia*. Cf. Str. XII 3. 31: καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, τό (ἱερόν) τε τοῦ Μηνὸς ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ τόπῳ (cf. Athenaeus II 43a.).

54. For numerous examples of Men in Lydia, de Hoz 1999: 117; Parker 2017: 97–99.

55. Cf. Malay 1999, 101, 111: (ll. 7–11) τὰ λύτρα μέ/ρη τρία, ἓν τῶν θεῶν, / ἓν τῇ κώμῃ, ἓν τοῖς εἰ/ερῖσι τῶν λυόντων / κατὰ δύναμιν, referring to the delivery that has to be made to propitiate Men Axiottenos in some unidentified place in Maionia: one part is for the gods, one for the *kome* and one for the priests; Petzl 1994: 48 (de Hoz 1999: 47.8a): διέταξεν ὡς ἠθέλεσεν αὐτὸς ἄτερ τῆς κατοικίας (a man is punished for doing what he wanted without taking the *katoikia* into account).

56. For example, Ἀσκλη/πίδης Μηνόφωνος /ἱερεὺς Τρονβολιανὸς /καὶ Εἰοκωμῆτ<α>ι Δεὶ Συρεανῷ εὐχήν. (Sögüt Yaylasi in Phrygian Epiktetos; Haspels 1971: 340, no. 109); cf. *INikaia* 1515; Malay and Petzl 2017, no. 117; *TAM* V2, 1335 (de Hoz 1999: 14.1).

57. For example, Ζεὺς Χαλάζιος Σώζω[ν]. / ἐπὶ Διον[υσί]ου / Θρακιοκωμῆται τῷ θεῷ τὴν στήλλην καθι/έρωσαν ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν / καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν καὶ / τῶν συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατοικούντων /Θρακίαν κώμην (for the health and safety of the peasants, of those who go to the shrine and of the inhabitants of Trakiakome; the dedication is carried out by an individual τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖ[ς κω]μήταις) (*IMT Kyz PropKüste* 1908; Mysian Kyzikene, 1st c. BC). Cf. supra the *katoikia* of the Dioskometai. For an individual donation in favour of the god and the *kome* cf. *SEG* 16. 753: propitiation in which the dedicants donate to the god (Zeus ex Aules) and the *kome* 2010 Attic drachmas for the construction of a temenos.

the god and the village for help,[58] and village priests.[59] Other types of testimonies show the importance of the sacred village festivals, celebrated in honour of the local deity in all these rural villages.[60]

The religious importance of the κώμη and its implications for matters beyond the merely religious, such as the moral and civic behaviour of the villagers, the social order or the funerary honours of its inhabitants, are well attested throughout the hinterland of Asia Minor, especially due to a very particular type of inscription, found in the area of Maionia and the Katakekaumene in northeastern Lydia. The close interaction between the *kome* as a whole, its individual inhabitants and the gods of the place (often called place-holders) shows a society formed by one or more kinship groups, at least in origin (*phratrai*, *symbioseis* and *syngeneiai*) grouped around a sanctuary and under the control of divinities exercising their power over this community, whose priesthood, granted for life and probably inherited in all cases, remained in the founding family of the village and its cult.[61]

Given this presence of the *kome* in the religious life of the inhabitants of rural Lydia and Phrygia, I think we could consider that the (*hieros*) *doumos* was not, as commonly believed, just a religious association, but rather the indigenous denomination of "village", whose ancient term has been sacralised for the cult facet of the community, hence the common addition of the adjective *hieros*.

58. Cf. supra the brothers who ask Men Motyllites, Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis, the senate and the assembly of the gods, the *katoikia* and the *hieros doumos* to show them compassion (Petzl 2019: no. 146).

59. ἱερεὺς τῆς κώμης δι/ὰ βίου (*IPrusias* 31); probably θεῷ Μηνὶ Ο̣ὐ̣[ρανί]/ῳ ἡ κώμη κα[ὶ ὁ ἱ]/ερεὺς (Nikaia, III AD; *INikaia* 1515); ἀποδειχθεὶς (?) ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ Διὸς κ[αὶ αἱρε]θεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρί[δος] μου τὴν ἱερατείαν [το]ῦ Διός... (Maionia or Philadelphia; de Hoz 1999: 61.6). These testimonies suggest that these are priests of the patron god of the village as a whole, whose appointment depends on the village. Cf. Schuler 1998: 233, 251 with several examples, for the hypothesis that all "village priests" (*kometikoi*) were elected by the village community. On the personnel of the rural sanctuaries of Lydia and Phrygia cf. Debord 1982; Ricl 2003.

60. Cf. Schuler 1998: 267–82.

61. Cf. Eckhardt (2016), who, commenting on the terms *bennos* and *doumos* (17–20), mentions expressions such as *bennos* Sereanon or *bennos* Soenon, stating (note 128) that both testimonies point to "a village in its capacity as cult community". Thonemann's exhaustive study (2022, cf. especially chapters 4–6) confirms this hypothesis also for the Lydian northeast, for which he states (*ibid.* 347, note 107) that many village cults seem to be closely associated with kin-groups, and he also points out, in several parts of the book (e.g. 71, 342), that Hieradoumia is a fundamentally kin-ordered society.

§ 4. *Conclusions*

In all the testimonies from Asia Minor the term can be interpreted as "village", and the concept of a sacred village is well known in Anatolia, as is revealed by toponyms in Roman times such as the Lydian Hierakome, attested at least from Achaemenid times, renamed Hierokaisareia in the time of Tiberius. Buresch previously established a connection of the *doumos* with a *hiera kome*: "an das natürlich von einer Ortschaft (ἱερὰ κώμη) umgebene Heiligtum werden sich, wie üblich, private Kultgenossensenschaften angeschlossen haben, zu denen der *doumos* (δοῦμος) unsererer Inschrift gehörte".[62] While agreeing with the first part of Buresch's statement, I believe that the *doumos* is not a private association, and that what precisely characterises it compared to associations of Roman times is its public character and its identification with a population group, the one that arises around the sanctuary, the *kome*.

It is certainly no coincidence that the divinities that appear in connection with a *doumos* are indigenous in Asia Minor and that the term is mainly attested in an area, the Lydian northeast, which is distinguished by the accumulation of elements typical of rural Lydia (as is also the case in other areas of Bithynia, Phrygia or Pisidia), including native gods, the practice of confession or imprecations of Anatolian origin. Although it is very difficult to confirm the Anatolian origin of these elements and their survival in each case, the accumulation of particular phenomena in the area and the importance of recent advances on Lydian and Phrygian cultures –and even Hittite and Luwian cultures and their presence in Anatolia– demonstrate the permanence in this area of very ancient cultural elements.[63] The quantity and precision of the indigenous kinship lexicon, as Thonemann has rightly pointed out,

62. Buresch 1898: 71.

63. A recent overview and state of research progress in the case of the Phrygian religion, with constant comparison with Lydian and the main bibliography, can be found in Chiai 2020. Cf. now Parker 2023 on religion in Phrygia, with frequent comments on very ancient indigenous aspects of Phrygian religion in Roman times. For the origin of confessional inscriptions and many of their particular elements already in the Hittite period cf. Ricl 2014. Recent studies are more generally concerned with the influence of these strata in Greco-Roman Asia Minor and the relationships between religious elements of Eastern and Greek cultures: e.g. Taracha 2009; Parker 2017; Rutherford 2020. Thonemann (2022: 20–24) disqualifies, in my opinion wrongly, this type of hypothesis, although his study highlights precisely the importance of this area for understanding Anatolian indigenous rural life and its conservatism.

is possibly an ancient feature of these cultures.[64] For the same reasons we can assume that they also have a precise terminology to define the different social groups based on kinship, and that the terms *symbiosis*, *doumos*, *phratra* or *syngeneia* are not synonyms at all, although throughout the process in which these institutions are integrated into the Roman system some of them do end up being synonyms as they acquire the meaning of "association". This area is characterised by a strong conservatism which explains the persistence of these elements even in Roman times, unlike in western Lydia or Phrygia and other regions such as Caria and Lycia.[65] The fact that there was no written culture in Hellenistic times, despite the presence of Greeks and Macedonians, indicates that there were not many of them and, above all, that they must have integrated into the communities of the area by marrying indigenous women, as is shown by the mixture of onomastics of the families attested from the earliest inscriptions.

In Caria, where we have abundant documentation from the Hellenistic period, we can see interesting parallels in that period that allow us to imagine the situation in the Lydian northeast in the imperial period as a continuation of the Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic situation. In Caria the *syngeneiai* were the basic political unit of society before the synoecism at the end of the classical period and during the Hellenistic period; in the Hellenistic period they were subsumed in expanding poleis and became subdivisions.[66] A particularly interesting case is that of Sinuri, a sanctuary that was always administered by a *syngeneia*, a community based on kinship ties that was also identified with the name of one of its members (*syngeneia* of Pelokos in the 4th century BC, of Pormounos in Hellenistic times); in some inscrip-

64. Thonemann 2022: 143–44, where he criticises the relation established by some authors between the richness of the kinship lexicon and the survival of an ancient kinship and family system, and claims that much terminology can be imported from Greek or Macedonian. As he himself states, Greeks and Macedonians do not have this wealth of kinship lexicon and, on the other hand, if the importation of Greek and Macedonian lexicon is possible, the same can be said of the importation of Phrygian lexicon or the adaptation of their indigenous lexicon to Greek forms. He himself acknowledges (p. 144) that *kamb*(*d*)*ios* is related to forms attested in other areas of Asia Minor and may be of Luwian origin. The precision in the lexicon of kinship itself is one of the symptoms of conservatism, as demonstrated in numerous sociolinguistic studies.

65. Thonemann himself (2022: 356) stresses the conservatism of Hieradoumia (cf. note 10).

66. Williamson 2021: 215–16.

tions this *syngeneia* seems to be related to a *hiera kome,* and *hierai komai* attested at Labraunda and Lagina become *demoi* of Stratonicea.[67]

The problems posed by the *doumos* testimonies – the relationship between *doumos*, *symbiosis* or *phratra*, the coexistence of a *hieros doumos* with a *katoikia* and of a council of the gods with a senate – can possibly be explained as the result of a process that took place in the first centuries of the imperial era. In this period the Lydian northeast, as well as the areas of Pisidia and Phrygia where the term *doumos* is attested, was being Romanised.[68] Some differences between the testimonies from Asia Minor and those from other areas make it possible that, once outside Anatolian territory, the term was identified with others used for "association" in general, but preserving that indigenous Anatolian nuance with which the dedicators wished to identify themselves. These testimonies would represent the last step in this evolution in which what was originally a sacred village became a religious association in imperial times, under the influence of the strong tendency at the time to create social segregations beyond the purely communal geographical one.[69] This process gave rise to ambiguous and doubtful cases, as for example that of a *neotera phratra* making a dedication to Asclepius at Saittai (*TAM* V1 451, de Hoz 1999, 8.18). This *phratra* may have been formed by families arriving later to an original nucleus which brought their own divinity, in this case, Asclepius.[70]

§ 5. *Epilogue: Literary evidence of* doumos

In the light of the epigraphic testimonies, I believe that the literary texts in which the term appears, in two cases corrected by modern editors, can be better comprehended based on the assumption that at some point in the ancient transmission the original was modified because the non-Greek term was not understood.

67. Cf. Williamson 2021: 179–240 for a study of this sanctuary; Rutherford 2006 for the difference in Caria between small villages where the cult of the Anatolian Tarhuntas continues, and Mylasa, where the cult of the god under the name of Zeus is Hellenised.

68. Cf. on this process Eckhardt 2016, who considers it possible (p. 16) that the villages chose Greco-Roman forms of expression, borrowed from the cities, to represent their community in a prestigious way, precisely with ambiguous terms such as *hetaireia* and *phratra*.

69. Cf. Eckhardt (2016: 20) on the fact that there are no cultic associations in already Romanised areas like the Phrygian south and west, but professional ones, which supports the idea that the *phratra*, *doumoi*, etc. are not cult associations.

70. It is precisely in Saittai that we see a more advanced step of the phenomenon than in the rest of the Lydian northeast, since in this locality there are several professional associations that often appear as dedicators in the epitaphs (cf. Eckhardt 2016: 10 with note 67; Thonemann 2022: 34).

Returning to the 6th century BC, we have in some verses of the iambographer Hipponax (41 Degani, 30 West) a possible mention of a *doumos*, which has been included among the testimonies of the term while often overlooking that what appears in the textual transmission is δούλωι, corrected by Masson (1955: 289, 1987: 145–52; followed by West and Degani) to δούμωι in order to give the verse a logical meaning.[71] The correction has a good chance of being accurate, for as is well known, this author often incorporates in his poems terms and realities peculiar to the Anatolian cultures with which archaic Ionia was in contact. However, other readings cannot be ruled out either, as can be seen in the critical apparatus.

Hipponax, Fr. 30 (West)

οὔ μοι δικαίως μοιχὸς ἁλῶναι δοκεῖ
Κριτίης ὁ Χῖος ἐν τῶι κατωτικῶι† δούμωι.

κατωτικῶι, κατῷξ’ sim. codd.: τῷ κατωτικῷ ut glossema secl. Masson: κασωρικῶι Bergk: δούμωι Masson: e.g. κατώγεωι τωι West: δούλωι codd. cf. Hesych. δοῦλος ἡ οἰκία, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσιν τῶν γυναικῶν West.

Masson’s conjecture κασωρικῶι δούμωι is partly accepted in LSJ, where κασωρικὸς δόμος is translated, referring to this passage, by brothel.[72]

The translation of the two verses, if we accept the reading adopted by West and Degani, would be: “It does not seem to me that the Chian Krities has been justly caught as an adulterer in an underground *doumos*”; “in a brothel” if we translate Masson’s proposal.

We could add κατωρυχῶι as a possible reading of the transmitted form κατωτικῶι, compatible with the iambic trimeter ending in three longs (without τῶι in front, which in fact does not appear in the codd.). The text would speak of an excavated *doumos*, or else of a slave cave if we keep δούλωι and interpret κατωρυχῶι as a noun (something excavated, cf. LSJ), in which case we would indeed expect an article. Bearing in mind the importance of rocks and excavated tombs in ancient Phrygia in relation to the cult of Cybele, Hipponax’s mention

71. Masson correction is based on Latte’s correction of a gloss by Hesyquius (cf. *infra*).

72. Cf. Rodríguez-Adrados in his 1981 edition of Alma Mater, which accepts the conjectural κασωρικῶι but retains δούλωι from the codices, and translates it by “burdel” (brothel).

might be referring to an especial ritual of the goddess.[73] Although the term κατοικία is attested already in Herodotus, the adjective κατοικικῶι, which would fit well, is not attested until Hellenistic times and is unlikely in this text. If this form already existed, it could be a *doumos* of the *katoikia*, in the sense of an original nucleus of population integrated into a later, larger community.

In his critical apparatus, West cites Hesychius' gloss δοῦλος· ἡ οἰκία, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσιν τῶν γυναικῶν, in which Latte (1953: δ 2256) introduces an unpublished correction of Wackernagel (δοῦ<μ>ος), followed by Masson (1955: 289; 1987: 147), who considers that δοῦλος here originates from a Hellenistic gloss of Hipponax's text that is not understood. If we accept the correction, the term would mean the house or the gathering of women in it, a sense that would fit "association" in these two senses, as is the case, for example, with the term οἶκος used as "association". The sense of "association" that the word *doumos* would have if the suggestion proposed by Hesychius is accepted would correspond with the one the term has outside Asia Minor: see for instance δοῦμος Ἀφροδείτης Ἐπιτευξιδίας (Thessalonike 90/1 AD. Voutiras 1992: 87–96; *SEG* 42.625); a *hieros doumos* related to μήτηρ δενδροφόρ(ων) (Serdica (Sofia), post 117 AD. *IGBulg* IV 1925 b, and Addendum); or a probable *doumos* related to the Mother of the Gods in Svistov, Moesia inferior (Bulgaria): sacer/dos M(atris) D(eum) dendroforis et du/mopiretis (101 AD – 250 AD. *ILBulg* 295). In these cases, it is probably an expanded use of the term *doumos*, perhaps related to one association of an indigenous goddess migrating from Asia Minor.

The interpretation of the term in an epigram by the author Philodemus of the 1st century BC, preserved in the *Anthologia Palatina* (VII 222, s. v. 3), is less problematic:[74]

Ἐνθάδε τῆς τρυφερῆς μαλακὸν ῥέθος, ἐνθάδε κεῖται (1)
Τρυγόνιον, σαβακῶν ἄνθεμα Σαλμακίδων,
ᾗ καλύβη καὶ δοῦμος ἐνέπρεπεν, ᾗ φιλοπαίγμων
στωμυλίη, Μήτηρ ἣν ἐφίλησε θεῶν,
ἡ μούνη στέρξασα τὰ Κύπριδος ἀμφὶ γυναικῶν (5)
ὄργια καὶ φίλτρων Λαΐδος ἀψαμένη.
φῦε κατὰ στήλης, ἱερὴ κόνι, τῇ φιλοβάκχῳ
μὴ βάτον, ἀλλ' ἁπαλὰς λευκοΐων κάλυκας.

73. Cf. *supra*, p. 413 with note 21 on the term *doumos* and rocks and niches related to the cult of Cybele.

74. Cf. Sider 1997: 178–87, no. 33 for a good edition, with translation and commentary, including extensive commentary on the term *doumos* on p. 183 with reference to epigraphic evidence.

"Here lies the tender body of the delicate girl; here lies Trygonion, devotee of feeble effeminates,
(she) through whom chapel and duma gained glory, to whom there was playful chatter, whom the Mother of the Gods loved,
she who in a class by herself cherished the Cyprian rites of those all-around women, and helped with Lais's love philtres.
O sacred dust, nourish around this philobacchic's stele not prickly shrubbery but tender buds of white violets."[75]

The reference here to καλύβη καὶ δοῦμος recalls that of the Phrygian inscription mentioned (Obrador-Cursach 2020: B–01), in which a Meter Kybeleia is possibly placed in the niche of a rock, as is frequently attested in ancient Phrygia. Trygonion, a castrated cockerel, as Sider believes, would in any case be a prominent person both in the sanctuary and in the sacred village around it.[76]

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75. Translation of Sider, which I consider more faithful to the Greek text than that of Paton in Loeb, especially as regards verse 3, which is the one that concerns us here.

76. As already noted by Buresch (1898: 62–65) and later by Sider (1997: 178, 182–183), the correction of δοῦμος to δοῦπος in different copies of the text goes back to Scaliger and Salmasius, faced with the strangeness of the hapax.

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A formal approach to the Sidetic signs for *d* and *l*[1]

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§ 1. This paper proposes a formal approach to gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the Sidetic signs for *d* and *l*. To that end, I will carefully examine and establish the epigraphic variants attested in the corpus and their graphic differentiations (§ 3), prove that there is a relationship between these two signs (§ 4) and, finally, suggest a possible explanation for this situation based on the internal tendencies of the Sidetic alphabet (§ 4) and the possible donor alphabet (§ 5). The connection between these two Sidetic signs offers a new perspective that has not yet been explored and constitutes the key assumption underlying the thesis of this work.

Before developing this formal approach, I will introduce the current state of the art (§ 2). Several letters in the Sidetic alphabet have been related to the values *d* and *l*, but this needs to be reviewed and updated for the following reasons. In a previous volume of this collection, I presented a unique coin belonging to the Gazipaşa Hoard (Arslan and Lightfoot 1999: no. 232, plate 11; see Ferrer 2023). This new epigraphic evidence, which contains the signs for both *d* and *l* in its coin legend, carries significant formal and functional implications. Moreover, a review of the literature on this subject raises certain problems that remain unresolved. The first part will therefore serve to establish the signs or variants that will be the subject of this study.

1. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Ignasi-Xavier Adiego for his valuable comments. Of course, I am entirely responsible for any remaining shortcomings.

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Finally, I would like to point out two personal choices I have made in this paper. Firstly, I will not reproduce the shape of signs no. 12 and no. 17 in § 2, since this would involve pre-empting the results of the epigraphic analysis presented in § 3.[2] Secondly, I will generally omit the linguistic interpretation of the examples cited. I will mention only those that are most relevant for decipherment or those worth noting for the formal aspect of these signs, which is my main concern here.

§ 2. Three signs have been related to the value *d*: sign no. 12, 𐤊 and 𐤒. For sign no. 12, there are 13 occurrences in the Sidetic corpus: [-ʔ]𐤒ʔ/ḳʔ-*12*-*ok*ʔ-*17* (coin no. 232), *12-eaθono* (S1.1), *ma-17-ja-12-aś* (S1.2), *12-arkʔew* (S3.2), *12-iuneśijaś* (S3.2), *ośa-12* (S3.3, S4.3), *θan-12-or* (S9.5), *θan-12-orś* (S4.2, S9.3, S9.5, S9.7), *ś-12-i*𐤕*ś* (S6.1); one for 𐤊: *por*-𐤊-*orś* (S2); and one certain for 𐤒: *si*-𐤒-*uawñiś* and var. (S12).[3]

After the publication of the first two Sidetic inscriptions by Bossert (1950), the first sign to be attributed the value *d* was 𐤊, documented only once in the Apollonios bilingual (S2), based on the correspondence between the Sidetic *por*-𐤊-*orś* and the Greek Ἀπολλοδώρου. Sign no. 12 also appears twice in the Artemon bilingual (S1), but the difficulty of interpreting both examples, combined with the very poor condition of the Greek part, made it impossible to obtain a satisfactory reading. Furthermore, the value *d* was not considered for this sign, as it had already been attributed to 𐤊.[4] The Strategos inscriptions (S3–4), however, documented five insightful new testimonies for sign no. 12. First Korol'ov (apud Ševoroškin 1968: 169, n. 17) and later Ševoroškin (1975: 160–161) suggested the value *d* for this sign mainly to identify the names of Athenodoros and Dionysios in *θan-12-orś*

2. I have followed the enumeration of Nollé (2001: 629).

3. I have excluded from this list the possible presence of sign no. 12 and 𐤊 in some ligatures in the coin legends. For 𐤘 (although the proper form is 𐤘! See, for instance, Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, 28, 100 [13/09/2018]), see Brandenstein 1958: 90, Table 2, Atlan 1967: 166, 1968: 72, Brixhe 1969a: 55, Fig. 1, 80, Ševoroškin 1975: 156, Brixhe 1977: 173; for 𐤓 see Ferrer 2023: 85, n. 19; for a possible epichoric monogram – astonishingly resembling the previous ligature – on tetradrachms of Side from between 205 and 190 BC, see Brixhe 1969b: 144, n. 9, 1977, Neumann 1978: 872, Darga 1983: 405, Nollé 2001: 640, 646.

4. See sign no. 15 in the tables from this period, where it either lacked a value proposal (Bossert 1950: Table V, Fig. 11, Brixhe 1969a: 55, Fig. 1) or was assigned the value *g* (Brandenstein 1958: 90, Table 2, Darga 1967: Fig. 10, Neumann 1968: 90 [sign no. 1]). As an exception, Pisani (1952: 89–90) foresaw the value *d*, although his proposal received no support.

(S4.2) and *12-iuneśijaś* (S3.2).[5] This value was definitively confirmed by the bilingual from Seleucia (S6), in which the patronymic *ś-12-i*𐊠*ś* = Σιδιδος provided the correspondence between sign no. 12 and a Greek delta (see Darga 1983: 405–406, although previously mentioned by Brixhe 1977: 174, n. 39). Finally, the Name List inscription (S9) reinforced the common use of this letter for *d*. Most recently, sign no. 12 has also been documented in coin no. 232, probably rendering a Greek name ending in -δοκλῆς or similar (see Ferrer 2023). This is a significant development, as it is the first appearance of this sign in the earlier stage of the coin legends. Furthermore, this new evidence refutes Nollé's proposal (2001: 645) for 𐊢 as an archaic variant of sign no. 12 to shed light on the ethnic name of Side.[6] The co-occurrence of signs no. 12 *d* and 𐊢 on the same die proves that they do not have the same value (see Ferrer 2023: 83–84). Therefore, the sign 𐊢 should be dropped from this discussion.

BOSSERT 1950 ZINKO AND ZINKO 2016

Fig. 1. Drawings by Bossert (1950) and Zinko and Zinko (2016) of *por-*𐊭*-orś* S2

Meanwhile, the sign 𐊭 remains a hapax to this day. As an indication of its rarity, this letter is not included in some of the main current works, such as Nollé (2001: 629), Pérez Orozco (2005; 2007: 142, Table 2, 2020: 147–148, Table 1), Zinko (2016: 361, Fig. 2), and Zinko and Zinko (2019: 422, Fig. 21.1), although the reading *por-d-orś* is systematically quoted. As pointed out by Ševoroškin (1975: 161), both signs no. 12 and 𐊭 were indeed used to reproduce the second element -δωρος of the Greek names Athenodoros and Apollodoros in *θan-12-or* (S9.5), *θan-12-orś* (S4.2, S9.3, S9.5, S9.7) and *por-*𐊭*-orś* (S2). However, I consider that our limited understanding of the Sidetic language requires greater caution and that, as suggested by Schürr (2016: 149–150), another sort of dental cannot be

5. Neumann (1968: 89) also proposed this value alongside *g*, but left the question open, as both values provided plausible equivalences for *θan-12-orś* (S4.2), either Ἀθανάδωρος or Ἀθαναγόρας (the latter previously suggested by Darga 1967: 65).

6. In fact, it is important to add that Bossert (1950: 12) and Ševoroškin (1968: 169) had previously suggested the reading -𐊢𐊸𐊮 (←) = **śid-* or **sid-*, although it was generally adopted from Nollé.

ruled out. On the other hand, Neumann's explanation (1978: 879) of 𐤧 as 'eine jüngere, auf axiale Symmetrie gebrachte Form' of sign no. 12 also seems far from conclusive. Indeed, we probably cannot be sure of the exact shape of this letter. The form 𐤧 adopted here is based on the drawing first published by Bossert (1950: Table III, Fig. 4). Neumann (1978: 875, Fig. 3; followed by Rizza 2005: 72, Table 2) gives a slightly different form 𐤦, but it appears to have been altered to make this letter more similar to sign no. 12. By contrast, the most recent drawing of the Apollonios bilingual by Zinko and Zinko (2016: 3) depicts a striking form 𐤩 (see Fig. 1).[7] In conclusion, neither the value nor mainly the shape of this sign seems certain to me. Therefore, I have decided to provisionally exclude it from this study.

Regarding the value *l*, we know of several variants that can be traced back to the same sign no. 17. There are 7 occurrences in the Sidetic corpus: [-ʾ]𐤫ʾ/𐤪ʾ-*12-ok*ʾ-*17* (coin no. 232), 𐤬-*17* (obverse die),[8] *ma-17-ja-12-aś* (S1.2), *po-17-onij* (S2), *po-17-onijaś* (S2), *e*𐤬*pe-17* (S6.1), *ta-17-amonija*[*ś*] (S9.6).

The value of this sign had already been deciphered by Bossert (1950: 8) based on the names of the dedicant and his grandfather in bilingual inscription S2, *po-17-onij* and *po-17-onijaś*, corresponding to the Greek PN [Ἀ]πολλώνιος and Ἀπολλωνίου. However, there is a lack of agreement concerning the number and form of the variants of sign no. 17; up to three forms (𐤨, 𐤮, 𐤭) in Neumann (1968: 90; 1978: 875, Fig. 3), Brixhe (1969a: 55, Fig. 1), Faucounau (1980: 654, Fig. 1) and Rizza (2005: 72, Table 2); two forms (𐤨 and 𐤭) – because of a misreading, see below p. 445, n. 13 – in Bossert (1950: Table V, Fig. 11), Brandenstein (1958: 90, Table 2) and Darga (1967: Fig. 10); and just one form, either 𐤨 in Ševoroškin (1975: 165, Table 1) and Adiego (2004: 313; 2018: 157, Table 7), 𐤮 in Nollé (2001: 629) and Pérez Orozco (2005: 80; 2007: 142, Table 2; 2020: 148, Table 1) or 𐤭 in Zinko (2016: 361, Fig. 2) and Zinko and Zinko (2019: 422, Fig. 21.1). In general terms, scholars initially recorded the different variants in greater detail, while they have now been reduced to a single form. Moreover, a distinction was traditionally made between an open form in inscriptions and a closed form on

7. In my opinion, only the vertical strokes 𐤦 are clear, but I cannot discern whether they are connected or not. For different images of the inscription, see Bossert 1950: Table II, Fig. 3, Mansel 1963: 4, Fig. 2, Darga 1967: Fig. 1–2, Brixhe 1969a: Table II, Text II, Zinko and Zinko 2015: 4, Photo 3 (the most recent one I know of).

8. For this letter combination, see, for instance, London, BM, CM 1852-0902-87 = Sotheby & Wilkinson, 312 (09/07/1852).

coins, known only from the letter combination 𐌕-*17*.[9] In this regard, Brixhe (1969a: 80–81) suggested that some signs on coins had undergone a simplification process in later inscriptions, such as sign no. 17, from 𐌋 to 𐌊, 𐌊. However, the situation has changed significantly, as stone inscription S9 displays a closed form and coin no. 232 an open form (see Ferrer 2023: 84–85). Therefore, it is necessary to establish the number of variants of sign no. 17 and reassess their value in light of the new evidence.

§ 3. From now on, the paper will analyse the epigraphic occurrences of signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l* in the Sidetic corpus, while 𐌒 has been removed and 𐌇 has been set aside for further study. For the sake of conciseness, I will not quote the testimonies again and will instead focus solely on the graphic description of their shapes:

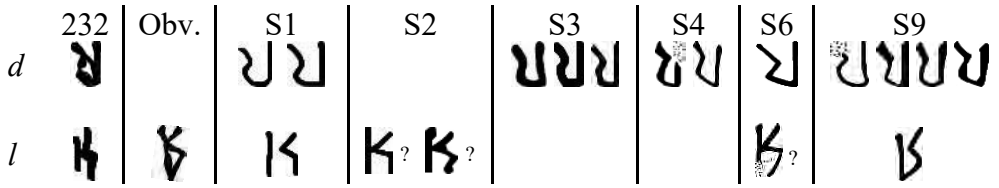

Fig. 2. Drawings of the epigraphic testimonies of signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*[10]

Sign no. 12 *d* appears twelve times in inscriptions with the same shape 𐌃, composed of a vertical and a curvilinear trace, joined by a single stroke and facing

9. These two variants were connected from the very beginning by Bossert (1950: Table V, Fig. 11) due to their formal proximity. Actually, there is no linguistic evidence, as the meaning of such a coin legend is still unknown (for a relevant bibliography, see Ferrer 2023: 78, n. 4.). Furthermore, since it is documented only by a single die, we cannot rule out the possibility that the engraver, working in negative, might have been confused with the variant 𐌃 on coins of sign no. 12. In any case, the closed variant of sign no. 17 in S9 supports this possible identification.

10. For the photographs on which the drawings are based, see Ferrer 2023: 81, Fig. 2, 83, Fig. 3 (coin no. 232), London, BM, CM 1852-0902-87 (obverse die), Zinko, Rizza and Zinko 2018: 10 (S1), Zinko and Zinko 2015: 4, Photo 3 (S2), 5, Photo 4 (S3), 6, Photo 7 (S4), Brixhe and Neumann 1988: Table I, b (S6), Zinko and Zinko 2015: 9, Photo 12 (S9). For coin no. 232, see also a new second photograph (Fig. 8) published below in the addendum.

left.[11] On coin no. 232, however, it has a slightly different shape 𐎍, with both lines also touching each other.

Sign no. 17 *l*, also composed of a vertical and a curvilinear trace, but facing right, is a more complex case. On coins, both strokes touch, but coin no. 232 presents the open form 𐎎, while the obverse die shows the closed form 𐎏. Among the inscriptions, I can only determine the shapes in S1 and S9 with any certainty based on the photographs available. In both inscriptions, the traces are separated, but the first shows the open form 𐎎, while the ninth shows the closed form 𐎏. In the remaining two inscriptions, S2 and S6, it is unclear whether it is the open or closed form due to the quality of the inscription and photograph, although it is clear that the traces touch.[12]

Therefore, the inventory compiled here appears to be somewhat more complex than previously discussed. From a formal point of view, two distinct variants can be identified for sign no. 12 *d* (𐎍, 𐎍), while four can be identified for sign no. 17 *l* (𐎏, 𐎏, 𐎎, 𐎎). In addition, three graphic differences can be recognised: 1) right-facing or left-facing forms; 2) touching or separated forms; and 3) closed or open forms – in other words, written by means of one or two strokes:

	d CLOSED		*l*		OPEN		*l*
	←		→		←		→
TOUCHING	𐎍		𐎏		-		𐎎
SEPARATED	𐎍		𐎏		-		𐎎

Fig. 3. Graphic differences of the variants of signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*

The orientation of the letters is consistent in all variants, with sign no. 12 *d* facing left (𐎍, 𐎍) and sign no. 17 *l* facing right (𐎏, 𐎏, 𐎎, 𐎎).

The touching and separated forms are shared by both sign no. 12 and sign no. 17, but their distribution is rather unclear at first glance. In an earlier period, on coins, the vertical and curved traces are written touching, in both sign no. 12 𐎍 and sign no. 17 𐎏, 𐎎. Later, in inscriptions, sign no. 12 consistently displays the separated form 𐎍 in all occurrences (S1, S3, S4, S6, S9), whereas sign no. 17 presents

11. The same form is also documented in the new inscription published by Tekoğlu (this volume).

12. In S2, the shape is probably 𐎎, as drawn by Bossert 1950: Table III, Fig. 4. Regarding S6, that part of the inscription is damaged, but the long, oblique path of the lower right stroke points to the closed variant 𐎏. In neither case is a new variant expected.

the separated forms 𐤊, 𐤋 in S1 and S9, but also touching forms in S2 and S6. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the bilingual from Seleucia (S6) documents a separate form for sign no. 12 alongside a touching form for sign no. 17. Therefore, it appears that both signs evolved over time towards separate traces, albeit rather unevenly. However, there may be a possible explanation for this situation. Sign no. 17, as discussed in more detail below, sometimes presents an open form written by means of two strokes. Separating the two strokes in this case could have led to confusion, since it could have been misunderstood as two independent signs and mistaken for the frequent Sidetic sequence 𐤉𐤇 *aś* due to their formal resemblance. The engraver of the Artemon bilingual seems to have been aware of this when inscribing the form 𐤊, since he concluded the right stroke vertically instead of diagonally as in 𐤇; compare the tracing of these signs in the same word *maljadaś* S1.2.[13] Thus, this potential confusion could have hampered this graphic change in sign no. 17, whereas sign no. 12 posed no problem, as it was always written in a single stroke.

The closed and open forms also present a complex situation, especially regarding sign no. 17. While sign no. 12 documents only closed variants, sign no. 17 displays both forms with no clear pattern. The chronology of the material provides no further information on this matter, as closed and open forms are recorded either on coins as 𐤊 (coin no. 232) vs. 𐤋 (obverse die) and in inscriptions as 𐤊 (S1) vs. 𐤋 (S9). For this reason, it is necessary to resort to considerations beyond epigraphic sources, which will be discussed below.

§ 4. My aim in this section is to demonstrate that there was a very close relationship between signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l* within the Sidetic alphabet. The great formal proximity among some of their variants is remarkable: 𐤃 and 𐤋, 𐤃 and 𐤋. A good example of this is provided by the Name List inscription (S9). The engraver carved identical strokes for both letters on the stone, differentiated only by the inversion:

13. This misunderstanding is precisely what impeded the proper reading of *ma*-𐤊-*jadaś* for almost two decades after its decipherment. Bossert (1950: 10) initially interpreted 𐤊 as two different signs, sign no. 14 𐤉 *ś* and its sign no. 19 𐤆, a hapax (followed by Pisani 1952: 89–90, Brandenstein 1958: 85, Neumann 1961: 40–41, Darga 1967: 58); Brixhe (1969a: 56–57) also considered a variant of sign no. 1 𐤇 *a* for the alleged second sign. Neumann (1968: 80) finally pointed out that it was a mistake, and that sign no. 17 should instead be identified.

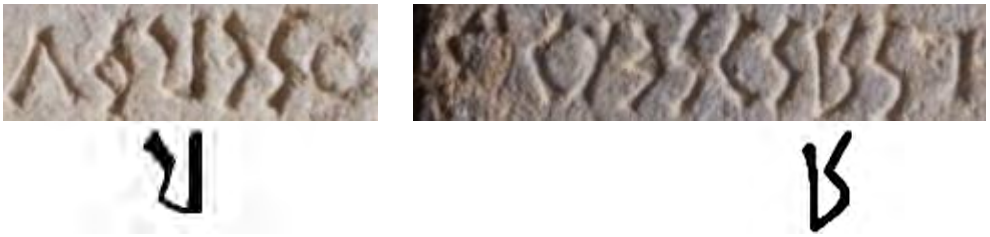

Fig 4. Photograph from Zinko and Zinko (2015: 9, Photo 12) of *θandor* and *talamonija*[*ś*] S9 and my drawing of signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*

Of course, the formal resemblance between both letters had to be distinguished to avoid confusion. Two of the three graphic features mentioned above can be recognised as differentiating traits. Firstly, these letters always maintain an opposite orientation, with sign no. 12 *d* facing left (ᛞ, ᛞ) and sign no. 17 *l* facing right (ᛚ, ᛚ, ᛕ, ᛕ). Secondly, there is also an opposition between the closed variants ᛞ, ᛞ for *d* and the open variants ᛕ, ᛕ for *l*, although the latter can also present the closed variants ᛚ, ᛚ. At this point, the following questions arise. Why does sign no. 17 display both open and closed forms? Which of these variants is earlier? As stated above, epigraphic testimonies cannot provide any answers from a chronological point of view. However, the formal relationship observed between these two letters within the Sidetic alphabet could provide a compelling explanation.

VALUE	←	→	VALUE
a	ᛋ	ᛊ	*w*
g	ᛁ	ᛏ	*s*
?	ᚲ	ᚴ	*m*
d	ᛞ	ᛚ	*l*

Fig. 5. Pairs of letters in the Sidetic alphabet based on mirror symmetry

The Sidetic alphabet, like many others, has a clear tendency towards standardisation. One of its mechanisms is the creation of pairs of letters based on mirror symmetry. Some letters therefore take identical shapes, with the only graphic differentiation being the opposite orientation (see Fig. 5).[14] Accordingly, the simplest solution for signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*, in my opinion, is as follows. During an earlier period, these two letters were distinguished by the opposite orientation and

14. On coins, this type of symmetry can also be observed between signs no. 3 *i* and 15 *s* in some specimens. See, for instance, Paris, BnF, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Fonds général 524.

the opposition of the closed and open forms: 𐤃 vs. 𐤊 (also later 𐤃 vs. 𐤋). As a result of this tendency of the Sidetic alphabet, the closed form for sign no. 17 *l* was developed secondarily, based on mirror symmetry with sign no. 12 *d*: 𐤃 vs. 𐤆 (also later 𐤃 vs. 𐤇). Despite the formal approximation of both letters, the opposite orientation continued to be sufficient to distinguish them.[15]

§ 5. To sum up, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l* were very closely related from a formal point of view; (2) the opposite orientation was consistently a distinctive trait; (3) at first, there was also an opposition between the closed and open forms, but sign no. 17 was secondarily approximated to sign no. 12 due to the Sidetic alphabet's tendency towards symmetry; and, finally, (4) the vertical and curvilinear traces of both signs, initially written touching each other, were later separated, although the fact that sign no. 17 was written by means of two strokes may have hampered its own process to avoid confusion. Therefore, we can establish, albeit with the utmost caution, the closed, touching and left-facing form 𐤃 for sign no. 12 and the open, touching and right-facing form 𐤊 for sign no. 17 as the earliest variants.[16]

It is now worth asking whether these graphic features were innovations of the Sidetic alphabet or whether they ultimately came from the model alphabet. This is undoubtedly the most speculative point. We do not know when the Sidetic script originated. Bossert (1950: 14) and Neumann (1978: 882, 884–885) considered it to be a relatively recent invention, not too far removed from the first half of the 1st millennium BC. Brixhe (1969a: 81–82) and Nollé (2001: 628) did not rule out the possibility of an earlier date, in the 7th or even 8th century BC. However, there is no basis to support these conjectures, as coins, which constitute the oldest evidence available, date from the early part of the 4th century BC (see Atlan 1967: 138–139, 1968: 67).[17] The donor alphabet is also much disputed. Many scholars have high-

15. This solution implies the opposite evolution to that proposed for sign no. 17 by Brixhe (1969a: 80–81), who was still unaware of coin no. 232; see above, p. 443.

16. It is probably a coincidence, but it is important to note that this is precisely the situation found in 𐤊𐤒𐤅𐤃𐤀/𐤔𐤋[-𐤀] (←) = [-𐤀]𐤔𐤋𐤀/*ḳ*ʾ*dok*ʾ*l* (coin no. 232). This specimen dates from 380–360 BC (see Arslan and Lightfoot 1999: 35; Ferrer 2023: 79) and most probably predates the obverse die 𐤕𐤆, which Atlan (1967: 148–152) places in the last group of monetary issues with Sidetic coin legends, between 360–333 BC. Therefore, our hypothesis is consistent with the oldest epigraphic evidence in the corpus.

17. The date is frequently given as somewhat earlier, in the late 5th century BC (see Brixhe 1969a: 54–56, 65, 82, 1977: 173, Neumann 1978: 872, Nollé 2001: 628). This assumption ultimately stems from Seltman (1924: 3–5, 13–14), who claimed to recognise Sidetic characters on some coins

lighted the aberrant character of this alphabet, which further complicates this matter (see Bossert 1950: 14, Kretschmer 1954: 18, Ševoroškin 1968: 173, 1975: 166, Brixhe 1969a: 81, Nollé 2001: 628, Adiego 2004: 312, 2018: 157). Leaving aside the superseded comparisons with the so-called 'Old Asianic Syllabary' by Sayce (1885: 910) and the Cypriot syllabary by Brandenstein (1958: 88, 90–91), it seems clear that the Sidetic alphabet belongs to the family of Greco-Semitic alphabets that developed in Anatolia during the first millennium BC, but there is no agreement concerning the model.

The Semitic origin was previously proposed by Ševoroškin (1968: 169, 1975: 166), Brixhe (1969a: 82) and Carruba (1992). These days, however, this hypothesis is defended primarly by Pérez Orozco (2003: 106–107, 2005, 2020: 146–149), who claims that the Sidetic alphabet came directly from the monumental Aramaic variant used during the Achaemenid Empire. However, as disputed by Adiego (2018: 157), very few signs admit a clear correspondence with that alphabet, while most involve significant modifications in both form and function.

The Greek origin has been suggested by Neumann (1978: 882–885). Adiego (2004: 313, 2018: 157–158) has expressed his support for Neumann's arguments. At first glance, the Sidetic alphabet does not seem to bear comparison with a Greek model. However, Neumann observed that several letters in the Sidetic alphabet clearly show a highly cursive character, to the extent that some even resemble a 'minuscule-like' form. For this reason, Neumann proposed that the Sidetic alphabet could have derived from a cursive Greek script written by means of a brush or a *calamus* on a softer writing medium such as leather or papyrus, which would favour a longer extension of the stroke. Thus, some letters, such as the vowels 𐤏 *o* and 𐤄 *e*, which are otherwise difficult to explain, would have come from a Greek omicron and epsilon in two strokes. However, other letters lack an explanation.

	MODEL ALPHABET		TRANSFORMATIONS		SIDETIC VARIANTS
PÉREZ OROZCO 2005	Aram. dalet	𐤃			> 𐤃
	Aram. lamed	𐤋	> *𐤍	> *𐤅	> 𐤉
NEUMANN 1978	Greek delta		*𐤃		> 𐤃
	?				> 𐤊, 𐤉, 𐤋

Fig. 6. Pérez Orozco and Neumann's proposals for the origin of the Sidetic signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*[18]

from this period. However, Kraay (1962: 2), followed by Atlan (1967: 164, 1968: 67, n. 1), demonstrated that these were not written signs but rather die wear marks.

18. All letter forms, including Sidetic variants, have been taken directly from respective studies.

Regarding signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*, Brixhe (1969a: 81) argued that these signs 'paraissent irréductibles à un signe gréco-sémitique'. Despite this, Pérez Orozco and Neumann have attempted a possible derivation from the Aramaic and Greek models (see Fig. 6). According to Pérez Orozco (2005: 79–80), signs no. 12 and no. 17 would have come from a dalet and a lamed, respectively. However, at least two objections must be noted. Firstly, Sidetic sign no. 12 is never recorded in this form (see Fig. 2); it seems somewhat distorted to resemble the corresponding Aramaic letter. Secondly, the closed form marked with an asterisk for sign no. 17 is indeed attested (𐤛 and 𐤋) and, as discussed in § 4, is more likely to be a later transformation of the open form. According to Neumann (1978: 883–884), sign no. 12 would have come from a cursive form written by means of a single stroke of a Greek delta, while sign no. 17 remains unexplained since its shape, in his opinion, is far removed from a Greek lambda. Adiego (2004: 313), however, did consider λ as a possible origin of sign no. 17, although he did not develop this idea further.

The conclusions reached in this paper may offer new insight into this topic. From a formal point of view, the Sidetic signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l* were closely related and initially had two graphic differentiations: the opposition between the open and closed forms and the opposite orientation, i.e. 𐤃 vs. 𐤊. Based on these similarities and differences, it is my opinion that the Greek model provide the best explanation. The Greek letters delta and lambda (as with the corresponding Lycian letters) have an almost identical shape, with the only graphic differentiation being the lower trace, which is closed in the case of delta and open in the case of lambda: Δ vs. Λ. Therefore, the Sidetic alphabet could have adopted the form and value of these Greek letters under the *principe de stabilité* (Boisson 1994: 225) and maintained this graphic differentiation.[19] The process of cursivisation that seems to underlie the genesis of this alphabet would have resulted in a more aberrant form, with one stroke for no. 12 *d* and two strokes for no. 17 *l*, but actually not so far removed from the Greek minuscule δ and λ (see, for instance, some cursive forms of these Greek letters recorded by Carrier 1999). Furthermore, the fact that the strokes of both Sidetic letters initially touched each other might also recall the con-

19. More difficult to explain is the opposite orientation of the Sidetic letters. According to Adiego (personal communication), while the protoform for *l* fits with the sinistrorse direction of the writing, the protoform for *d* proposed by Neumann (and adopted here) assumes a dextrorse orientation (see below, Fig. 7). In this regard, it is also worth considering whether the adaptation of the model alphabet was based on vertical-axial symmetrical forms, which would point to a rather late creation.

tact of the upper strokes in the corresponding Greek letters.[20] Additional traces would also have developed at this juncture, which Neumann attributed to the writing instrument and surface (see above, p. 448). At this point, I would like to include a hypothesis put forward by Adiego (1998, 2004: 312–317, 2007: 230–233, 2018: 156) for the Carian alphabet, which, after a strong process of cursivisation, would have undergone 'a sort of "restructuring" to a system of "capital letters"'. After that, the Greek capitals were again used as a formal model, regardless of their phonetic values. A similar situation could be envisaged for the Sidetic alphabet, whereby these additional cursive traces would have been emphasised by this process and developed into new, more uppercase forms, sometimes resembling other Greek capital letters. For example, the earliest variant 𐊗 *l* could be compared to a Greek kappa.[21]

Reclaiming Neumann's proposal for the cursive Greek script written by means of a brush or a *calamus*, the following route could be traced for these two letters: borrowing from a Greek model, the subsequent processes of cursivisation and 'restructuring' until they took on the earliest documented shape and lastly internal evolutions towards the formal approximation of both letters based on mirror symmetry and the later separation of their traces:

MODEL ALPHABET			TRANSFORMATIONS		SIDETIC VARIANTS	VALUE
Greek delta	Δ / δ	>	*𐊄	>	𐊄 (later 𐊅)	*d*
Greek lambda	Λ / λ	>	*𐊘	>	𐊗 (later 𐊘) > 𐊕 (later 𐊖)	*l*

Fig. 7. My proposal for the origin of the Sidetic signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *l*

Unfortunately, regardless of when the Sidetic alphabet was created, the Greek cursive is not documented until some time later. In addition, the hypothesis of a model alphabet must be comprehensive. Ad hoc explanations for only a few letters have limited value.

§ 6. In conclusion, a more complete inventory of the variants of signs no. 12 *d* and no. 17 *d* has been established and can likely be explained by internal mechanisms. Furthermore, as speculative as it may be, this evidence reinforces Neumann's hy-

20. Interestingly, Neumann was unaware of the archaic touching variant 𐊅 *d*, but anticipated it when drawing the intermediate form (see above, Fig. 6).

21. Nollé (1983: 95) already pointed out this resemblance in his hypothesis about the possible Greek reinterpretation by the copyists of the obscure 'characters' of Mnemon of Side.

pothesis that brings the Sidetic alphabet closer to other local alphabets in Anatolia, such as Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian or Carian, which point to a Greek origin.

ADDENDUM: *On the new Sidetic coin legend* (*Ferrer 2023*)

§ 7. The publication of a *pinakion* in Sidetic by Tekoğlu (this volume) entails new considerations regarding coin no. 232. I will take this opportunity to publish a second photograph of the coin casts kindly sent to me by Dr. Chris Lightfoot.

Fig. 8. Coin casts and details of the inscription in exergue of coin no. 232. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Christopher S. Lightfoot

The following possible reading of the inscription in exergue was suggested in Ferrer (2023): 𐊒𐊘𐊦𐊛𐊘$^{?}$/𐊚$_{?}^{?}$[-$^{?}$] (←) = [-$^{?}$]𐊚$_{?}^{?}$/*ḳ*$^{?}$*dok*$^{?}$*l*.[22] This coin legend probably renders a Greek compound name in ºδος '?'+ -κλῆς 'fame' or similar. These are the possible names documented in the LGPN online (in alphabetical order): Βηδοκλέα [f.], Ἐμπεδόκλεια [f.], Ἐμπεδοκλῆς [m.], Ἐμπεδοκλίδας [m.], Κυδοκλῆς [m.], Μειδοκλῆς [m.], Ῥοδόκλεια [f.], Ῥοδοκλῆς [m.] and Φειδοκλῆς [m.] (and var.). However, the truncated beginning of the inscription makes it impossible to properly identify the name. A possible candidate, as I have suggested, is Κυδοκλῆς, if the first visible sign is to be read as 𐊒 *k*$^{?}$. However, this is not particularly convincing, since the circular stroke seems too wide. The new inscription published by Tekoğlu

22. For a possible reading of this coin legend together with the ethnic name, see Ferrer 2023: 89–91.

offers yet another possibility to consider for this coin legend. Tekoğlu has identified for the first time the new Sidetic sign 𐊸 (his sign no. 27). The rounded shape of this sign could also match with the remaining part of the first visible letter. Unfortunately, it seems that the phonetic value of the sign 𐊸 cannot yet be determined from the new *tessera iudicis*. I therefore leave this other possibility and those envisaged in Ferrer (2023) open.

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The 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns in Luwian, Anatolian, and Indo-European

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The interpretations of several Luwian pronominal forms of the first and second person plural are debated, and, as a consequence, their value for reconstructing the Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European state of affairs is unclear. In the following article I will try to elucidate some problematic forms, and establish the synchronic paradigms of the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns in Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian. Moreover, I will attempt to reconstruct the Proto-Luwian paradigms of these pronouns, and discuss to what extent they can be used for reconstructing the Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European situations.*

§ 1. *The 1pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian*

The interpretation of forms of the 1pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian has been debated, although the last few years some consensus seems to have been reached. In his *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*, Melchert (1993: 24) cites the forms "dat.-acc. *an-za*, *a-an-za*(*-ti*); case? *an-za*(*-aš*)" and states that "it is unclear whether *anza* and *anzaš* represent different case forms". Later, in *The Luwians*, Melchert (2003: 189) cites for this pronoun a single form, "dat.-acc. *ānza*(*š*)". In *ACLT*$_1$, Yakubovich cites three different forms, however: nom. *an-za-aš*, dat. *an-za*, and instr. *a-an-za-ti*. In the same way, *eDiAna* (Payne *et al.* 2023) cites three

* I would like to thank Oscar Billing for useful comments on an earlier version of this article.

distinct forms, nom. *an-za-aš*, dat.-acc. *an-za*, and abl./instr.(?) *a-an-za-ti*, although the option is left open that *a-an-za-ti* should be analysed as a dat.-acc. form *ānza* + refl. *=ti*.

To my mind, the interpretation of *anzaš* as a nominative form is indeed convincing: as Payne *et al.* 2023 state, in KUB 35.133 iv 13–14, we read (13) ***anzaš****=pa kuu̯ari pāri ḫūp*[-....] (14) *ḫūiunni* ..., in which the form *ḫūiunni* is a 1pl.pres.act. form 'we run'. If *ḫūiunni* is part of the same clause as *anzaš* (but note that the gap in line 13 is quite substantial), it would definitively prove that *anzaš* is a nominative form. Also, the dative function of *anza* is clear, as we can tell from e.g. KUB 35.133 iii (14) ***anza*** *pīi̯a māu*[*u̯*]*allašša mašḫariešša* (15) ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*anza u̯a*[.]x-*šašša* 'Give **us** *m.*, *m.*, wine, (and) *u̯.*!'. An accusative function of *anza* is, as far as I can see, unattested, but since in all Anatolian languages the dative and accusative forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns (singular and plural) are formally identical to each other, we can assume this to be the case here too, hence dat.-acc. *anza*.

The interpretation of the form *ānzati* as an abl.-instr. form (thus also Plöchl 2003: 65; Hackstein 2007: 137) or as a dat.-acc. form *ānza* + *=ti* (Melchert 1993: 24; Plöchl 2003: 65; Payne *et al.* 2023) does not seem attractive to me, however. The form occurs in the following passage, where we indeed find many other forms of the 1pl. personal pronoun, as well as 1pl. verbal forms (all underlined).

KUB 35.133 iv

8	*pa-a <u>an-za-aš</u>* [ ]x x[	...]
9	*ma-aš-ḫa-a-ḫi-š*[*a* -]*li-i̯a-an-ni-in*[(-)	...]
10	***a-an-za-ti*** *i-šar-u̯iš-li-iš a-aš-ti* x[	...]
11	*<u>ma-ar-šu<-un>-ni</u> <u>an-za-aš</u>* ZAG-*iš a-u̯a*[-	...]
12	*ti-i ti-i-i̯a <u>an-za</u> ad-du-u̯a-an-z*[*a*	...]
13	*<u>an-za-aš</u>=pa ku-u̯a-ri pa-a-ri ḫu-u-u*[*p-*	...]
14	*<u>ḫu-u-i-un-ni</u> at-ra-ḫi-ša ma-aš-ḫa-ḫi-š*[*a*	...]

It is therefore understandable that scholars have attempted to interpret *a-an-za-ti* as an inflected form of the 1pl. personal pronoun, as well. However, *a-an-za-ti* would be the only form that is spelled with plene spelling of its initial *a*: all other attested forms of the 1pl. personal pronoun are spelled *an-z*° (9x), without plene spelling. I therefore want to propose that *a-an-za-ti* should be analyzed differently, namely as a particle chain, *ā=nz(a)=ti*, i.e. consisting of the conjunction *a=* + encl. dat.-acc. of the 1pl. pers.pron. *=nz* (comparable to HLuw. /=nts/, cf. section 2 below) + reflexive *=ti*. Note that the conjunction *a=* regularly

shows plene spelling of its *a* in forms like *a-at-ta* = *ā=tta*, *a-am-ma-aš* = *ā=mmaš*, etc. As kindly pointed out to me by Craig Melchert (pers.comm.), we may analyse the clause it occurs in as follows: *ā=nz(a)=ti išarṷiliš āšti* 'you are / will be righteous to us'. This implies that *āšti* should be interpreted as a 2sg.pres.act. form 'you are / will be' (using the originally *ḫi*-conjugation ending *-tti*), which makes this clause a copula clause with a 2nd person subject, which automatically triggers the use of the reflexive *=ti*. Note that in line 12 the 2sg. personal pronoun nominative form *tī* is found, supporting the idea that the clause of line 10 is referring to the addressee in the 2nd person singular.

When it comes to the phonological interpretation of nom. *anzaš* and dat.-acc. *anza*, we have to keep in mind that they represent the freestanding, orthotonic forms of the paradigm (contrasting with the enclitic dat.-acc. form *=nz*) and thus should contain at least one accented syllable. Although in Cuneiform Luwian the place of accentuation in a word is not noted down specifically, several arguments can be given on the basis of which we can form an informed opinion. Both in *anzaš* and in *anza* the initial vowel is always spelled non-plene (*an-z*°, not ***a-an-z*°), which makes it unlikely that it was stressed. Moreover, also on the basis of etymological considerations we would not expect accentuation of *anz-*: we will see in section 7 below that this syllable reflects PIE **ns-*, i.e. a *zero*-grade morpheme, which, from an Indo-European point of view, we do not *a priori* expect to have been accented. On the basis of these two arguments, we can assume that the initial syllable /ants-/ was unaccented. For the nom. form *anzaš*, this implies that it represents an oxytone form /antsás/. In the case of the dat.-acc. form *anza*, it cannot be independently determined whether its final *-a* is a real vowel or not: compare the case of the dat.pl. ending that is usually spelled *-Vn-za*, but that on the basis of forms like ^{d}*lu-u-la-ḫi-in-za-aš=tar* (KUB 9.31 ii 24) and *pár-na-an-za-aš=ta* (HT 1 ii 7) clearly underlyingly was /-Vnts/, without a phonological final vowel. Yet, given the argumentation above on the basis of which it was deemed unlikely that the initial part of *anza* was accented, it seems best to assume that the word-final *-a* of this form does represent a real vowel and that this vowel bore the accent: *anza* = /antsá/.

We thus arrive at the following paradigm of the 1pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian, in which the two accented forms are oxytone.

nom.	*an-za-aš*	/antsás/
dat.-acc.	*an-za*	/antsá/
encl. dat.-acc.	*=n-z*(*a*)	/=nts/

§ 2. *The 1pl. personal pronoun in Hieroglypic Luwian*

The interpretation of forms of the 1pl. personal pronoun in Hieroglyphic Luwian is relatively uncontroversial. We find an orthotonic nominative form *a-za$_5$-za*, for instance in ASSUR letter *a* §3 | ***a-za$_5$-za***-*ha-wa*/*i-za* | *á-pi* | *ha-tu-ra*+*a* 'And as for us, **we** are in health' (Waal 2021: 273). The enclitic accusative-dative form is spelled *=za*, cf. e.g. ASSUR letter *e* §13 | *wa*/*i-za*$^{-i}$ | *ni-i* | *ARHA* | ("*69")*sa-tu*$^{-i}$ 'Do not let them miss **us**!' (Hawkins 2000: 536). A genitival adjective is attested with an *-a*/*i*-stem *a-za*/*i-* in nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-za-ia* (ASSUR letter *e* §12 ... | ***a-za-ia***-*ha*$^{-a}$ | *sa-na-wa*/*i-ia* 'and **our** goods' (Hawkins 2000: 536)), whereas an *-ia*/*i*-stem *a-zi-ia*/*i-* is attested in abl.-instr. *á-zi-ia-ti* (IZGIN 1 §16 ... ***á-zi-ia-ti*** LEPUS+*RA*/*I-ti* 'by **our** authority' (Hawkins 2000: 316)). The nom.sg.c. form *a-zi-sa* (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §9 | *kwa*/*i-sà*$^{-a}$*-wa*/*i-sa*$^{-a}$ | ***a-zi-sa*** | *ha-tu-ra*+*a-sa* 'What will it be, **our** health?' (Waal 2021: 277)) can belong both to the *-a*/*i*-stem *a-za*/*i-* and to the *-ia*/*i*-stem *a-zi-ia*/*i-*. Next to these two stems, we also find a genitival adjective in *-asa*/*i-*, namely in TOPADA §26 ... ***á-za$_5$-sa$_7$-na*** FINES+*HI* ... '**our**$^{(?)}$ frontier' (Hawkins 2000: 458–459). When it comes to the phonological interpretation of these forms, it is generally agreed upon that the orthotonic forms spelled *a-z*° and *á-z*° represent /ants°/, with an /n/ that is attested in CLuwian *anz*° as well.[1] The same is assumed for the encl. dat.-acc. form *=za*, which can be interpreted as /=nts/.[2] Note that the sign *za$_5$* (HH 432) that is found in many forms (nom. *a-za$_5^{(-a)}$-za* (attested 5 times), *á-za$_5$-sa$_7$-na*), has in the past been read as "*zu*" (including in Hawkins 2000), but see Yakubovich (2010: 66–68) for the reason to assume that in Iron Age texts it has *a*-vocalism,[3] hence the transliteration *za$_5$*. With

1. Cf. e.g. Payne *et al.* 2023 (*eDiAna*-ID 2684) who interpret *a-za$_5$-za* as "/anzanz/", and Payne and Bauer 2023 (*eDiAna*-ID 2685) where *a-zi-ia-* is interpreted as "/anzi(ya)-/".

2. Payne *et al.* 2023 (*eDiAna*-ID 2684) cite the encl. 1pl. dat.-acc. particle as "/=anz/", but since it is always preceded by the particle *=wa*, (...-)*wa*/*i-za*(-...) = /(...)wants(...)/, the vowel *a* need not be part of the particle, hence my analysis as /=nts/.

3. His argument is based on the form in ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §3 that in Hawkins 2000: 536 is cited as "*a-zu*$^{?\cdot}$*-za*". According to Yakubovich 2010: 67–68, the sign *a* that Hawkins in this form renders as "$^{\cdot}$", should be viewed as a plene spelling, and therefore implies that the preceding sign has *a*-vocalism: "*a-za$_x$-a-za*". Note that Vertegaal 2017: 254 has in the meantime convincingly shown that the sign *a* in this form should not be seen as plene spelling but rather as a word-medial space filler, "*a-za$_5^{-a}$-za*". Nevertheless, since in the ASSUR letters we always find the sign *u* as space filler after signs with *u*-vocalism (the only exception, *ni-pa-wa*/*i-tu*$^{u-a}$ (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §32) is a matter of "double filling", cf. Vertegaal 2017: 255), it is clear that the use of the space filler *a* in the form under discussion still supports Yakubovich's reading of HH 432 with *a*-vocalism: *za$_5$*.

the reading of the nominative form as *a-za$_5$-za* (and not "*a-zu-za*", as earlier thought), its latter part has been interpreted as representing /-ants/, since it can then be equated with the nominal dat.pl. ending /-ants/ (Yakubovich 2010: 68: likewise, for 2pl. nom. / dat.-acc. *u-za$_5$-za*, cf. section 4 below). If we compare the use of *za$_5$* with that of the regular *za*-sign *za*, we see that the distribution of *za$_5$* in the Iron Age corpus is limited, but almost fully complementary to *za*: *za$_5$* is only found in the 1pl. personal pronoun (6x *a*/*á-za$_5$-* vs. 1x. *a-za-*), the 2pl. personal pronoun (5x *u-za$_5$-* vs. 2 *u-za-*), the toponym *pa+ra*/*i-za$_5$-ta$_x$-* (5x with *za$_5$*, never with *za*),[4] the toponym *pa+ra*/*i-za$_5$-mi-na-*(URBS) (2x with *za$_5$*, never with *za*),[5] the personal names ^{l}*ka-za$_5$-pi$^{?}$-sa* (*hapax*)[6] and *za$_5$-na-*(*m*)*u-* (*hapax*),[7] and the unknown word *ara*/*i-za$_5$-ta* (2x with *za$_5$*, not attested with *za*).[8] This peculiar distribution may imply that *za$_5$* had a specific phonetic realization that was distinct from *za*. Given the fact that in the 1pl. personal pronoun the consonant noted down by *za$_5$* is certainly preceded by an *n*, and that this may very well be the case in the 2pl. personal pronoun *u-za$_5$-*, as well (cf. CLuw. *ūnz-* 'id.'), it seems quite possible to me that the phonetic value of *za$_5$* was [(n)dza], with a voiced affricate [dz], whereas *za* in principle denotes [tsa], with a voiceless affricate [ts]. The voice of [dz] in *za$_5$* may then be seen as automatic after *n* in word-medial position. Note that *z* after *n* in word-final position is always spelled with the sign *za* (e.g. the dat.pl. ending *-anz*, which is always spelled °*a-za*, never **°*a-za$_5$*), which may imply that in word-final position a voicing after *n* did not take place, and that the dat.pl. ending thus phonetically was [-ants]. This also applies to encl. dat.-acc. *=za* '(to) us', which is always spelled with the sign *za*, not with *za$_5$*, and therefore phonetically probably was [=nts].[9] Since this distinction between [ndz] and [nts] seems to

4. TOPADA §§3, 7, 13, 23, 26.
5. KULULU lead strip 1 §5 (2x).
6. KÖRKÜN §1.
7. CEKKE §17o.
8. KARKAMIŠ A15*a* §§3, 4.
9. In the vast majority of cases, /=nts/ is the last clitic of its chain, and its affricate thus stands in word-final position. Only rarely is it followed by other clitics, but in these cases we do find spelling with the sign *za*, as well, not with ***za$_5$*: *wa*/*i-za-na* (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §§35, 47) = /(a)=wa=nts=an/ and *wa*/*i-za-ta* (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §29) = /(a=)wa=nts=a(θa)=nta/. The spelling with the sign *za* in these forms therefore seems to imply the phonetic forms [wantsan] and [wantsanta], in which the voicelessness of the word-final [ts] had been retained. See footnote 10 for the possibility that other similar cases could imply that a phonemic distinction between word-medial [-nts-] and [-ndz-] had recently emerged or was in the process of emerging within the attested period of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

largely have been environmentally determined –word-medial [-ndz-] vs. word-final [-nts]–, we may see the two as allophones of each other.[10]

Although, like in Cuneiform Luwian, also the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing system does not explicitly note down the place of accentuation, we can form an informed opinion about the accentuation of the attested forms of this paradigm on the basis of arguments like the ones used above for its CLuwian counterpart: freestanding, orthotonic forms of the paradigm should by definition have at least one accented syllable; and, from an etymological point of view, the initial syllable /ants-/, which reflects a PIE *zero*-grade morpheme **ns*-, was very likely unaccented. This implies that nom. *a-za*$_5$*-za* likely represents /antsánts/, and that the genitival adjectives can be analysed as /antsá/í-/, /antsiá/í-/, and /antsássa/i-/, respectively.

Taking everything together, we thus arrive at the following paradigm of the 1pl. personal pronoun in Hieroglyphic Luwian.

nom.	/antsánts/	[andzánts]
dat.-acc.	...	...
encl. dat.-acc.	/=nts/	[=nts]
gen.adj.	/antsá/í-/ /antsiá/í-/ /antsássa/i-/	[andzá/í-] [andziá/í-] [andzássa/i-]

10. Note, however, that nom.sg. (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (and variants) and acc.sg. DEUS(TONITRUS)-*hu-za-na* (and variants) 'Storm-god' are always spelled with *za* (15x *-za-sa*; 9x *-za-na*), never with *za*$_5$, implying that these forms end in [-ntsas] and [-ntsan], respectively, with voiceless [ts]. Since the stem *tarhunza-* is based on the original nom.sg. form **tarhunz* = [tarχunts] < **-nt-s*, in which word-final [-nts] was regularly voiceless, we may assume that [ts] was retained as a voiceless sound in the *a*-stem derivative *tarhunza-* = [tarχuntsa-]. This does imply, however, that the voicing of /ts/ after *n* in word-medial position was no longer automatic when this stem arose, and that therefore Hieroglyphic Luwian did have a (recently emerged) phonological distinction between word-medial [-ndz-] (as in *a-za*$_5$*-* = /andza°/ 'we, us') and [-nts-] (in (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-* = /tarhuntsa-/ 'Storm-god'). See also footnote 9 for another possible case of word-medial [-nts-]. However, since this distinction may have only recently arisen and thus has no bearing on the reconstruction of earlier forms, I will in the remainder of this article give the phonological interpretations of the forms of the 1pl. personal pronoun (as well as of the 2pl. personal pronouns, cf. below) as containing a word-medial cluster /-nts-/.

§ 3. *The 2pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian*

There is quite some unclarity regarding the situation surrounding the 2pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian. Melchert (1993: 241) cites the forms "case? *u-un-za-*; acc. *u-za-aš*", stating that "[i]t is doubtful that there is a clear functional distinction between *unz*(*a*) and *u*(*n*)*zaš*". In *The Luwians*, he cites "dat.-acc. *ū*(*n*)*za*(*š*)" (Melchert 2003: 189). In *ACLT*$_1$, Yakubovich rather cites *uzaš* as an accusative form, and *ūnza* as a dative form. This is unattractive, however, since otherwise Anatolian languages use a single form for the accusative and dative functions of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns. Let us therefore focus on the individual forms.

§ 3.1. *CLuw.* uzaš

The form *uzaš* occurs several times. One of its attestations is in a passage that is too broken to reveal anything about its meaning / function: KBo 29.34, 18 [...]x-x-*šą* ***u-za-aš***=*pa*=*ų̯a* x-x[...]. Two other attestations are duplicates of each other, found in a passage from the Ritual of Zarpiia of Kizzuų̯atna (CTH 757).

KUB 9.31 ii
30 *u-ra-az*<*-za-aš*> ^{d}UTU-*az ta-ti-in-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-in-zi*
31 ^{d}É.A-*aš*=*ḫa pár-na-an-za*=*ta ku-ų̯a-at-ti an-da ḫu-u-i-na-i-*<*-im*>*-ma-an*
32 *la-la-an-ti pa-a* ***u-za-aš*** *a-da-ri-ta-an*

HT 1 ii
6 *u-ra-az*<*-za-aš*> ^{d}UTU-*az ta-ti-in-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ}[(*-in-zi* ^{d}É.A-*aš*=*ḫa*)]
7 *pár-na-an-za-aš*=*ta ku-ų̯a-at-ti an-da ḫu-u-i-ną*[(*-i-*)*im-*]
8 *m*[*a-a*]*n la-la-an-ti pa-a* ***u-za-aš*** *a-ta-ri-ta-an*

Note that a third duplicate of this passage can be found in Bo 5510 iv 4–5, but here the relevant form is broken. According to Görke (2014), it should be read "ʿú?ʾ-za-a-aš", which would deviate from the two attestations *u-za-aš* in two ways, however: the spelling with the sign Ú instead of with U; and the plene spelling with the sign A. To my mind, this reading does not do full justice to what can be seen on the tablet (cf. the photograph, http://hethiter.net/: fotarch BoFN11315b:). Personally, I would rather read the sign that Görke interprets as ZA (𒍑) as the latter part of UN (𒌦𒍑), and interpret the traces of the vertical wedge and small horizontal wedge that precede it as its initial part, and not as traces of a sign Ú (𒌦𒍝), as Görke has it. Moreover, the sign that Görke reads as A (𒀀) should to my mind be read as ZA (𒍑). Taken together, I thus arrive at a reading [*u*]*n-za-aš*. Given the fact that the other form of the 2pl. personal pronoun, *ūnza*, is always

spelled *u-un-za*, we may even consider the possibility that on Bo 5510 we should read [*u-u*]*n-za-aš*. I therefore think the passage can be cited as follows:

Bo 5510 iv
4 [(*u-ra-az*<*-za-aš*> ^{d}UTU-*az ta-ti-in-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*in-zi* ^{d}É.A-*aš*=*ḫa pár-n*)]*a-an-za-a*=*t-t*[(*a*)]
5 [(*ku-u̯a-at-ti an-da ḫu-u-i-na-i-*)*im-*(*ma-an la-la-an-ti pa-a* ***u-*)*u***]***n-za-aš a-da-ri-da-a*[(*n*)]

"Oh, great Sungod, fatherly gods, and Ea! In the houses from where they take the *ḫuinai*‹*m*›*ma-*, you must *adari-* ...!"

The form *adaritan* / *ataritan* / *adarida*[*n*] is 2pl.imp. of the verb *adari-*^{tti} that is generally compared with Hitt. *ētriu̯e*/*a-*^{zi} 'to feed', which is a transitive verb (e.g. Melchert 1993: 40). It therefore is understandable that scholars have assumed that CLuw. *adari-*^{tti}, too, is a transitive verb. This would then imply that the form *uzaš* / [*ū*]*nzaš* should be interpreted as the object of its clause, and therefore as an accusative form: *pā* ***uzaš*** / [***ū***]***nzaš*** *adaritan* 'You must feed **yourselves**!' (thus Yakubovich *ACLT*$_1$). However, the verb's HLuwian counterpart, EDERE-*dari-*, rather seems to be an intransitive verb, meaning 'to feed oneself; to eat'.[11] If this applies to CLuw. *adari-*^{tti}, as well, then we should rather interpret *uzaš* / [*ū*]*nzaš* as a nominative form: *pā* ***uzaš*** / [***ū***]***nzaš*** *adaritan* '**You** must feed yourselves! / **You** must eat!'. Contextually, the latter option is preferable, since in the same composition we find a semi-parallel passage in Hittite, where the gods 'must eat'.

11. This verb occurs only once, in MALPINAR §7 *wa*/*i-tà-*a ku-ma-ia-la* | *ARHA* EDERE-*tà-ri*+*i-tu*, which Hawkins (2000: 342) translates as "and let them feed up the sacrificial animals", interpreting EDERE-*tà-ri-* as a transitive verb, *=ada* as a nom.pl.c. form expressing the subject, and *kumaiala* as a neuter plural object. However, in a transitive clause we do not expect the subject to be expressed with an enclitic pronominal form (Melchert 2003: 204; cf. also the preceding clause, §6 *a-wa*/*i su-tu*+*ra*/*i-na* (PONERE)*sà-ti-tu*$^{-u-a}$ 'let them *sati* the *suturi*", where the subject of the transitive verb is not expressed with an enclitic pronominal form). One could therefore consider seeing *=ada* as an acc.pl. form representing the object of the clause ("let the sacrificial animals feed them up"), but then we would expect the neuter subject to be in the ergative case (***kumaialantinzi*). It therefore seems best to assume that EDERE-*tà-ri-* is an intransitive verb here, with *=ada* as its subject, and that *kumaiala* does not express a direct case form, but rather a dat.-loc.sg. form (e.g. 'at the sacrificial place' *vel sim.*?): 'Let them eat their full (*ARHA*) at the *kumaiala*-!'.

KUB 9.31 ii
1 [... (*ne-pí-ša-aš* ^{d}UTU)]-*uš a*[*z-zi-i*]*k-ki*
2 É-*aš ad-da-aš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *az-zi-kán-du LI-IM* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
3 *az-zi-kán-du*

"Oh, Sungod of Heaven, you must eat! The gods of the father of the house must eat! The thousand gods must eat!"

This supports the interpretation of CLuw. *adaritan* / *ataritan* / *adarida*[*n*] as intransitive 'you must eat!', which implies that *uzaš* / [*ū*]*nzaš* is a nominative form. An additional argument in favor of this interpretation is that *uzaš* / [*ū*]*nzaš* has the same ending as 1pl. nom. *anzaš*.

It is not easy to determine the relationship between *u-za-aš* and [*u-u*]*n-za-aš*. One could consider the possibility that the latter form shows that the former should be emended to *u-*<*un-*>*za-aš*. However, since *u-za-aš* is attested three times, it does not seem self-evident that we should assume the exact same scribal error in all three attestations. However, it should be noted that KUB 9.31 and HT 1, both of which contain *u-za-aš* (in ii 32 and ii 8, respectively, cf. the passages cited above), both show in the preceding line the exact same scribal error in the form *u-ra-az*<*-za-aš*> (KUB 9.31 ii 30, HT 1 ii 6).[12] It therefore may not be impossible that the one text was copied from the other, or *vice versa*, and that in this way scribal errors were taken over, and that the form *u-za-aš* as found in both texts counts as a single scribal error, i.e. *u-*<*un-*>*za-aš*. This would lower the number of individual attestations of *u-za-aš* to two, which increases the chance that they are erroneous. Moreover, it is exactly the cluster *-nz-* that in Cuneiform Luwian often shows omission of its *n*.[13]

All in all, it may not be excluded that all three attestations *u-za-aš* should actually be emended to *u-*<*un-*>*za-aš*. However, it is also possible that the forms spelled *u-za-aš* represents a linguistically real form besides [*u-u*]*n-za-aš*. See section 3.4 for additional considerations regarding these forms that would speak in favor of emending all cases of *u-za-aš* to *u-*<*un-*>*za-aš*.

12. The addition of *-za-aš* in *u-ra-az*<*-za-aš*> can be based on KUB 35.9 ii 3, which has *ú*[*-ra-*]*za-aš*.

13. Yakubovich 2010: 324.

§ 3.2. *CLuw.* ūnza

The analysis of the form *ūnza* is less clear. It occurs three times. In KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39, it is attested in a broken passage, which can be read and translated as follows (adapted from Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 60–61):[14]

KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 iii
6 *nu* $^{\text{MUNUS}}$ŠU.GI ḘN SḪSKUR [...]
7 *ki-ḭš-šą-ą̣n me-ma-i* [ ]
---
8 ***u-un-za***=*ḫ*[*a-a*]=*t-ta a-ap-pa ma-a-an* x[...]
9 *a-ad-d*[*u*]-*ṵa-li-iš*=*ḫa ma-a-ra-an*-[...]
10 *ą-ąt-tą-ni-i a-a*=*m-ma-aš a-a*-[*aš-ša ta-a-i-na-a-ti*]
11 [*ma-al-li-t*]*a-a-ti e-el-ḫa*-[*a-ta-an* ...]

"The Old Woman [...] the ritual patron [...]. She speaks thus: 'If also **(to?) you (pl.)** [...] back, and the evil *māran*[- ...], you (pl.) will *ā*-[...]. [You (pl.)] must wash your mo[uth] with [oil (and) hone]y!'"

The presence of *=ḫa* makes clear that *ūnza* is to be analyzed as a separate word. Moreover, the presence of a 2pl.pres.act. from *āttanī* in line 10 makes it likely that *ūnza* is a form of the 2pl. personal pronoun. However, it is difficult to contextually determine its function. Yakubovich and Mouton (2023: 61) take line 8 and the beginning of line 9 as a single clause in which *ādduṵališ māran*[...] is the subject, which would imply that *ūnza* must be either direct or indirect object: "And if also the evil *māran*-[...] **to you (pl.)** again". Yet, the *=ḫa* after *ādduṵališ* may also indicate that in line 9 a new clause starts, and that line 8 is a separate clause, hence the translation offered above.

The other context in which *ūnza* may appear is KUB 35.142 iv$^{!}$ 5–7 (CTH 772; Ištanuwian Festivals; transliteration following Starke 1985: 324):

14. Note that Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 60–61 read the broken verbal form in line 11 as "*e-el-ḫa*[*-ta-ni*" which they translate as "[You (pl.)] will wash". However, since the remainder of the text uses imperative constructions when describing the washing of the mouth (e.g. KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 ii 10–11 *āašša=mmaš elelḫāndu tāināti mallitāti* 'They must wash their mouth with oil and honey!'; KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 ii 14 *āašša=ti ēlḫādu* 'He must wash his mouth!'), it seems best to read the broken verbal form as an imperative form, as well: *e-el-ḫa*-[*a-ta-an*].

KUB 35.142 iv[!]
5 [*kiš*-]*an* SÌR^{RU} ***u-un-za****-pí-i̯a-an*[(-) ...]
6 [***u-u***]***n-za****-pí-ya-an-mi ta-pa-an za-a*[*n*- ...]
7 *pa-an-ku-uš=ša-ma-aš kat-ta-an Q*[*A-TAM-MA=pát* SÌR^{RU}]

"They sing as follows: '*ūnzapiia̯n*[- ... *ū*]*nzapiia̯nmi tapan za*[*n* ....]'. The congregation [sings] after them [in the very] s[ame way]."

In both lines 5 and 6, there does not seem to be a space between the signs ZA and PÍ, so it is not fully clear whether these lines really contain the word *ūnza*. According to Yakubovich (2010: 65) we should read in both lines a sentence "*unza piyan=mi*", which he translates as '(It) is given to me by YOU'. It is problematic, however, that in this interpretation the particle *=mi* is not attached to the first word of the clause and thus does not seem to be grammatical.[15]

All in all, we may conclude that *ūnza* may well be the dat.-acc. form of the 2pl. personal pronoun, but that not all contexts in which it (seemingly?) occurs can be well understood.

§ 3.3. *CLuw.* =mmaš

Although Melchert (1993) does not cite an enclitic dat.-acc. form of the 2pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian, according to Yakubovich (*ACLT1*), it is attested in KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 iii 10 as *=mmaš* (which Melchert 1993: 3 cites as an encl. dat.pl. form of the 3rd person), cf. the following passage.

KUB 9.6 + KUB 35.39 iii
8 *u-un-za=ḫ*[*a-a*]*=t-ta a-ap-pa ma-a-an* x[...]
9 *a-ad-d*[*u*]*-u̯a-li-iš=ḫa ma-a-ra-an-*[...]
10 *ạ-ạt-tạ-ni-i a-a****=m-ma-aš*** *a-a-*[*aš-ša ta-a-i-na-a-ti*]
11 [*ma-al-li-t*]*a-a-ti e-el-ḫa-*[*a-ta-an* ...]

"If also (to[?]) you (pl.) [...] back, and the evil *māran*[- ...], you (pl.) will *ā*-[...]. [You (pl.)] must wash **your** mo[uth] with [oil (and) hone]y!"

See above in section 3.2 for a treatment of this passage.

15. Perhaps we could consider the possibility that *ūnza* functions as a vocative form here, forming its own clause, and that we can analyse the passage it occurs in as *ūnza piy*(*a*)*=an=mi tapan* 'Hey you! Give it to me, the *tapa*-!'.

§ 3.4. *Phonological interpretations*

Although the enclitic dat.-acc. form *=mmaš* is by definition unaccented, we would expect the freestanding, orthotonic forms of this paradigm to have had at least one accented syllable. At first sight, it may seem obvious that the forms that are spelled *u-un-z*°, i.e. with plene spelling of their *u*, show a long vowel in their initial syllable, and therefore were accented on that syllable: /ú̄nts-/. However, it is relevant that the sign with which the plene spelling is written is U, not Ú. For Hittite, it is nowadays commonly assumed that this language knew a phonological distinction between /ū̯/ (spelled plene with Ú) and /ō̯/ (spelled plene with U),[16] and according to Melchert (2019: 573; 2020: 263) this distinction was also present in Cuneiform Luwian. This implies that the 2pl. personal pronoun, which is consistently spelled with the sign U, contained an /o/-vowel. In Hittite, word-initial plene spelling of the type *u-uC*(-) can denote the presence of a long /ō/, which is always accented, but also the presence of a short /o/, which can be either accented or unaccented (Kloekhorst 2014: 529–533).[17] If we assume that the same spelling principles apply to Cuneiform Luwian, the stem of the 2pl. personal pronominal forms spelled *u-un-z*° may thus be either /ō̯nts-/, /ó̯nts-/, or /onts-ˊ/. In other words, from the point of view of spelling, the accented forms of the 2pl. personal pronoun could in principle be either barytone or oxytone. Since in the 1pl. personal pronoun the accented forms can be assumed to have been oxytone, and since this paradigm forms a clear morphological parallel to the paradigm of the 2pl. personal pronoun, we may assume that the accented forms in the latter paradigm were oxytone, too: *u-un-za-aš* = /ontsás/ and *u-un-za* = /ontsá/.

Although hardly any research has been done regarding the phonological distinction between CLuwian /u/ and /o/ and especially its origin, we will see in section 7 below that the /o/ in *ūnz-* = /onts-/ reflects a PIE **u*. This implies that we have to assume that this **u* underwent lowering. Since Hittite knows a lowering of **u* to /o/ before **n* (Kloekhorst 2008: 54–55, 58), we may assume that this was the conditioning factor in CLuwian, as well: /onts-/ < */unts-/. In Hittite, such a lowering did not take place before /t/ and /ts/ (Kloekhorst 2008: 57, 59), and this could well have been the case in CLuwian as well, cf. forms like *ú-ut-na-aš-ša/i-* 'of a spell' and *ú-ut-ti-iš* 'you (will) drink', with a clear /u/-vowel before /t(:)/. This would make it difficult to explain the nominative forms spelled *u-za-aš*, if they

16. Rieken 2005: 538–539; Kloekhorst 2008: 35–60.

17. In Hittite, the spelling *u-uC*(-) always represents a sequence of glottal stop + /ō̯/, but this may depend on the specific Hittite words that show this spelling. For CLuw. *ūnz-* there is no indication that we etymologically would expect a word-initial glottal stop.

would represent a form /otsás/, from an earlier */utsás/. This could therefore be seen as an extra reason to assume that the nominative forms spelled *u-za-aš* should in fact be emended to *u-<un->za-aš*, representing /ontsás/.

§ 3.5. *The paradigm*

Taking all evidence together, we arrive at the following paradigm of the 2pl. personal pronoun in Cuneiform Luwian:

nom.	*u-<un->za-aš*, [*u-u*]*n-za-aš*	/ontsás/
dat.-acc.	*u-un-za*	/ontsá/
encl. dat.-acc.	*=m-ma-aš*	/=mːas/

§ 4. *The 2pl. personal pronoun in Hieroglyphic Luwian*

In Hieroglyphic Luwian, several forms of the 2pl. personal pronoun are attested whose interpretation is uncontroversial. First, a nominative form is attested as *u-za$_5$-za*, for instance in ASSUR letter *e* §6 | *wa/i-ma-za* | ***u-za$_5$-za*** | *ha-tu-ra+a* | *a-sa-ta-ni* '**You** are in health' (Waal 2021: 276). A dative form seems to be attested as *u-za$_5$-za* in ASSUR letter *e* §17.[18] Ablative-instrumental forms are attested as *u-za-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *a* §4) and *u-za-ra/i+i* (ASSUR letter *a* §9) 'at your place / from your side(?)' (cf. e.g. Waal 2021: 273-274, with footnote 75). An enclitic dat.-acc. form is attested as *=ma-za*, e.g. in ASSUR letter *f+g* §2 | *sa-pi-su+ra/i^{-a}-wa/i-**ma-za*** 'Peace be to **you**!' (Hawkins 2000: 536). And the

18. This clause is from a difficult passage from ASSUR letter *e*: (§15) | *á-lá/í-wa/i-za* | *kwa/i-sà-ha* | *a-sa-ti* (§16) | NEG$_2$-*wa/i-ma-za^{-a}* [|] *u-za$_5$-za* (§17) | *á-lá/í-ha-wa/i-ma-za* | *u-za$_5$-za* (*ala/i=wa=nts kwisha asti* || *na=wa=mants untsants* || *ala/i=ha=wa=mants untsants*) 'Whoever is in/at/by *ala/i* for us, you(!) are not. You are in/at/by *ala/i* for yourselves!'. In §15, the enclitic 1pl. dat.-acc. particle *=nts* cannot be in the accusative case, since *as-* 'to be' is an intransitive verb. It therefore must be in the dative case, meaning 'to us', implying that the phrase 'to be in/at/by *ala/i*' can be used with an indirect object. In §16, the clause is a nominal sentence, which means that the 2pl. enclitic *=mants* must be interpreted in its dative case, and is used here as the obligatory reflexive, whereas *untsants* denotes the orthotonic subject of the clause, and thus is a nominative form. It apparently was emphasized: 'Whoever is in/at/by *ala/i* for us, YOU (certainly) are not!'. In §17, which is a nominal sentence, too, *=mants* again is the obligatory reflexive, which means that it cannot function as the indirect object of the phrase 'to be in/at/by *ala/i*'. The only option therefore is that *untsants* denotes that indirect object, and thus is in the dative case: 'You are in/at/by *ala/i* for yourselves!'.

acc.sg.c. form *u-zi-na* of a genitival adjective is found in ASSUR letter *e* §7 ... | ***u-zi-na*** ... | *ha-tu+ra/i-na* ... '... **your** health ...' (transl. Waal 2021: 276), which could belong to a stem *u-za/i-* as well as to a stem *u-zi-ia/i-*.

There is also one form that is more controversial: *u-za$_5$-sa* in KARKAMIŠ A6 §22 ***u-za$_5$-sa***-*wa/i-ma-ta*$^{-a}$ $^{\text{MANUS}}$*i-sà-tara/i*$^{-i}$ | MAGNUS+*ra/i-nu-wa/i-ta-ni*$^{-i}$. According to Hawkins (2000: 125, with reference to Morpurgo Davies 1980: 90), *u-za$_5$-sa* represents a nominative form that functions as the subject of MAGNUS+*ra/i-nu-wa/i-ta-ni*$^{-i}$, and he therefore translates '**You yourselves** shall make them great in my hand'. This implies that he analyzes the first word + particle chain as follows: ***untsas***=*wa*=*m*(*u*)=*ata*. Yakubovich (*ACLT$_1$*) takes *u-za$_5$-sa* as the dat.sg. form of a genitival adjective, however, and interprets the first word + particle chain of this clause as ***untsassan***=*wa*=*m*(*u*)=*an*=(*n*)*ta*, implying a translation 'You shall make him great for me in **your** hand'. I agree with Yakubovich on the analysis of the particle chain as =*wa*=*m*(*u*)=*an*=(*n*)*ta*: the spelling °*a-ta*$^{-a}$ can no longer be interpreted as the enclitic 3rd person acc.pl., as Hawkins has it, since it has in the meantime become clear that this is always spelled °*a-tà*. Yet, I disagree with Yakubovich's interpretation of *u-za$_5$-sa* as a form of a genitival adjective modifying 'hand', since I think Hawkins' translation 'in my hand' (with enclitic =*mu* in a genitival function) is more attractive. I therefore agree with Hawkins' analysis of *u-za$_5$-sa* as a nominative form, and I would rather read the sentence as ***untsas***=*wa*=*m*(*u*)=*an*=(*n*)*ta istri uranuwatani* '**You yourselves** will make him great in my hand'. If this interpretation of *u-za$_5$-sa* as a nominative form is correct, it would stand besides the nominative form *u-za$_5$-za* that was mentioned above. Since the latter is attested in the ASSUR letters, which date to the late 8th century BCE (Hawkins 2000: 534), and the former is from KARKAMIŠ A6, a text dating to the end of the 9th – beginning of the 8th century BCE (Hawkins 2000: 124), we may view the two forms as diachronic variants, with *u-za$_5$-sa* being more archaic than *u-za$_5$-za*. Since the latter is formally identical to the dat.-acc. form *u-za$_5$-za*, we may assume that nom. *u-za$_5$-za* is the result of an extension of the dat.-acc. form *u-za$_5$-za* to the nominative function,[19] ousting original *u-za$_5$-sa*.

When it comes to the phonological interpretation of these forms, it is difficult that in the Hieroglyphic writing system preconsonantal *n* is not indicated in spelling. Yet, since the CLuwian stem of the 2pl. personal pronoun contains an *n*, *ūnz-*, it is quite well possible that an *n* was present in HLuwian, as well. Moreover,

19. Thus already Yakubovich 2010: 68.

the presence of an *n* would explain the high number of forms spelled with *za*$_5$: see section 2 above for the possibility that this sign denotes a cluster [(n)dz], where the voice of [dz] is caused by the preceding *n*. As we saw in section 3.4 above, the CLuwian forms contain an initial /o/ (a vowel that is phonologically distinct from /u/). However, since in the Hieroglyphic writing system there are –as far as I know– no indications that a distinction is made between an /o/-vowel and an /u/-vowel, I will phonologically analyse the HLuwian forms as containing an /u/. Taken together, we may assume that the forms spelled *u-za*$_5$- represent a stem /unts-/ = [undz-] (possibly /onts-/ = [ondz-]). Note that the two attestations of abl.-instr., *u-za+ra/i* and *u-za-ri+i*, contain the sign *za*, not *za*$_5$. Since the two attestations are both from a single text (ASSUR letter *a*), where otherwise *za*$_5$ seems to be used in opposition to *za* (cf. *a-za*$_5$*-za* in §3), this spelling with *za* may thus be relevant, and would then point to the absence of *n*: /utsaθi/. These could be used as an argument to claim that the Cuneiform Luwian forms spelled *u-za-aš* are to be phonologically analysed as having no *n*, either, but see the discussion in section 3.4 above for the difficulty of that assumption. Moreover, in the 1pl. personal pronoun we also find an attestation spelled with *za* (nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-za-ia* (ASSUR letter *e* §12) 'our') for which there can be no doubt that it represents /antsaia/, with /n/. It therefore may be best to assume that *u-za+ra/i* and *u-za-ri+i*, despite their spelling with *za*, represent /unts-/, like the forms spelled *u-za*$_5$- do. See section 2 above for the interpretation of the last part of nom. / dat.-acc. *u-za*$_5$*-za* as representing /-ants/. Also in encl. dat.-acc. *=ma-za*, its latter part is generally interpreted as /-ants/, yielding the form /=mants/.

When it comes to the place of accentuation in the freestanding, orthotonic forms, on the basis of the Hieroglyphic script no decisions can be made. Yet, on the basis of the parallellism between this paradigm and that of the 1pl. personal pronoun, and their relationships with the corresponding CLuwian paradigms, I assume that in these forms, too, the stem was unaccented and that it was the ending that bore the accent. Moreover, since in CLuwian we have indications that the *a*-vowel of the abl.-instr. ending is long, we may assume that this was the case in the HLuwian form as well, and that this /ā/ was accented. Taking all pieces of information together, we arrive at the following paradigm of the 2pl. personal pronoun in Hieroglyphic Luwian:

nom.	/untsás/ /untsánts/	[undzás] [undzánts]
dat.-acc.	/untsánts/	[undzánts]
abl.-instr.	/untsā́θi/	[undzá:ði]
encl. dat.-acc.	/=mants/	[=mants]
gen.adj.	/untsá/í-/ or /untsiá/í-/	[undz(i)á/í-]

§ 5. *Reconstruction of Proto-Luwian*

If we combine the evidence of the preceding sections, we arrive at the following table:

		CLuwian		HLuwian
1pl.	nom.	*an-za-aš*	/antsás/	/antsánts/
	dat.-acc.	*an-za*	/antsá/	...
	abl.-instr.	...		...
	encl. dat.-acc.	*=nz(a)*	/=nts/	/=nts/
	gen.adj.	...		/antsá/í-/ /antsiá/í-/ /antsássa/i-/

2pl.	nom.	*u-<un->za-aš* *[u-u]n-za-aš*	/ontsás	/untsás/ /untsánts/
	dat.-acc.	*u-un-za*	/ontsá/	/untsánts/
	abl.-instr.	...	...	/untsā́θi/
	encl. dat.-acc.	*=m-ma-aš*	/=m:as/	/=mants/
	gen.adj.	...	...	/unts(i)á/í-/

For reconstructing the Proto-Luwian shapes of these paradigms, we should take into account the following considerations:

Nominative: The idea that the HLuwian 2pl. form *u-za$_5$-sa* is more archaic than *u-za$_5$-za* = /untsánts/ (section 4 above) is supported by the fact that *u-za$_5$-sa* would formally fit the CLuwian nominative form *u-<un->za-aš*, [*u-u*]*n-za-aš* = /ontsás/. As was discussed in section 3.4 above, the /o/ in CLuw. /onts-/ may derive from an earlier */u/ that was lowered due to the following /n/. This gives the possibility to derive both forms from a PLuwian preform */untsás/.[20] In the 1pl. pronoun, the CLuw. nominative *an-za-aš* = /antsás/ does not match the HLuw. nominative *a-za$_5$-za* = /antsánts/. Since HLuw. 1pl. nom. /antsánts/ has the same ending as the 2pl. nom. form *u-za$_5$-za* = /untsánts/, and since the latter was explained in section 4 as an original dat.-acc. form that replaced the original 2pl. nom. form *u-za$_5$-sa* = /untsás/, it seems safe to assume that 1pl. nom. /antsánts/, too, originally was a dat.-acc. form[21] that ousted an unattested */antsás/. This */antsás/ can then be seen as the regular correspondant to CLuw. 1pl. nom. *an-za-aš* = /antsás/, with both forms continuing PLuwian */antsás/.

Dative-accusative: Like in all Anatolian languages, the dative and accusative forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are formally identical, and I have therefore cited them here as a single case, the 'dative-accusative'. The CLuwian forms 1pl. dat.-acc. *an-za* = /antsá/ and 2pl. dat.-acc. *u-un-za* = /ontsá/ have the same structure, but do not match HLuwian 1pl. dat.-acc. **a-za$_5$-za* = */antsánts/ (see the preceding paragraph) and 2pl. dat.-acc. *u-za$_5$-za* = /untsánts/. The latter two forms show the synchronic nominal dat.pl. ending /-ants/, and therefore may be seen as innovated forms *vis-à-vis* their CLuwian counterparts *an-za* = /antsá/ and *u-un-za* = /ontsá/, which show an ending *-a* that has no parallel anywhere in the Luwian pronominal or nominal system.[22] We may thus reconstruct PLuwian */antsá/ and */untsá/, respectively. An interesting aspect is that the HLuwian forms have adopted the specifically dative ending of the nominal system, not the accusative ending (which is /-ntsi/), which seems to indicate that these forms are

20. It may not be fully excluded that the /o/ was present in Proto-Luwian times already, and that we should reconstruct PLuw. */ontsás/. However, for the further etymological value of this form this is immaterial, and I will therefore reconstruct a PLuw. stem */unts-/, not */onts-/, for the entire paradigm.

21. Thus already Yakubovich 2010: 68.

22. It seems impossible to equate this *-a* with the nominal nom.-acc.pl.n. ending *-a*, since the 1pl and 2pl. personal pronouns almost by definition refer to animate beings and therefore are expected to show common gender.

primary dative forms that happen to be used in the function of direct object (i.e. as accusatives) as well.

Ablative-instrumental: Although only a single abl.-instr. form is attested, HLuw. 2pl. *u-za+ra/i-i*, *u-za-ri+i* = /untsā́ri/ < */untsā́θi/, we may assume that similar forms existed for the HLuwian paradigm of the 1pl. as well, i.e. */antsā́θi/, as well as for the CLuwian paradigms, i.e. 1pl. **anzāti* and 2pl. **ūnzāti*. On this basis we can reconstruct Proto-Luwian */antsā́θi/ and */untsā́θi/, respectively.

Enclitic dative-accusative: If my analysis of CLuw. *ānzati* as a particle chain containing a 1pl. encl. dat.-acc. form *=nz* = /=nts/ is correct (see section 1 above), it would be the direct counterpart to HLuw. 1pl. encl. dat.-acc. *=za* = /=nts/. In the 2pl. pronouns, CLuw. *=mmaš* = /=mːas/ and HLuw. *=ma-za* = /=mants/ do not formally match each other. Since the HLuw. form contains the synchronic nominal dative plural /-ants/, whereas the *-aš* in CLuw. *=mmaš* has no parallel, it seems best to assume that HLuwian has innovated in this regard, and that the CLuwian form is more archaic. Note that here, too, the enclitic dat.-acc. form functions both as an indirect object (i.e. as a dative) and as a direct object (i.e. as an accusative), but that it formally apparently was seen as a specifically dative form. Moreover, it is telling that both CLuw. *=mmaš* and HLuw. /=mants/ are formally identical to the encl. dat.pl. of the 3rd person personal pronoun (a situation that is also the case in Hittite, cf. section 6 below), from which they probably were taken over. Since in the 3rd person, a formal distinction between the accusative and dative case is made, the fact that the dative form was taken over in the paradigm of the 2pl. person confirms that its "dative-accusative" form apparently was seen as a specifically dative form.

Genitival adjective: In Hieroglyphic Luwian, we find genitival adjectives that end in *-a/i-*, in *-ia/i-*, and in *-asa/i-*. Since *-ia/i-* and *-asa/i-* are synchronically productive genitival adjective suffixes, these forms can be secondarily made. It therefore seems best to assume that the *-a/i-*stem forms are more archaic, and we can therefore reconstruct PLuwian */antsá/í-/ and */untsá/í-/, respectively.

All in all, we can reconstruct the following paradigms for Proto-Luwian:

		Proto-Luwian
1pl.	nom.	*/antsás/
	dat.-acc.	*/antsá/
	abl.-instr.	*/antsáθi/
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=nts/
	gen.adj.	*/antsá/í-/

2pl.	nom.	*/untsás/
	dat.-acc.	*/untsá/
	abl.-instr.	*/untsáθi/
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=mmas/
	gen.adj.	*/untsá/í-/

§ 6. *Reconstruction of Proto-Anatolian*

In order to reconstruct the Proto-Anatolian paradigms of the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns, we have to compare the Proto-Luwian forms to their corresponding forms in Hittite.[23]

		Proto-Luwian	Hittite
1pl.	nom.	*/antsás/	*u̯ēš*
	dat.-acc.	*/antsá/	*anzāš*
	abl.-instr.	*/antsáθi/	*anzĕ̄daz*
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=nts/	*=nnaš*
	gen.adj.	*/antsá/í-/	...

23. I will not treat the 1pl. personal pronominal forms that are (allegedly) attested in other Anatolian languages. The only relatively secure form is Lyc. *ñzzijehe*/*i*- 'belonging to us(?)' (Melchert 2004: 46), which, together with Proto-Luwian */ants-/, points to a Proto-Luwic stem */nts-/. *eDiAna*'s claim that Lycian also knows a form *azi* 'us' that has a cognate in Myl. *ãzi* 'us' (Payne *et al.* 2023, *eDiAna*-ID 2684) seems far less secure to me, and I will therefore not include these forms in the remainder of this article.

2pl.	nom.	*/untsás/	*šumeš*
	dat.-acc.	*/untsá/	*šumāš*
	abl.-instr.	*/untsáθi/	*šumet*, *šumēdaz*
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=mmas/	*=šmaš*
	gen.adj.	*/untsá/í-/	...

Moreover, we have to take into account the following considerations:

Nominative: The PLuwian forms */antsás/ and */untsás/ do not match the Hittite forms *u̯ēš* and *šumeš* when it comes to their stems. Yet, the PLuwian ending */-ás/ is a direct match with the ending of Hitt. *šumeš*, which synchronically was accented: /-és/ (Kloekhorst 2014: 74). Hitt. *u̯ēš* may originally have contained an */-és/ as well, if the long vowel of *u̯ēš* = /uḗs/[24] is the result of a contraction of earlier */ue_és/. Although on the basis of internal Hittite data it cannot be determined what the original shape of this uncontracted forms was, outer-Anatolian evidence clearly points to the existence of a 1pl. nom. stem **uei-* (Skt. *vayám*, etc.), which implies that Hitt. *u̯ēš* goes back to earlier */uei-és/. In Luwian, the stem of the 1pl. nom. form */antsás/ is identical to that of the oblique cases, */ants-/, which in turn is a direct match with the Hitt. 1pl. oblique stem *anz-* = /ənts-/ < PAnat. */nts-/ (cf. below). We may thus assume that Hitt. *u̯ēš* < */uei-és/ reflects the Proto-Anatolian form, */uei-és/, and that in Luwian this form was replaced by */nts-és/, which regularly yielded PLuwian */antsás/. In the 2pl. pronoun, the Luwian stem */unts-/ does not match Hitt. *šum-*. Despite attempts at explaining the latter from a preform **usm- vel sim.*, which ultimately would be related to PLuw. */unts-/ (cf. Katz 1998: 138–141, with references to earlier literature), I prefer to keep the two stems apart. Since the 1pl. pronoun shows a suppletive paradigm in Proto-Anatolian, using a stem */uei-/ for the nominative case and a stem */nts-/ for the oblique cases, I would like to propose that the 2pl. pronoun, too, originally knew a suppletive paradigm, and that both in Luwian and in Hittite one of the stems had been levelled out. Since the Luwian stem */unts-/ resembles the oblique stem **us*° that is attested in other Indo-European languages (cf. below), I propose that */unts-/ was the original oblique stem. The Hittite stem *šum-*, in turn, would

24. Cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 160 for this analysis. Although, in Hittite, plene spelling of *e* after the vowel *u* does not necessarily denote vowel length (Kloekhorst 2014: 134–161), in *u̯ēš* we can assume the presence of a long vowel since otherwise we cannot explain the introduction of long /ḗ/ in the New Hittite 2pl. nominative form *šumēš* = /somḗs/, which has replaced the Old Hittite form *šumeš* = /somés/, with short /é/, cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 74.

then originally have been the nominative stem. As I will explain in more detail elsewhere, I think Hitt. *šum-* represents /som-/ and goes back to a pre-Hittite form */tiom-/ (with assibilation of lenis */t-/ + /-i-/ > Hitt. /s-/). The initial */t-/ of */tiom-/ is, to my mind, of a secondary origin,[25] which means that the original stem was */iom-/. Since */iom-/ always stands in prevocalic position, */iomV°/, it can be derived, through */iouV°-/, from an earlier stem **iHuV°*, according to the sound law **CHuV* > Hitt. *CumV* = /ComV/ (Kloekhorst 2008: 94), i.e. **i̯H̥u̯V°* > */iouV°/ > Hitt. /iomV°/. This **iHu-* is, to my mind, directly related to the PIE stem **iuH*(-) that we find in Skt. nom. *yūyám*, Lith. nom. *jū̃s*, obl. *jū́-*, Goth. *jūs* 'you (pl.)'.[26] We thus can reconstruct PAnat. 2pl. nom. */ioués/.

Dative-accusative: The ending */-á/ of the PLuwian forms */antsá/ and */untsá/ does not match that of the Hittite forms *anzāš* and *šumāš*, which is *-āš* = /-ás/. Since the latter is identical to the nominal dat.pl. ending *-āš*, whereas the former is isolated within the pronominal and nominal system, we can assume that PLuw. */-á/ is more archaic, and that in Hittite the original forms secondarily received the nominal dat.pl. ending *-āš* (comparable to the situation in Hieroglyphic Luwian, cf. sections 4 and 5 above). It is interesting to see that, although these forms function both as direct objects and as indirect objects, in Hittite the specifically dat.pl. ending *-āš* is added, and not the acc.pl. ending, which was *-uš*. This again implies that these "dative-accusative" forms in fact were seen as specifically dative forms. The PLuwian ending */-á/ cannot reflect earlier *o*-vocalism, since **-ó* would have yielded a long vowel in PLuwian, **/-á/. The ending cannot reflect earlier *a*-vocalism, either, since this would require the presence of an adjacent **h₂*, and a preform **-h₂é* should have yielded PLuw. **/-χ:á/ (**h₂* is retained in Anatolian when adjacent to **s*), whereas a preform **-éh₂* should have yielded PLuw. **/-á/, with a long vowel. The ending therefore can only reflect a morpheme with earlier *e*-vocalism, since **-é* would regularly yield PLuw. */-á/. We can thus reconstruct the ending as PAnat. */-é/. The stems of the 1pl. forms, PLuw. /ants-/ and Hitt. *anz-* = /ənts-/,[27] are a direct match to each other

25. Possibly taken over from the 2sg. personal pronoun nom. *zīk* = /tsík/. I plan to elaborate on this idea elsewhere.

26. This implies that **iuH*(-) is the result of laryngeal metathesis in **iHu-*. Cf. Lubotsky 2011 for examples of laryngeal metathesis in the sequence **°iHuC°* > **°iuHC°*, which can explain, for instance, the relationship between the Skt. verb *sīv-* 'to sow' < **sih₂u-* and its *tá*-participle *syūtá-* < **siuh₂-tó-*, in which the latter shows the result of laryngeal metathesis: ***°iHuC°* > **°iuHC°*.

27. Cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 340–341 for the specific interpretation of Hitt. *anz-* as /ənts-/, with /ə/.

and reflect PAnat. */nts-/.[28] We thus arrive at the reconstruction of the PAnat. 1pl. dat.-acc. form as */ntsé/. In the 2pl. forms, PLuw. */unts-/ and Hitt. *šum-* = /som-/ do not match each other, and of these two, it is probably PLuw. */unts-/ that reflects the original PAnat. stem of the dat.-acc. form (cf. the preceding paragraph). We can therefore reconstruct the PAnat. form of the 2pl. dat.-acc. as */untsé/.

Ablative-instrumental: In Hittite, the abl.-instr. forms *anzĕdaz* and *šumĕdaz* are only attested in NS texts, whereas 2pl. abl.-instr. *šumet* is attested in an OH/OS? text.[29] We may thus assume that the latter represents an archaic form *vis-à-vis šumĕdaz*, and that, likewise, *anzĕdaz* has replaced an earlier **anzet*. The exact mechanism by which *anzĕdaz* and *šumĕdaz* are created is not fully clear; perhaps they are the result of simply adding the syncronic nominal ablative ending *-az* after the original forms **anzet* and *šumet*. The Hittite ending *-et* does not match the ending that we find in the PLuwian forms, */-ā́θi/. In both languages, the endings are synchronically productive: PLuw. */-ā́θi/ is identical to the Luwian nominal abl.-instr. ending /-ā́θi/; and Hitt. *-et* is identical to the Hittite nominal instr. ending *-et*.[30] Both could therefore in principle have been the result of secondary developments, and it is therefore not possible to decide on internal arguments what to reconstruct for Proto-Anatolian. However, if we look beyond Anatolian, it is clear that the Hittite ending *-et* has a direct match to the Sanskrit and Avestan pronominal ablative endings *-ád* (1sg. *mád*, 2sg. *tvád*, 1pl. *asmád*, 2pl. *yuṣmád*) and *-aṯ* (1sg. *maṯ*, 2sg. *θβaṯ*, 1pl. *ahmaṯ*, 2pl. *xšmaṯ*), respectively. We may therefore reconstruct this ending for Proto-Anatolian, too. When it comes to the stems of these forms, cf. the discussion in the preceding paragraphs. All in all, we can reconstruct PAnat. 1pl. abl.-instr. */ntsét/ and 2pl. abl.-instr. */untsét/.

Enclitic dative-accusative: The 1pl. encl. dat.-acc. forms of PLuwian, */=nts/, and of Hittite, *=nnaš*, do not match each other: the former seems to reflect PAnat. */=nts/ and the latter PAnat. */=nos/.[31] As we will see below, the enclitic */=nts/ can in principle reflect PIE **=ns*, which would thus form the *zero*-grade allomorph

28. It is not fully clear whether the vocalization of syllabic resonants is a Proto-Anatolian development, or occured independently in the daughter languages (I intend to elaborate on this question on another occasion). In other words, it is unclear whether we should reconstruct PAnat. */nts-/ or */ənts-/. Yet, if Lyc. *ñzz-* indeed means 'us' (cf. footnote 23), it would point to PAnat. */nts-/ rather than */ənts-/. For the remainder of this article, I will therefore note down the PAnat. form of this stem as */nts-/.

29. Cf. Kloekhorst 2014: 102–103 for this form and its interpretation as an abl.-instr. form of the 2pl. personal pronoun.

30. Kloekhorst 2014: 103–105.

31. See Kloekhorst 2014: 588–591 for the origin of the fortis *-nn-* in Hitt. *=nnaš*.

of PAnat. */=nos/ < PIE *=*nos̆*. Since the one cannot be easily explained as having arisen from the other, and *vice versa*, it seems best to assume that Proto-Anatolian had both forms, */=nts/ as well as */=nos/, albeit that we cannot reconstruct what the semantic distinction was between the two. The 2pl. encl. dat.-acc. forms of PLuwian, */=m:as/, and of Hittite, *=šmaš*, do match each other, and can be reconstructed as PAnat. */=smos/.[32]

Genitival adjective: Only Luwian shows specific genitival adjectives, */antsá/í-/ and */untsá/í-/, whereas in Hittite genitival semantics are expressed with proper genitives (1pl. *anzel*, 2pl. *šumenzan*, *šumel*) or with enclitic possessive pronouns (1pl. *=šummi/e/a-*, 2pl. *=šmi/e/a-*). Since genitival adjectives are also found outside of Anatolian (see below), we can probably project the Luwian genitival adjectives back to Proto-Anatolian. Since Luwian adjectival *-a/i-*stems in principle go back to Indo-European **o*-stems,[33] we can reconstruct PAnat. 1pl. gen.adj. */ntsó-/ and 2pl. gen.adj. */untsó-/.

Taking all considerations together, we arrive at the following reconstruction of the Proto-Anatolian paradigm of the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns:

		Proto-Anatolian
1pl.	nom.	*/ueiés/
	dat.-acc.	*/ntsé/
	abl.-instr.	*/ntsét/
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=nts/, */=nos/
	gen.adj.	*/ntsó-/

2pl.	nom.	*/ioués/
	dat.-acc.	*/untsé/
	abl.-instr.	*/untsét/
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=smos/
	gen.adj.	*/untsó-/

32. Thus Melchert 1994: 270: see there for a discussion about the assimilation */-sm-/ > Luw. /-m:-/ that this reconstruction presupposes.

33. Norbruis 2021: 9–50.

§ 7. *The Proto-Anatolian reconstruction in an Indo-European context*

If we want to compare the Proto-Anatolian reconstruction to the data of the other Indo-European languages, it is helpful to transpose the Proto-Anatolian forms into Proto-Indo-European phonemes. Several things are relevant here. First, the Proto-Anatolian stem */nts/ can regularly reflect PIE **ns*-, which, as we will see below, is the stem found in other Indo-European languages. Second, since Proto-Anatolian */=nos/ is unaccented, it can reflect both a PIE short and a long vowel, **=nō̃s*. Third, the Proto-Anatolian form */ioués/ can be transposed to PIE **iHués* (cf. the discussion in section 6 above). And fourth, the Proto-Anatolian 2pl. stem */unts-/ does not match the stem **us*- that we find in other Indo-European languages (cf. below). Yet, since the PAnat. 1pl. stem is */nts-/, we may assume that its /-nt-/ was taken over by the 2pl. stem, implying that PAnat. */unts-/ ultimately goes back to PIE **us*-. With these considerations, the Anatolian forms can be transposed into PIE phonemes in the following way:

		Proto-Anatolian	transposed PIE
1pl.	nom.	*/ueiés/	**ueiés*
	dat.-acc.	*/ntsé/	**nsé*
	abl.-instr.	*/ntsét/	**nsét*
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=nts/, */=nos/	**=ns*, **=nō̃s*
	gen.adj.	*/ntsó-/	**nsó-*

2pl.	nom.	*/ioués/	**iHués*
	dat.-acc.	*/untsé/	**usé*
	abl.-instr.	*/untsét/	**usét*
	encl. dat.-acc.	*/=smos/	**=smos*
	gen.adj.	*/untsó-/	**usó-*

Let us now compare these Anatolian transpositions to the data from the other Indo-European languages.

Nominative: The stem of the Anatolian 1pl. nominative form **ueiés* matches the **uei*- found in Skt. *vayám*, Av. *vaēm*, and Goth. *weis*, and the element **uei* can therefore be securely reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. In Anatolian, it was

apparently enlarged with the nominal nom.pl.c. ending *-*és*. The stem of the Anatolian 2pl. nominative form **iHués* formally resembles the stem **iuH*- found in Skt. *yūyám*, Av. *yūžəm*, Lith. *jūs̃*, and Goth. *jūs*. As discussed in section 6 above, we may perhaps assume that the Anatolian shape, **iHu*-, is more original than **iuH*-, and that the latter derived from the former through laryngeal metathesis.[34] In Anatolian, **iHu*- was enlarged with the nom.pl.c. ending *-*és*.

Dative-accusative: The Anatolian dat.-acc. forms, 1pl. **nsé* and 2pl. **usé*, both show an ending *-*é* that may be compared to the *-*é* that is attested in the 1sg. and 2sg. accusative forms in other Indo-European languages. For the 1sg., compare Gr. ἐμέ, OLat. *mēd* < **me* + *Vd*, [35] Skt. *mā́m* = /ma(H)ám/, Av. *maṃ* < PIIr. **me* + *Hóm*, all from **h₁m-é*; for the 2sg., compare Gr. σέ, OLat. *tēd* < **te* + *Vd*,[36] Skt. *tvā́m* = /tva(H)ám/, Av. *θβaṃ* < PIIr. **tue* + *Hóm*, all from **t(u)-é*. We may therefore analyse Anat. 1pl. **nsé* and 2pl. **usé* as containing the same ending: **ns-é* and **us-é*, respectively. Note that a preform **nsé* would also directly yield Goth. 1pl. acc.-dat. *uns*. In Indo-Iranian and Greek, the 1pl. and 2pl. accusative forms have an additional *-*m*-: Skt. 1pl. *asmā́n* < **asmá* + *-*ān*, Av. 1pl. *əhmā*, Gr. 1pl. ἄμμε (Lesb.), ἀμέ (Dor.), ἡμέας (Hom.) < *ἡμέ + -ας, all from **nsmé*; and Skt. 2pl. *yuṣmā́n* < **y*- + **uṣmá* + *-*ān*, Gr. 2pl. ὔμμε (Lesb.), ὑμέ (Dor.), ὑμέας (Hom.) < *ὑμέ + -ας, all from **usmé*. I would like to propose that these forms, too, ultimately go back to **nsé* and **usé*, respectively, but that first in the 1pl. form the **m* of 1sg. **h₁mé* was introduced, **nsé* → **nsmé*, and that, later, this **m* was taken over by the 2pl. form as well, **usé* → **usmé*. This development may be dated to after at least Anatolian and Germanic had left the Proto-Indo-European speech community (for Tocharian, Italo-Celtic, Balto-Slavic, Armenian, and Albanian, it cannot be determined whether their prestages had **nsé* and **usé* or **nsmé* and **usmé*, respectively).

The fact that in Anatolian a single form is used both for the accusative and the dative cases is matched by Germanic, where the same phenomenon is found, and it is therefore attractive to reconstruct this for Proto-Indo-European. In Anatolian, these forms are consistently treated as specifically dative forms (whenever they are remade, it is with nominal dat.pl. endings, not with acc.pl. endings), which indicates that these forms in *-*é* were original dative forms that are also used for indicating the direct object (i.e. in accusative function). I see this as a confirmation for my earlier suggestion that the ending *-*é* of 1sg. acc. **h₁mé*, 2sg. acc. **tué*

34. Cf. footnote 26 above.
35. Weiss 2020: 347.
36. Weiss 2020: 349.

originally had allative function (Kloekhorst 2018: 192). This was based on a combination of two arguments: first, *-*é* can in this way be seen as an ablaut variant of the allative ending *-*o* that can be reconstructed on the basis of Hitt. all.sg. -*a*, -*ā* (Dunkel 1994; Kloekhorst 2008: 161; Norbruis 2021: 51–97); and second, the semantic connection between allatives and accusatives is typologically common, since cross-linguistically allatives often extend their function to become accusatives (Heine 2009: 467).[37] Yet, allatives also often extend their function to become datives (Heine 2009: 467), so that the Anatolian dative use of the 1pl. and 2pl. forms in *-*é* can straightforwardly be explained from an earlier allative function, as well. All in all, we may reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European a dative-accusative case for the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns of the shape *ns-*é* and *us-*é*, respectively, which reflects an earlier allative case.

Ablative-instrumental: The Anatolian ending *-*ét* is a direct match to the ending of Skt. 1pl. abl. *asmát*, 2pl. abl. *yuṣmát*, Av. 1pl. abl. *ahmaṭ*, 2pl. abl. *xšmaṭ*, and can thus be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: *-*ét*.[38] The Anatolian stems, *ns- and *us-, do not match the Indo-Iranian forms, however, which rather reflect *nsm- and *usm-, respectively. Yet, see the preceding paragraph for the proposal that the *m in Indo-Iranian *nsm- and *usm- is of a secondary origin, and that Anatolian preserves a more original state of affairs: PIE *nsét, *usét.

Enclitic dative-accusative: The Anatolian 1pl. encl. dat.-acc. *=*nos̆* (the ancestor of Hitt. =*nnaš*) could in principle be a direct match to the *=*nōs* that we find in the OAv. 1pl. encl. acc. *nå̊* (< *nās), or to the *=*nos* that can be found in Av. 1pl. encl. dat.-gen. *nə* (< *nas) and Skt. 1pl. encl. acc.-dat.-gen. *nas*. The distinction between OAv. encl. acc. *nå̊* < *nōs and dat.-gen. *nə* < *nos is interesting,[39] and may reflect an archaic pattern. Since in Anatolian, unaccented *nōs and *nos would merge in */=nos/, anyway, it cannot be determined whether it also adhered to this pattern or not. The Anatolian 1pl. encl. dat.-acc. *=*ns* (the ancestor of CLuw. =*nz* and HLuw. /=nts/) does not seem to have a match in the other Indo-European languages. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that it

37. Cf. also nominal acc.sg. *-*m* that probably originally had allative meaning, as is still the case in e.g. Lat. *Romam* 'to Rome' (Kloekhorst 2018: 192, with references).

38. Cf. Kloekhorst 2018: 194[53]; 2020: 170–172 for the reasons to reconstruct this case with PIE *t, not with *d as some scholars do.

39. In Young Avestan, we find *nō* (< *nas) in all three cases, implying that here the distinction between the accusative and the dative-genitive forms has been given up. In Sanskrit, too, we find a single form, *nas*, for all three cases, and this language may thus have undergone a similar elimination of the original distinction between PIIr. *nās and *nas.

cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. A similar situation is found in the case of the Anatolian reflexive */=t:i/ (Hitt. *=z*, CLuw. *=ti* (with lenition), HLuw. /=θi/ (with lenition)) that can be transposed to a PIE form **=ti*, which appears to be a *zero*-grade allomorph of **=toi* that is attested in Skt. 2sg. encl. dat.-gen. *te*, OAv. 2sg. encl. dat.-gen. *tōi*, Gr. (dial.) 2sg. encl. dat. τοι. It goes beyond the scope of this article to discuss possible functional distinctions between PIE **=ns* and **=nō͡s*, but I do think that both forms existed in the proto-language. The Anatolian 2pl. encl. dat.-acc. **=smos* has no match whatsoever in the other Indo-European languages, where we rather find **=uō͡s* (Skt. 2pl. encl. acc.-dat.-gen. *vas*, OAv. 2pl. encl. acc. *vå* (< **vās*), encl. dat.-gen. *və* (< **vas*)). It is therefore generally assumed that Anatolian innovated in this regard, and took over the 3pl. encl. dat. **=smos* (> Hitt. *=šmaš*, CLuw. *=mmaš*, HLuw. /=mants/, Lyd. *=ms*) into the paradigm of the 2pl. personal pronoun.

Genitival adjective: The Anatolian genitival adjectives **nsó-* and **usó-* do not have direct matches in the other Indo-European languages. However, in the 1sg. and 2sg., we do find similar formations: PAnat. */ʔmó-/ (HLuw. *ama/i-*), Gr. ἐμό-, Av. *ma-* < PIE **h₁mó-* 'my'; PAnat. */tuó-/ (HLuw. *tuwa/i-*), Gr. σό-, Skt. *tvá-*, Av. *θβa-* < PIE **tuó-* 'your'. Moreover, the existence of Gr. ἀμό- (Dor.) 'our' < **nsmó-* and Gr. ὑμό- (Dor.) 'your' < **usmó-*, both with an additional *m* in comparison to the Anatolian forms (see also the paragraphs above), does support the idea that Anat. **nsó-* and **usó-* reflect a Proto-Indo-European formation.

Taking everything together, we can reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European the following paradigms for the 1pl. and 2pl. personal pronouns.[40] Especially the reconstruction of the dat.-acc. ending **-é*, the 2pl. oblique stem **us-*, as well as the genitival adjectives **ns-ó-* and **us-ó-* crucially depend on Luwian data.

	Proto-Indo-European	
	1pl.	2pl.
nom.	**uei*	**iHu*
dat.-acc. (< *all.)	**ns-é*	**us-é*
abl.-instr.	**ns-ét*	**us-ét*
encl. dat.-acc.	**=ns*, **=nō͡s*	**=uō͡s*
gen.adj.	**ns-ó-*	**us-ó-*

40. I will not go into the reconstruction of the genitive case of these pronouns, since this case is unattested in Luwian.

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Luw. *ḫu*(*wa*)*mm*-: a new word family and its PIE etymology

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The present article is devoted to the establishment of a new word family in Luwian, its connection with a Hittite cognate and its PIE etymology. The following sections will deal with seven Luwian lexemes, most of which have remained isolated before.

§ 1 *Luw.* (𒄭/𒄯)ḫūmma- *'pigsty' in Hittite transmission*

The first lexeme to be treated here is *ḫūmma*-. In some of its attestations, it occurs marked with the determinative É for buildings or with gloss wedges. The latter indicates more often than not a Luwian origin, which, in the case of *ḫūmma*-, is further confirmed by the Luwian dat./loc. sg. form in *-a* (Melchert, CLL: 72); cf. the following table of attestations (see also HW^2 Ḫ: 711f., HED H: 373, DCL: s.v.):[1]

nom. sg. c.	ḫu-um-ma-aš	KBo 1.36 iv 7'	(CTH 301, NS)
	⌜É?⌝ḫu-u-um-ma-aš	KBo 26.136 obv. 18'	(CTH 339, MS)
dat./loc. sg.	]ḫu-u-um-ma	KUB 1.8 iv 12'	(CTH 81, NS)
	𒄭ḫu-u-um-ma	KBo 3.6 iii 57	(CTH 81, NS)
	𒄯ḫu-[u-um-ma]	KUB 1.1 iv 26	(CTH 81, NS)
	ḫu-u-um-mi	KUB 35.148 iii 42'	(CTH 412, NS)
abl./inst.	^{É}ḫu-um-ma-za	KBo 24.120, 5'	(CTH 572, NS)

1. For this and the following tables of attestations, see the forthcoming entries in *eDiAna* (URL: https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de).

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Very early, Götze (1925: 101) proposed the semantic interpretation of *ḫūmma-* as 'pigsty' based on the famous passage from the "Apology of Ḫattušili III", which reports the defeat of Urḫi-Teššob at the city of Šamuḫa; cf. example (1):

(1) KBo 3.6 iii 56f. (cf. Otten 1981: 24f.):
^{m}*Ur-ḫi-*^{D}10-*up-an ku-wa-pí da-me-da Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki tar-na-aš na-an-kán I-NA* ^{URU}*Ša-mu-ḫa* ŠAḪ GIM-*an* ≮*ḫu-u-um-ma* EGIR-*pa iš-ta-ap-pa-aš*
"When she (*scil.* the goddess Ištar) did not let him (go) anywhere, she locked him in Šamuḫa like a pig in its pigsty."

Since the dat./loc. sg. forms in *-a* are diagnostic of Luwian common gender non-mutating *a*-stems, *ḫūmma-* can confidently be assigned to this inflectional class. As one would expect, in the course of the borrowing process, it was also transferred to the Hittite *a*-stems.

Regarding possible cognates within Luwian, Meriggi (1957: 71f.) considered a relationship with *ḫūm*(*ma*)*t*(*i*)- treated in Section 2.1.

§ 2. *CLuw*. ḫūmmat(i)- *and HLuw. /xummæd*(*i*)-/

§ 2.1. *CLuw.* ḫūm(ma)t(i)- '(*a household item*)'

The lexeme is found only in the Puriyanni ritual and exclusively in the nominative case; cf. below (DCL: s.v.):

nom. sg. c.	[ḫ]u-u-um-ma-ti-iš	KUB 35.54 ii 50'	(CTH 758, MS)
	ḫ[u-u-u]m-ma-ti-iš	KUB 35.54 iii 28	(CTH 758, MS)
	ḫu-u-um-ti-iš	KUB 35.54 iii 32	(CTH 758, MS)
nom. pl. c.	ḫu-um-ti-i[n-zi]	KUB 35.53 iii 8'	(CTH 758, NS)

The alternation between °*m-ma-t*° and °*m-t*° would normally be interpreted as indicating a cluster /mmT/ with a mute vowel in the sign *-ma-* used to render the geminate nasal, whereas the singleton stop indicates a lenis /d/ (cf. also the use of the sign *tà* = /*da*/ in the Hieroglyphic Luwian equivalent "PODIUM"-*ma-tà-si-na*, see Section 2.2). However, this is incompatible with the assumption that an alveolar stop in the second position in Luwian clusters would be neutralized as a short stop, distinct from intervocalic lenis /d/ (cf. HLuw. *a-tá* and Lyc. A *ñte* 'in' < PIE **endo* or **h*$_1$*n̥do*; see the discussion in Vertegaal 2020: 105f). As an alternative, one can hypothesize that the suffix contained an initial vowel resulting from metanalysis in derivatives from thematic stems: *-at*(*i*)- /-æd(i)-/ < **-o-to/i-*. The suffix-

initial vowel came to be added when the suffix was attached to bases ending in a consonant. Finally, the Hittite scribes identified the Luwian full vowel /-æ-/ between geminate /-mm-/ and /-d-/, which was spelled as *-a-*, with their own subphonemic prop vowel /-ə-/, which could be ignored in spelling (cf. the case of Luw. *wattaru-* 'spring' spelled both *wa-at-ta-ru* and *wa-at-ru* in Hittite transmission; Rieken 2024: 221).

The typical context lists *ḫūmmat*(*i*)- among household items that are to relinquish the miasma inflicted upon them by the ritual opponent, e.g. example (2):

(2) KUB 35.54 ii 49'-iii 1 (after Yakubovich and Mouton 2023: 9f.):
[*š*]*a-a-an-du-wa-ta pár-na-an-ti-in-zi* **[*ḫ*]*u-u-um-ma-ti-iš*** *ḫa-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-iš ḫu-wa-aḫ-ḫur-ša-an-ti-in-zi ti-ia-am-mi-iš ...*
"May they [l]et it go, (namely) the household (deities), the **[*ḫ*]*ummat*(*i*)-**, the hearth, the *ḫuwa-ḫḫuršant*(*i*)-, the ground ..."

The obvious conclusion that the word denotes another household item was already drawn by Otten (1953: 54: 'Bestandteil des Hauses'). More precisely, based on the assumption that *ḫūmmat*(*i*)- belongs to the same word family as *ḫūmma-* 'pigsty' (see Section 1), Meriggi (1957: 71f.) suggested the translation 'stable' ('stalla'). A different attempt came from Laroche (1957: 23f.), who equated CLuw. *ḫūmmat*(*i*)- with HLuw. ("PODIUM")*hu-ma-ti*/*tà-*; see Section 2.2.

§ 2.2. *HLuw.* /xummæd(i)-/

The proposed Hieroglyphic Luwian equivalent of CLuw. *ḫūmmat*(*i*)- occurs twice in the KARKAMIŠ inscriptions. The spelling of the genitival adjective with the *tà* sign indicates a lenis alveolar stop in the suffix in accordance with the singleton *-t-* in Cuneiform Luwian.

dat./loc. sg.	/xūmmædi/	("PODIUM")*hu-ma-ti*	KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §17
poss. adj. acc. sg. c.	/xūmmædæssin/	"PODIUM"-*ma-tà-si-na*	KARKAMIŠ A20a1, §2

While the fragmentary attestation at KARKAMIŠ A20a1, §2 provides little information, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §17 shows that /xūmmæd(i)-/ denotes a place to set up a deity; cf.:

(3) KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §17 (Hawkins 2000: 103):
*a-wa/i-ma-tá za-ti-i **(“PODIUM”)hu-ma-ti*** (SOLIUM)*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha*
approx. /æ=wæ=m(u)=æda=ttæ zætti xūmmædi isnuwahha/
“(I myself saw the procession of my master the god Karhuha and the goddess Kubaba), and I myself settled them in this ***humat(i)***-.”

It is the shape of the classifier *264 that led Meriggi (1934: 45, 99; followed in Laroche 1957: 23f.; CLL: 73) to interpret the word as ‘base, pediment’ (now transliterated as PODIUM).

Fig. 1: *264 PODIUM

Later, Meriggi (1957: 71f.) proposed ‘stalla’ on account of his comparison with CLuw. (𔓹/𔓺)*ḫūmma-* ‘pigsty’ in Hittite transmission (see Section 1), but recently, Yakubovich and Mouton (2023: 15f.) modified Meriggi’s first translation by considering both ‘podium’ and ‘niche’, whereas Rieken and Yakubovich (in a forthcoming Festschrift) argue that the common denominator of LHTr *ḫūmma-* ‘pigsty’, CLuw. *ḫum*(*ma*)*t*(*i*)- (part of the house), and HLuw. /xūmmæd(i)-/ (place to set up a deity) can be found in the concept of enclosure, concretized as ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche(?)’ in Hieroglyphic Luwian. If ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche(?)’ is correct, the depiction of the /xūmmæd(i)-/ by the classifier L *264 shows the view from above. Moreover, it permits to accept the derivational relationship between (𔓹/𔓺)*ḫūmma-* ‘pigsty’ and /xūmmæd(i)-/ ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche(?)’, implied by Meriggi in 1957. Formally, a root **ḫūmm-* would have served as the base for the non-mutating *a*-stem gen. c. *ḫūmma-* ‘pigsty’ as well as an -(*a*)*t*(*i*)- abstract noun gen. c. *ḫūmmat*(*i*)- /xūmmæd(i)-/ ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche(?)’.

§ 3. *LHTr* hūmanni- *‘?’*

Another lexical item in Hittite transmission, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ni*, has remained isolated so far. It is attested twice in the dat./loc. sg.:

dat./loc. sg.	*ḫu-u-ma-an-ni*	KBo 22.215 rev. 5’	(CTH 670, NS)
		KUB 7.57 i 8	(CTH 412, NS)

This allows for an assignment to a Hittite stem **ḫūmātar*/*-ann*- or a Luwian denominative stem in **-ann*(*i*)-. Also, the semantics escape a satisfactory interpretation, cf. the two contexts (4) and (5):

(4) KBo 22.215 rev. 5'f.:
˹LUGAL˺-*uš* ***ḫu-u-ma-an-ni*** [ ]*x*(-)*a-ri*
"The king [ ]-s in/at/to the ***ḫūmanni-***."

(5) KUB 7.57 i 6-8 (Puhvel HED Ḫ: 430)
^{D}IM-*aš-wa* ^{URU}*Li-iḫ-zi-na-an* [IGI$^{ḪI.A}$-*wa*] *kat-ta ḫu-wa-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi nu-wa-aš-ša-an pa-i-mi* [ ] ***ḫu-u-ma-an-ni*** *iš-pár-aḫ-ḫi*
"I, the Storm-god shall cast Liḫzina [face] down. I shall go trample on [ ] in the ***ḫūmanni-***."

Haas (2003: 31) tentatively suggested 'market place' ('Marktplatz(??)'), but HW^{2} Ḫ: 712 refrains from a translation ("Subst u.B."), probably because this is not the mythologeme of the moon falling onto the market place. Even if *ḫūmanni* indeed were to belong to the word family treated here, contained the Luwian suffix *-ann*(*i*)-, and showed a deficient spelling with singleton *-m*-, it could denote any kind of enclosure. Thus, nothing can be drawn from this lexeme for the present discussion or vice versa.

§ 4. *LHTr* ^{TÚG}ḫuwammaliya- '*catching blanket*'

The next word, found only once in a Hittite birth ritual, shows the diphthong /-uwa-/ instead of /-ū-/ in the root. The latter can be regarded a secondary vis-à-vis the fuller form, due to the familiar process of monophthongization in Luwian (see, e.g., Melchert 2003: 183). The acc. sg. in *-iyan* points to a synchronic stem in *-iya-* in Hittite:

acc. sg.	^{TÚG}*ḫu-wa-am-ma-li-ia-an*	KUB 30.29 obv. 7	(CTH 430, MS)

Cf. the context in example (6):

(6) KUB 30.29 obv. 5–8 (Beckman 1983: 22f.):
[1]-*EN* ^{KUŠ}*šar-pa-aš-ši-ša-kán* ^{GIŠ}*ku-up-pi-iš-na-aš iš-tar-na* [*t*]*a-ga-a-an iš-pa-ra-an-zi* DUMU-*aš-ša-an ku-wa-pí kat-ta ma-uš-zi* [*n*]*u-*˹*za*˺-*an* MUNUS-*za*

GIŠ*ku-up-pi-iš-na-aš še-er e-ša* MUNUS*ḫa-aš-nu-pa-al-la-ša* [*ki-iš-š*]*ar-ta* TÚG***ḫu-wa-am-ma-li-ia-an*** *ḫar-zi*

"And one spreads out [on]e cushion between the stools on the ground. When the child begins to fall (i.e. to be born), [then] the woman seats herself on the stools, and the midwife holds the **catching blanket** with (her) [ha]nd."

Although the semantics of TÚG*ḫuwammaliya-* 'catching blanket' were elucidated by Güterbock (*apud* HW: 341; similar HW^2 Ḫ: 811f.: "(Einwickel-)Tuch für das neugeborene Kind") quite early, no attempts were made to find inner-Anatolian cognates or even an etymology. The meanings proposed by Güterbock and *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* are easily reconcilable with 'to enclose', but also with the whole semantic field of the closely interrelated and frequently co-lexified concepts of 'to seize, hold, take, catch' (see CLICS^3: s.v.). Obviously, the latter can also shift to 'to enclose' by generalization through the loss of the semantic feature 'in/with the hand'. Thus, nothing speaks against an etymological relationship with the lexemes derived from the Luwian root **ḫūmm-*, whereas the straightforward derivational analysis provides further positive evidence; cf.:

> **ḫūmm-*/*ḫuwamm-* 'to take, enclose (etc.)'
> → *ḫūmm-al-* 'instrument for taking, enclosure (etc.)', i.e. 'taker, encloser (etc.)' (instrument noun)
> → *-i*(*ya*)- 'related to/like a taker, encloser (etc.)' (substantivized relational adjective), concretized as 'catching blanket'

§ 5. *Luw.* /xūmmi(d)-/ *and Derivatives*

§ 5.1. *CLuw.* ḫūm(m)i(t)- *'arm'*

The treatment of Luw. /xūmmi(d)-/ and its immediate cognates is based on the recent proposal by Oreshko (2020: 348f.), whose results can be confirmed now by a new interpretation of the graphic evidence. Unfortunately, the base word itself is attested only once in a fragmentary and uninformative context, but it indicates with a high degree of certainty that the stem in *-i*(*t*)- existed in the language, in spite of the spelling with a singleton *-m-*.

abl./inst.	*ḫu-u-mi-ta-ti*	KUB 35.133 iii 6'	(CTH 665, NS)

The translation as given in the heading relies on the meanings proposed for its derivatives treated below.

§ 5.2 *CLuw.* ḫuwammiti(ya)- '(*upper*) *arm*'

Oreshko (2020: 348) adduces also *ḫuwammiti-...*, which is presumably to be restored as *ḫuwammitiy*[*anza*]:

dat./loc. pl. ⌜*ḫu-wa*⌝*-am-mi-*⌜*ti-ia*⌝-[*an-za*] KUB 35.88 ii 7' (CTH 765, NS)

The restoration of the ending is based on the parallelism in example (7) between line 7' and 8' with the form *paršand*[*a*]*nza*:

(7) KUB 35.88 ii 7'f. (modified from Starke 1985: 226):
-ḫ]*a* ŠU^{MEŠ}*-an-ta* ⌜*zi-i-la ḫu-wa*⌝*-am-mi-*⌜*ti-ia*⌝-[*an-za*
pa-a-ta-a]*n-ta zi-i-la pár-ša-an-d*[*a-a*]*n-za* x x[
"... the hands in future to/on the (upper) arm[s ... the fee]t in future to/on the thighs ..."

Contra Oreshko, the form in *-iya*[*nza*] cannot belong to the same stem as CLuw. *ḫūmitati*, but must go back to an *-i*(*ya*)- stem *ḫuwammiti*(*ya*)- derived from *ḫuwammi*(*t*)-, presumably a relational adjective (see Starke 1990: 222).

By the same analogy between ŠU^{MEŠ}*-anta* 'hands' and to [*pāta*]*nta* 'feet' on the one side and *ḫuwammitiyanza* and *paršand*[*a*]*nza* 'thigh[?]' on the other, Oreshko plausibly proposes a meaning 'arm' or, more specifically, 'upper arm' for the word. Accordingly, the relational adjective must have been substantivized.

§ 5.3 *HLuw. /xūmmidi*(*ya*)*-/,* (*BRACCHIUM*)hu-mi+ra/i(-i)- '(*upper*) *arm*'

The initial steps towards a semantic interpretation of the word group were made possible not by CLuw. *ḫuwammati*(*ya*)-, but by two attestations of /xūmmidi(ya)-/ in Hieroglyphic Luwian. However, first a few remarks on formal aspects are in order here.

acc. sg. c.	/xūmmidīn/	(BRACCHIUM)*hu-mi+ra/i*(=)	ASSUR letter f+g, §6
abl./inst.	/xūmmidīdi/	BRACCHIUM-*mi+ra/i-i*⟨*+ra/i*⟩*-i*	ÇALAPVERDİ 1, §5

The morphological analysis of BRACCHIUM-*mi+ra/i-i*⟨*+ra/i*⟩*-i* as abl./inst. derives from *á-mi-ia-ti*, abl./inst. of the 1sg. possessive pronoun, immediately preceding the noun. Unless one poses yet another stem /xūmmi(ya)-/, the attested form BRACCHIUM-*mi+ra/i-i-i* /xūmmidi/ does not permit an analysis as abl./inst.

Moreover, word-final *-i-i* occurs only three more times in the corpus (*ni-i-i* [ASSUR letter f+g, §51; SULTANHAN §36] and *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i-i* [SULTANHAN §46]). In contrast, the emendation as BRACCHIUM-*mi+ra/i-i⟨+ra/i⟩-i* /xūmmidīdi/ suggested by Bauer and Payne 2023 (forthcoming in eDiAna: s.v.) makes possible an assignment to the stem /xūmmidi(ya)-/ already known from Cuneiform Luwian (with monophthongization of /-iyadi/ > /-īdi/). The same stem also underlies the form (BRACCHIUM)*hu-mi+ra/i*(=) if interpreted as a common gender acc. sg. /xūmmidīn=/, targeting morphosyntactic agreement onto the participle |*ARHA |wa/i-la-mi-na-*' 'dead, dying away'; cf. example (8):[2]

(8) ASSUR letter f+g, § 6 (Hawkins 2000: 536):
|"CORPUS"-*ḫi-sà-wa/i* |(BRACCHIUM)*ḫu-mi+ra/i-ḫa* |*zi-ku-na-ti* |*ARHA |wa/i-la-mi-na-*' |PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*nu*
"Keep the body and *hummi*(*d*)- (which is) dying away from *ziKun*(*a*)-!"

Both attestations of /xūmmidi(ya)-/ feature the sign L *32, once used as a classifier, once as a logogram. It was assigned its transliteration BRACCHIUM 'arm' according to the object it depicts:

Fig. 2: L *32 BRACCHIUM

Oreshko (2020: 348f.) was the first to suggest that the word classified by BRACCHIUM also means 'arm'. The collocation with |"CORPUS"-*ḫi-sà-* 'body' in example (8) further enhances the plausibility of this idea, which accords well also with the Cuneiform Luwian passage cited for *ḫuwammati*(*ya*)- in example (7).

2. An analysis of (BRACCHIUM)*hu-mi+ra/i*(=) as the neuter nom./acc. pl. /xūmmida/ would leave the acc. sg. c. /walammin/ unexplained.

§ 5.4 *HLuw. /xūmmidæssr(i)-/ '?'*

The last item adduced by Oreshko (2020: 348 n. 11) is HLuw. /xūmmidæssr(i)-/, attested twice in the corpus:

acc. sg. c.	/xūmmidæssrin/	BRACCHIUM+*MÍ*-mi-da-sa$_5$+ra/i-i-na	KARKAMIŠ A11a, §8
nom. pl. c.	/xūmmidæssrinzi/	"crescent"+BRACCHIUM-mi+ra/i-sa$_5$+ra/i-zi	CEKKE, §12

(9) KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 8 (Hawkins 2000: 95; Melchert, pers. comm.):

**a-wa*/*i-mu-tá á-ma tá-ti-ia* AVUS-*ha-ti-ia* REGIO-*ní-ia* BRACCHIUM+*MÍ-mi-da-sa*$_5$*+ra*/*i-i-na kwa*/*i-a-ti a-tá i-zi-ia-tá*

"They (*scil.* the aforementioned gods) made my father's and grandfathers' lands like a *hummidassar*(*i*)- for me."

In example (9), '(protective) enclosure', which is in accordance with the translations of Luw. (𒀸/𒀀)*ḫūmma*- 'pigsty' and CLuw. *ḫūm*(*ma*)*t*(*i*)- '(a household item)' // HLuw. /xūmmæd(i)-/ 'precinct(?)' or 'niche(?)', would yield a plausible translation. However, /xūmmidæssr(i)-/ is clearly derived from the concrete noun *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- 'arm' (not from the root *ḫūmm-*/*ḫu*(*wa*)*mm*- 'to take, enclose'). With the suffix /-(æ)ssr-/ used for concrete nouns ("Sachbezeichnungen", cf. Starke 1990: 419–435), *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- 'arm' certainly does not lead to a stem meaning 'enclosure'. Moreover, example (10) from CEKKE, §12 points into an entirely different direction:

(10) CEKKE, § 12 (modified from Hawkins 2000: 145)

DOMINUS-*ti-wa*/*i+ra*/*i-ia-pa-wa*/*i á-ha-li-sa-na* PRAE-*ti* *179.*347. QUINQUE-*sà-pa-sá* 1 SCALPRUM-*sa* "crescent"+BRACCHIUM-*mi+ra*/*i-sa*$_5$*+ra*/*i-zi* DARE-*mi-na*

"Before Nannatiwadi, son of Ahhalli, a ...-garment (and) *hummidassar*(*i*)- of one mina are to be given."

This was also seen by Oreshko (2020: 348 n. 11), who writes: "Judging from the context, which features different gifts for one of the participants of the transaction thematized in the text, the word refers to 'arm-bands' or simply 'bracelets'. The second attestation is found in KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 11 where it seems to be used in a metaphorical sense. ... the clause can be interpreted as referring to 'unifying' the lands, alluding to joining [the] two ends of a bracelet into a closed ring."

What seems to be far-fetched at first sight, can be supported with additional evidence. While the sign L *32 BRACCHIUM normally consists of the arm only (see above),[3] each of the two attestations for /hummidassar(i)-/ shows an addition (= L *33(1) and L *33(2)). Apart from the "diamond" functioning as the phonetic indicator *MÍ*, the arm in KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 8 is decorated by a bracelet. In CEKKE, §12, the apparent "crescent" (thus Hawkins 2024) or LUNULA (Oreshko 2020: 348) can now be understood as representing a bracelet, too, although not put on.

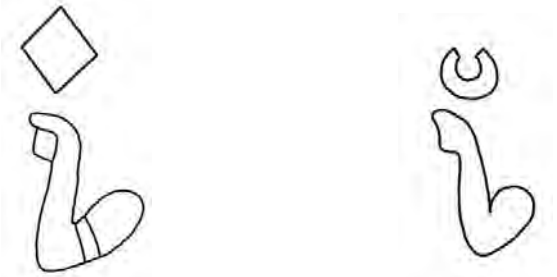

Fig. 3: L *33(1) BRACCHIUM+*MÍ* and L *33(2) BRACCHIUM+LUNULA

Thus, Oreshko's interpretation as 'bracelet' is borne out by a better understanding of the graphematic features used to render the lexeme.

In sum, the Luwian lexemes treated in Sections 5.2–5.4, /xūmmidæssr(i)-/ 'bracelet', *ḫuwammiti*(*ya*)- and /xūmmidi(ya)-/, are derived from a stem *ḫūmmi*(*t*)-, which cannot mean anything other than 'arm', in spite of the lack of contextual evidence for this specific word. The semantic path by which *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- 'arm' derives from the root **ḫūmm-*/*ḫuwamm-* 'to take, enclose (etc.)', established in Sections 1–4, is clear. The concept arm can develop metonymically from hand as shown by the 300 colexifications of arm and hand offered in CLICS,[3] while hand is frequently conceived as a 'seizer, taker, gatherer, holder' (cf. Buck 1949: 238f.) expressed by agent or instrument nouns. Since the suffix -*i*(*t*)- forms denominative nouns, one has to posit as an intermediary step between the root **ḫūmm-*/*ḫuwamm-* and *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- 'arm' a thematic abstract noun **ḫu*(*wa*)*mma*- 'taking, enclosing (etc.)', which probably also underlies the non-mutating *a*-stem (𔓰/𔓱)*ḫūmma*- 'pigsty'.

3. I am grateful to Craig Melchert for the constructive discussion of this distinctive feature of L *32 and L *33.

§ 6. *Etymology*

Luw. *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- ‘arm’, /xūmmidæssar(i)-/ ‘bracelet’, *ḫuwammiti*(*ya*)- and /xūmmidi(ya)-/ ‘(upper) arm’ show the same variation between /xūmm-/ and /xuwæmm-/ as found in (𒀸/𒀭)*ḫūmma*- ‘pigsty’, /xūmmæd(i)-/ ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche’ and $^{\text{TÚG}}$*ḫuwammaliya*- ‘catching blanket’ (with *-uwa*- being limited to the Empire period). While /xūmm-/ can be easily explained as the result of the typical monophthongization /-uwa-/ > /-ū-/ in /xuwæmm-/, the phonological shape of /xuwæmm-/ itself is likely to have arisen from a development of Proto-Luwic */-em-/ > /-æmm-/ by Čop’s Law. Accordingly, /xuwæmm-/ represents a full grade root, whose Proto-Indo-European preform would be *$h_{2/3}$*u̯em*-. However, no such root with a meaning ‘to seize, take, gather, hold’ has been reconstructed so far. LIV^2 (236) lists only *h_1*em*- ‘to take’.

A solution to the problem comes from the comparison with Hitt. *ḫūmant*- ‘every, all, each, entire’. Kimball (2007) interpreted the Hittite lexeme as the participle of *h_1*em*- ‘to take’ prefixed with the directional particle *ḫu*- known from Hitt. *pē-ḫu-tē*- ‘to bring’, *e-ḫu* ‘go ahead!’ etc. (< *h_2*u*-, by-form of *h_2*o*- ‘to, together’, according to Dunkel LIPP I: 325).[4] Semantically, Hitt. *ḫūmant*- meaning literally ‘taken together’ developed first like attested Hittite *anda appant*- ‘taken together, including’ (HW^2 E: 65f.) and later grammaticalized as the universal quantifier ‘every, all, each, entire’. Phonologically, it goes back to *h_2*u-h*$_1$*m*- (> *ḫūm*-) with the zero grade root and the participial suffix.

Returning to Luwian, the full grade of the same prefixed verb *h_2*u-h*$_1$*em*- yielded /xuwæmm-/ by regular sound change to serve as the base for a word family showing the following derivational patterns:

ḫūmm-/ḫuwamm- ‘to take, enclose (etc.)’ (preverb plus root)
→ *ḫūmm-a/i*- ‘taking, enclosing (etc.)’ (thematized *-*o*-)
→ (𒀸/𒀭)*ḫūmma*- ‘pigsty’ (abstract noun suffix *-*eh*$_2$-)
→ Luw. *ḫūm*(*m*)*i*(*t*)- ‘arm’ (denominal concrete noun suffix *-*i*(*t*)-)
→ *ḫuwammiti*(*ya*)- and /xūmmidi(ya)-/ ‘(upper) arm’ (relational suffix *-*iyo*-)
→ /xūmmidæssr(i)-/ ‘bracelet’ (denominal concrete noun suffix *-(*o*)*sro*-)

4. For another reflex of the root in Hittite, cf. also *u-em-iye/a*- ‘to find’ (Melchert 1994: 66; skeptical Kloekhorst EDHIL: 998f.).

→ /xūmm-æd(i)-/ ‘precinct(?)’ or ‘niche’ (abstract noun suffix *-(*o*)*t*(*i*)- with lenition)
→ *ḫūmm-al-* ‘instrument for taking, enclosure (etc.)’, i.e. ‘taker, encloser (etc.)’ (instrument suffix *-*lo*-)
→ ^{TÚG}*ḫuwammal-i*(*ya*)- ‘related to/like a taker, encloser (etc.)’ (substantivized relational adjective with *-*iyo*-), concretized as ‘catching blanket’.

The establishment of the word family of Luw. *ḫūmm-/ḫuwamm- and Hitt. *ḫūm- ‘to take, enclose (etc.)’, deriving from a Proto-Anatolian ablauting verb *h_2*u-h*$_1$*em-/*h_2*u-h*$_1$*m- (root *h_1*em-* (LIV^2: 236), brings the lexicon of the Anatolian languages again closer to that known from reconstructed Proto-Indo-European. Hopefully, we will be able to compile a reliable list of the inherited lexicon of Proto-Anatolian in the near future.

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A new *tessera iudicis* in Sidetic

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§ 1. *Introduction*

The present study deals with the decipherment of a new *pinakion* recorded in the Sidetic language and with the interpretation of a symbol depicted on the *pinakion* from Aspendos.

The Sidetic language is one of the ancient languages of Asia Minor with an epicoric script documented on a variety of coins with about twenty different legends and on inscriptions dating back to the period from approximately the 5th to the 3rd century BC. The epigraphic documentation is attested mainly in Side in Pamphylia and also in Lyrbe near the Eurymedon River in the south of Pisidia. The decipherment of the language and writing has made some progress thanks to bilinguals in Greek and Sidetic. Unfortunately, the typology of the documents does not present a linguistic variety on its phonology and morphology and its vocabulary is limited too. It is therefore that the studies on its decipherment focus rather on the onomastic analysis in comparison with Greek and Anatolian elements. Despite some certain progress made thanks to the bilingual inscriptions, there are still unresolved and unrecognized elements in the language and writing and the table of the Sidetic alphabet for the different phonetic values is being discussed.

The *pinakion* recorded in the Sidetic langauge is a small bronze plaque, which was normally used as a personal object to denote citizenship and bore the name of owner with the indication of patronomy and *deme*. This kind of objects was often worn by owners on a rope in daily life and even buried with owners. There is also another kind of *pinakia*- which we can call them *tesserae iudicis*- for candidates to held a political office or for jury members. They have been used to insert into ran-

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domization devices for allotment (said *κληρωτήριον* in ancient Greek). It is highly possible that the new *pinakia* belonged to the class of *dikastes.* This type of *tesserae iudicis* discovered in Pamphylia have been known with two already published examples: one of them was recorded in the Pamphylian Greek dialect[1] and the other was in Sidetic.[2] In this presentation I will give two unpublished examples of the *pinakia.* All the *pinakia* from Pamphylia have not been found in the archaeological excavations. The previous two *pinakia* were in private collections in France. These two new ones are in the depot of the Side Museum. The provenance of the new *tesserae iudicis* are unknown, as they are donated to the Side museum by a collectionist from Manavgat. It is obvious because of the pomegranate symbol that they belonged to the city of Side.

The inscribed face of the first *tessera* bears three lines in the Sidetic characters. A Greek *gamma* to indicate the section of the *dikastes* is recorded larger than the others used in the text in the left margin of the object. The section letters on *pinakia* from Side are attested only with *alpha, gamma* and *delta.* A section with the letter *beta* has not been attested yet. It may be highly conjectural to suppose a variation of letters to indicate sections at Side, but it is known from the examples in Athens they can vary with a series from *alpha* to *kappa*. A pomegranate (σίδη) as a symbol of the city is depicted in relief in the right margin. The names of the cities were not written alphabetically in the examples of the *pinakia* found in Pamphylia, but they were meant in symbols. The three *tesserae iudicis* from Side are always depicted with a pomegranate symbol in relief. The fourth one recorded in the Pamphylian Greek dialect may include a very worn relief of a goddess as a symbol of Aspendos.[3]

§ 2. *Definition of the inscription*

The direction of the text to read is right-to-left. The characters are depicted in monumental style with slight apices as seen on the stone inscriptions. No punctuation was used. It is not easy to establish a date for the inscription, but the use of the Greek alphabet for the number of section suggests that the object can be dated around the end of the third century, or 2nd BC.

1. Brixhe (1966: 653–663 and 1976: 301–302 no 178).

2. Brixhe (1969: 143–151).

3. Brixhe (1966) did not give any information about the figure on the *pinakion*. It is a figure of goddess in our opinion which may represent a figure of Aphrodite Kastniestis as it was defined as the oldest cult of Aspendos in the time of Mopsos by Callimachus in *Dieg.* VIII–IX.

§ 3. *Dimensions*

Length: 6.06cm, width: 2.1 cm, thickness: 0.18cm.

§ 4. *Text*

The transliteration of the inscription goes on from right to left:

mei>dna8e>p
2 zto𐤐a↑e𐤉
zazemei>t

§ 5. *Comments*

The level of the decipherment of the Sidetic language and script witnessed a certain progress due to three bilinguals in Greek and Sidetic, but it has not yet reached to the same level with other Anatolian languages. The scarcity of the epigraphic material is a key factor of the present knowledge on Sidetic. They are only 13 inscriptions published. Other 2 inscriptions including the present one, are waiting to be known by the researchers of Anatolian languages. The bilingual inscriptions showed close ties with Greek, particularly in onomastics. The linguistic relationship of Sidetic with other Anatolian languages advanced always through complex phonetic and morphological explanations. In reality, there are still undeciphered signs, more than 10, in the Sidetic repertory. The quantity of characters used in Sidetic has been documented 30, of which 4 characters appear only on coins.[4] The phonetic value of 17 signs is accepted *communis opinio doctorum*. In our text there are 5 signs, whose phonetic value was not determined with the help of the bilingual inscriptions. These are 18 (↑), 23 (𐤐), 24 (>), 26 (𐤉) according to the sign chart of Neumann-Nollé approach. The sign in the form of number 8 appears for the first time in the new *tessera* and not attested elsewhere in Sidetic. We number it 27 here.

It is more problematic to determine the sound value of the remaing 4 signs in the *tessera* text, but we can begin to analyze the sign 24 (>) which recurs three

4. Bossert (1950: fig. 5); Brandenstein (1958: 90); Darga (1967: fig. 9 and 10); Atlan (1968: 72); Brixhe (1969: 55); Neumann (1968: 90; 1978, 875); Ševoroškin (1975: 165); Eichner (1988: 44–56; 2013: 147); Nollé (2001: 629); Pérez-Orozco (2007: 142; 2020: 170); Zinko, Zinko and Rizza (2016: 375); Zinko and Zinko (2020: 422).

times in our text. The phonetic value of this sign has been discussed on the base of the identifications of proper and place names attested in a Greco-Sidetic bilingual discovered at Lyrbe in 1972. The inscription was originally published by Darga,[5] but was subsequently re-examined by other scholars. The Greek version of the inscription records that "*Euempolos, son of Sidis, citizen of Temeriza dedicated*".[6] In the Sidetic version the corresponding line of the inscription has *e>pel sdi↑z teme>ewaz* which has been read *eu*[*mp*]*lu sditś teenes* by Darga, *e25pel Sdi18s Teme*[.]*eś²a²s* by Brixhe and Neumann, *eumpol s'δiks teme a²ey²ǩ* by Faucounau, *e>pel zdi↑z teme>ewaz* by Nollé, first *ebpel śditś temenezaś* in 2007 and then *eñpel zdišz temeneδaz* in 2020 by Pérez-Orozco, *Ev²pel Sdics Temen²²eśas* by Eichner. Darga, after having determined the reading of *eu*[..]*lu* on the basis of the phonetic values recognized in that phase of the decipherment, thought that the letters -[*mp*]- should be placed in the worn part of the inscription in order to phonetically approximate the Sidetic word to the pronunciation of the corresponding one in Greek.[7] Brixhe and Neumann, who had the opportunity to work on the inscription again, read the word as *E*[.]*pel*. They also suggested that the word could perhaps be taken as *em²pel,* however by stating that the transformation of *empel* to Εὐέμπολος, or vice versa, could not be explained through a phonetic process.[8] Faucounau, who examined the *estampage* of the inscription, suggested that the sign 24 (**>**) could be clearly read in the Sidetic version and that it has the phonetic value of "*m*".[9] Nollé also recognized the same sign in his *corpus* and suggested that the phonetic value of the sign could be "m".[10] I had an occassion to re-examine the inscription in the Antalya Museum and I confirm that the recognition of the sign by Faucounau and Nollé is valid and it is 24. Pérez-Orozco, who made a grammatical sketch of the Sidetic language, defined the sign with the phonetic value of "*b*" and read the word as *ebpel*, suggesting that the transition from *ebpel* to Εὐέμπολος could be explained by the personal name *Ἐϝέπολυς, assumpted to be in the Greek dialect of Pamphylia, but not documented so far.[11] He also published an actuality on his suggestions almost 15 years later and he changed the phonetic value of the

5. Darga (1983: 401–410, fig. 1–2).
6. SEG XXXIII 1163: Εὐέμπολος Σίδιδος Τεμεριζεὺς | ἀνέθηκεν.
7. Darga (1983: 404).
8. Brixhe and Neumann (1988: 41).
9. Faucounau (1990: 167).
10. Nollé (2001: 241).
11. Pérez-Orozco (2007: 126).

sign and read it as *eñpel*.[12] Woudhuizen saw an exact parallism between Greek and Sidetic proper names and suggested that Εὐέμπολος corresponds to *Enpel* in Sidetic.[13] Magnelli and Petrantoni followed Faucounau's reading with new suggestions and accepted to read the Sidetic proper name as *Eumpol*.[14] Eichner has doubts on the phonetic value of the sign and asked whether it has a value of "*v*".[15] Zinko and Zinko read the sign with the phonetic value of "*b*" on the identification of a newly attested proper name.[16]

The bilingual inscription from Lyrbe does not give any clear phonetic equivalent of the sign, but it can be supposed that the sign might have a consonant value. Our analysis on the base of combinatorial comparison with Anatolian onomastics provided further interpretations when it has a phonetic value of "*b*".

The same sign according to Nollé's reading in his *corpus* is documented in *abase* (S3.1), *pebiwase* and *3nebarsaPaza* (S3.3), uba↑*joroz* (S5.1–2)*, temebewaz* (*S6.2*)*, uba*↑¥*em uba*↑*χarz uba*↑¥*emz* (*S9.4*), *tobŸ3remar* (S9.6) and *tbiatmems* which occurs in the second line of a stele (S13) found in Lyrbe and should be also included in this list after Nollé's *corpus*.[17] The sign reoccurs three times in our new text as *pbe*8*andbiem* and *tbiemezaz*.

The attestations of the sign give us to focus on two precomponents, which begin with *uba-* and *tb-*. The precomponent *uba-* appears always with the sign 18, whose phonetic value may have an affricate. It seems obvious that it has to do with the Luwian *upa-* and its derivations as it can be seen also in the onomastic attestations such as Οβας (*LGPN* VB 325), Ουβας (*LGPN* VB 334), Οβαμους (*LGPN* VB 325)[18] from Pamphylia and Cilicia.

Noun formations with *tbV-* cluster seem to be more variated. The cluster can be seen in the initial or final part of a group of personal names. Personal names formed only with the cluster itself are rarely attested. Τβιος from Cilicia (*LPGN* VB 403) may represent an example. In other attestations it seems that the *tbV-* cluster is enlarged by long vowels such as in Τβως (*LGPN* VB 403) and Τβημης (*LGPN* VC 414). Perhaps it may be vocalized with an inner *iota* as seen in the

12. Pérez-Orozco (2020: 168).
13. Woudhuizen (1988/9: 96).
14. Magnelli and Petrantoni (2020: 80).
15. Eichner (2013: 147).
16. Zinko and Zinko (2020: 430).
17. Zinko, Zinko and Rizza (2016: 377–381).
18. Cf. also Sundwall (1913: 224), Zgusta 1964: § 1066 and Houwink ten Cate (1961: 162) for Οβαμουτας.

examples of Τιβιος and Τιβειος from Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Phrygia (*LPGN* VC 417). It is likely that Τιβειος is a Romanized form of the Phrygian *Tiveia* (*CIPPh* G183 a). The cluster *tbV-* can be seen also in the first element of personal names such as *tbe-* (C. Si. 1) and *tbsms* (C. Ka. 2) and in the last element such as *qutbe-* (E. Th. 8) in Carian. In Lycian *tbuwe-* (N 313b), *pñtba* (TL 84) and *qñtbe* (TL 51) seem to enter into the same category, but it is a well-known matter that the counterpart of *tbisu* in Lycian B is *kbihu* in Lycian.[19] It is a question why Lycian kept the cluster *tb-* in the *tbuwe*, *pñtba* and *qñtbe*. It seems likely that they are derived from a verb such as *tube- or tubi-*. In any case, the cluster *tbV-* seems to be disappeared in the Hellenistic and Roman epigraphic documentation. One may expect to find personal names having *kbV-* instead of *tbV-* on the base of the change between Lycian and Lycian B. In fact, Κβαιμιος (*LPGN* 5B 231) from Pinara in Lycia and Γβαιμος (*LPGN* VC 96) from Sagalassos in Pisidia could serve as examples, but *Kbaimos* is related with *χbV-*, but not with *kbV-* in Lycian, as the Lycian "χ" in Xbane and Xbid- corresponds to kappa in Greek. It is possible that the Lycian *kbV-* cluster became τυι- in Graeco-Roman period as it can be seen in the identification of *kbijêti* with Τυινδα.[20] Proper and place names attested in Lycia such as Τευιδαρμα,[21] Τυιδαρμα (*LGPN* VB 416), Τυιδα,[22] Τυινδα[ρ]α[23] and Τυινδα[24] may represent the examples of the old *tbV-* cluster in Lycia. In my opinion Τευιδαρμα and Τυιδαρμα can not be separated to Τευιδ- and -αρμα components.[25] They are not related with Luwian Sun god *tiwat-*, or **tiwid-* and Moon Goddess *Arma-*, because the inner *delta* makes a part of the post-component in *-darma,* which is related with Hittite/Luwian *tarma-* or similars.[26] The examples can be seen in the attestations of Πλαδαρμα (*TAM* II 543), Σερμιδαρμα (TAM II 639), Κακ[α]δαρμα (TAM II 797) and Καιδαρμα (*IK* Arykanda 101).

The *tbV-* cluster seem to be formed also by the adjectival suffixes -rho- and -l (lamda). The *tbr-* group has no vowel consistency. The examples can be seen in Τβαρα-μοτας (*LPGN* VB 403), Τβερα-μουσεις (*LPGN* VC 414), Τβηρα-σητας (*LPGN* VB 403), Τβερη-μωσις (*LPGN* VB 403) and Τβαρρ-ωνις (*LPGN* VC 413).

19. Laroche (1967: 47).

20. Neumann (2007: 161); Melchert (2004: 31); Schürr (2019: 107 n. 5; 2020: 187). Cf. Oreshko (2021: 100).

21. Korkut and Tekoğlu (2003: 106, nr. 2).

22. Çelik, Atalay and Büyükyörük (2018: 191–192).

23. Önen, Gürel and Akçay (2017: 357 nr. 3a).

24. İplikçioğlu (2004: 117).

25. Cf. Neumann (2007: 366) and Schürr (2019: 189).

26. Schweyer (2002: 127, n. 138).

It appears also as a last element of the personal names such as Τι-τβαρις (AE 2007 1543) and Σαγγο-τβηηρις (*LPGN* VB 376). The formation of the cluster with lambda is very rare. Τβαλμουρα or Τοβαλμουρα (Zgusta 1984: § 1348), an ancient village around Sardis, calls immediately the formation and it can be seen also in Κοτοβαλος, counterpart of Carian *qtblo*. The Carian *qtblem* matching with Κοτβελημος and Κυτβελημις[27] enters into the same category. *Qetbeleimi* in Lycian B is doubtful.

These analyses show that the *tbV-* cluster existed also in Sidetic, when we accept the sound value of 24 as "b".

The 2nd element of the personal name in *tessera iudicis* is *-mezaz* in Sidetic, which seems to be related with Μασας (Lyc. and Pis.), Μεσας (Pis.) and Hittite-Luwian Maşa.

Any phonetic values for the signs 18 (𐤕) and 26 (𐤚), which occur in line 2, are not suggested by me, but the sign 23 should have "k" sound value, which is guaranteed by a new inscription in Sidetic. It is highly possible that the Sidetic word *ekkleziya* is the counterpart of Greek ἐκκλησία, which confirms that the Sidetic sign 𐤐 corresponds to the greek sound of kappa. It was previously suggested by Pérez-Orozco.[28] The final part of the proper name in line 2 is read as *-kotz,* gen. sing., which seems to be related with the elements in Κουτας (*LGPN* VC 233), Κωκουτας (*LGPN* VC 240), Ερμακοτας or Ερμακοττας (*LGPN* VB 140).

The sign 27 is a new one. It is the first attestation in the list of the Sidetic signs. It is known as "f (vav)" in Lydian and as "le" syllable in the Cypriot syllabary, but their sounds don't help for any word recognition. The Sidetic word draws attention immediately to the *-ndb-* conglomeration which is seen in the formation of the personal names such as Ῥωνδβίης and Ῥωνδβίος from Cilicia, consisting of Luwian components *runt-* and *piya-*.[29] The phonetic value of the sign 27 seems to be unknown, as the pre-component of the noun is unfamiliar form in the Anatolian onomastics.

The final component in *-biem* in Sidetic seems to be used in a similar way with the component in *Natrbbijêmi* attested in the 4th line of the Lycian version of Letoon trilingual. The Greek correspondance of Natrbbijêmi is *Apollodotos*, which contains the compound *-dotos* meaning "gift of; given by". The Lycian responds with the verb *piya-* "to give" and plus with the participle in -mi-, which appears in

27. Κοτβελημος and Κυτβελημις are matched with Carian *qtblem-* in Adiego (2007: 255).
28. Pérez-Orozco (2007: 142).
29. Houwink ten Cate (1961: 198–199).

the form of *-pimis-*, or *-peimis* in the examples such as *Armadapimis*, *Arsadapeimis* etc. in the inscriptions of Roman period in Lycia.

The pre-component *Pbe-* is an unknown form to me, but it brings to mind *Pubiele* in Lycian, but any identification is not suggested.

After the analysis, the reading of the text of *tessera iudicis* in Sidetic goes as following: Pbe27andbiem, son of 26-e-18-akot, grandson of Tbiemezaz. The text showed that the Sidetic language shared *tbV-* cluster and components like *-kot* and *-meza-* with Luwic languages.

The last comment may be advanced about the *pinakia* from Pamphylia. Only 4 pinakia are known from Pamphylia. 3 of them are from Side and one from Aspendos. 2 pinakia from Side are recorded in the Sidetic language. The 3rd one is written in *koine*. It can be dated to 2nd or early 1st century B.C. because of the paleography of *alpha* with right bar, semicircular *sigma* and *beta* with right bottom. A pomegranate is depicted on the right side. The text records that the *pinakion* belonged to "Orentes, son of Athenobios, son of Hermos."

All the *pinakia* from Side (figs. 1–3) have a pomegranate symbol on the right side to indicate the origin of the owner. The *pinakion* from Aspendos (fig. 4) has a symbol which is ignored in studies. Even Brixhe didn't define it. A tiny line runs curved at the bottom of this figure. I believe that this line belonged to a female skirt, very likely to the custume of a goddess. It has been supposed for a long time that the *wanassa Preia*, or Artemis Pergaia, was worshiped all over Pamphylia, but our discovery with Cl. Brixhe furnished a new inscription in the Pamphylian dialect that a certain *Wanassa Akru, Lady of the Acropolis* was celebrated at Aspendos. It is very likely that this Lady was a local goddess and symbol of Aspendos.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1. Sidetic *tessera iudicis* from Side

Fig. 2. Greek *tessera iudicis* from Side

Fig. 3. Sidetic *tessera iudicis* from Side (S 5)

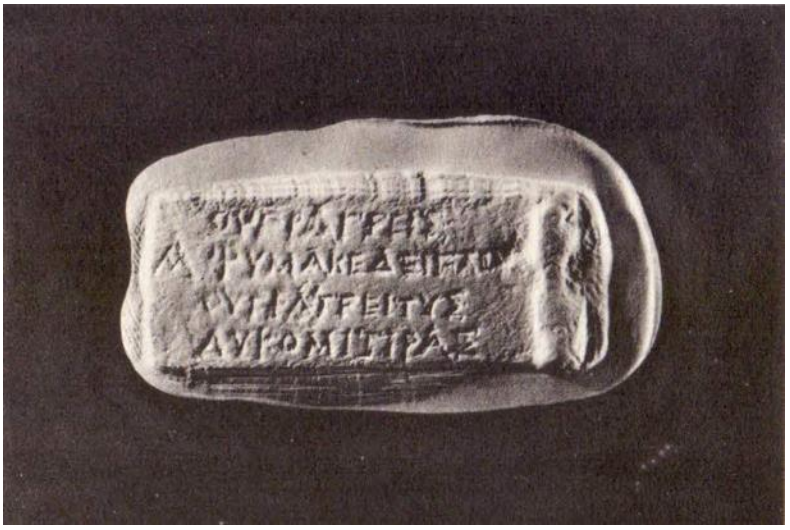

Fig. 4. *tessera iudicis* in Pamphylian dialect from Aspendos (*DGP* 178)

Carian *q* and Luwic **H*

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§ 1. *Introduction*

Except possibly for Iranian (Kümmel 2018), Anatolian is the only branch of Indo-European with consonantal reflexes of the laryngeals h_2 and h_3. These reflexes were first observed in Hittite (proving Saussure's "laryngeal theory"), but, over time, they have also surfaced in Luwian, Lycian, Milyan, and Carian, while the Lydian evidence is still under discussion (for the latter see Yakubovich 2022: 196–200). Recent scholarship (Simon 2014, Weiss 2016, Kloekhorst 2018, Kümmel 2022) has shown interest in the phonological value of these two Proto-Indo-European laryngeals as well as their reflexes in the various Anatolian languages, which constitute related but separate problems.

PIE $*h_2$ (> Proto-Anatolian **H* > Proto-Luwic **H*) has two known reflexes in Carian, *k* and *q*, which emerged in different environments. It is generally accepted that Carian *k* is a velar stop /k/, but the interpretation of *q* is less consensual. Adiego (2007: 244; followed by Simon 2011: 539f and Brosch 2016: 9–10) proposed a uvular stop /q/, but Kloekhorst (2008: 138; 2018: 72–73) suggested a labio-velar stop /k^{w}/. Interestingly, Kloekhorst (2018) also argued that the Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Luwic reflexes of $*h_2$ (**H*), were a uvular stop */q/. The latter interpretation is advantageous in one regard. We know that Carian *k* matches Lycian *χ* in certain pairs of cognates (see below) and it is agreed that both were a velar stop /k/. Reconstructing the Luwic source of Carian *k* ~ Lycian *χ* in such pairs as a stop */q/ is arguably more straightforward than assuming a fricative (be it uvular, pharyngeal, or velar). Thus, if one endorses the theory that Carian *q* was a uvular stop, Kloekhorst's hypothesis implies the preservation of Proto-Luwic **H* /q/. Yet

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Kloekhorst's (2018: 73) own view is that Carian *q* arose only from one specific context, **Hw* (< **h*$_2$*w*), i.e., his Proto-Luwic */qw/, and was articulated as a labiovelar stop /k^w/. The problem deserves to be revisited, in our opinion, because recent research suggests that Carian *q* is the outcome of more than one configuration of sounds. We also submit that the data can be tested in new ways to assess which interpretation of *q*, uvular or labiovelar stop, is more grounded.

Our goal here is therefore to adress two related problems: (1) Which is the source (or sources) of the sound represented by Carian *q*? (2) In phonetic (and phonological) terms, what exactly does it represent? They need to be treated separately. Problem (1) must be addressed through historical-comparative analysis, considering that Carian belongs to the Luwic group of Indo-European Anatolian languages. Conversely, problem (2) must be tackled through internal and combinatorial analysis of Carian inscriptions, along with the analsysis of adaptations of Carian 'material' to other languages and vice versa. This means examinging the synchronic distribution of *q* in Carian documents and investigating Carian names in foreign transmission (Greek and Egyptian scripts), as well as foreign material rendered with the Carian alphabet.

§ 2. *The etymological sources of Carian* q

One clear source of Carian *q* appears to be Luwic **H* (Adiego 2007: 260). This can be proposed thanks to four Carian names that have comparanda in Luwian and Lycian:

- *qdarĺou-ś*, a personal name (PN) in the genitive, from **Hudarlāwa*- (or similar). The comparanda are Cuneiform Luwian *hudarlā*- 'slave, servant' (spelled *ḫu-u-tar-la-a-an*, nom.-acc.) and *hudarli*(*ya*)- 'of a slave/servant' (spelled *ḫu-tar-li-i-ya*-[*an*]), and the following PNs from cuneiform sources: *Ḫu-da-ar-lá, Ḫu-du-ur-lá, Ḫu-u-tar-li, Ḫu-ut-ra-la*-(*aš*), *Ḫu-ut-ra-li-iš* (Adiego 1995: 24–25 and 2007: 406; see Laroche 1966: 411 for the cuneiform onomastics). This comparison has only become more likely with the decipherment of the letter G as *ĺ* (formerly transcribed as *ŕ*; Adiego 2019: 31).
- *quq-,* a PN or component of PNs. Compare Lycian *xuga* 'grandfather, ancestor' and Luwian *huha*- (cuneiform spelling *ḫu-u-ḫa-ti* 'grandfather (abl.-instr.)'. The PN *dquq* is rendered in Greek as Ιδαγυγος and matches Lycian *Ddxuga* (Adiego 2007: 330, 334, 361).
- *trq*(*u*)*δ*-, the name of the Storm-God, which matches Lycian *Trqqñt*- (nominative *Trqqas*), Milyan *Trqqñt*- (nominative *Trqqiz*), and Luwian *Tarhunt*- (cu-

neiform spelling ^{D}*Tar-ḫu-un-*º), all from Luwic **TarH^{w}n̥t-* (Adiego 2007: 331–332)*;* cf. also the phrase *armo trqδos* 'in the month of Tarhunt' (Adiego 2019).

– Carian PN *qtblem*, rendered in Greek as Κοτβελημος and Κυτβελημις, and comparable to Milyan *qetbeleimis*, a plural form (as first seen by Shevoroshkin 1978: 252). One of us (Valério 2015: 344)[1] proposed that the additional comparandum is Cuneiform Luwian *huitwal*(*i*)- 'alive' and suggested to derive the Carian and Milyan forms from a Luwic adjective participle **Hwitwalāimi-* 'vivified, invigorated' (or similar), ultimately from a denominative verb **Hwitwalai-* 'to make alive, vivify'.[2]

In these four cases, Carian *q* matches Cuneiform Luwian *ḫu*-(*u*-), which strongly suggests that its Luwic sources are **Hu* (see Simon 2011: 544) and **Hw* or **H^{w}*. In this regard, Carian *qtblem* is a relevant piece of evidence. The cognate Milyan form, *qetbeleimis*, has a clear reflex of the Luwic vowel **i* in the first syllable, so we can infer that Luwic **Hwitw*(*a*)º yielded Milyan *qetb*º. Conversely, we suggest that owing to stress **Hwitw*(*a*)º was syncopated to **Hwtβ*(*a*)º in pre-Carian, which then further shifted to **Hutβ*(*a*)º. This last change is typologically common: for example, see PIE **g^{w}enh$_2$-* ~ *g^{w}nḗh$_2$-* > Greek γυνή. Carian *trq*(*u*)*δ-* may conceal a similar development: **TrH^{w}n̥d-* > **TrHund-*.

Before other vowels, **H* appears to yield Carian *k*, most likely /k/:

– Carian *kδouś* 'king (genitive)'(?), *kδuśo* 'in the reign' (Adiego 2019), *k$^{?}$δow^{o}* (in *esak$^{?}$δowš*) and *kδu^{o}* in *kδuśolš* 'royal (pl.)'(?) vs. Lycian *χ̃ntawa-* 'to rule' and *χ̃ntawat*(*i*)- 'ruler, kind' and Cuneiform Luwian *handawat*(*i*)- /Handawat(i)/ 'king' < **h$_2$ent-* 'front' (see Adiego 2007: 260; Melchert 2013: 35); cf. also the Pisidian PNs Γδαβα- and Γδβετι- (Melchert 2013: 35).
– Carian PN *ksbo-* = Χασβως, cf. also PN Καασβωλλις, vs. Lycian *xahba* 'grandchild', Cuneiform Luwian *hamsa*/*i*- 'grandchild' and hieroglyphic Luwian *hasu-* < PIE **h$_2$onsu-* "secondarily converted to an original *ā*-stem" and with metathesis (Adiego 2007: 258, 261, 334).
– Carian PNs *piks-* and compound *dbiks*, possibly related to Πιγασσως in Greek transmission and cognate with Luwian *pihassa*/*i*-, from **piha-* 'splendour' < PIE **b^{h}eh$_2$-* 'shine, glow' (Adiego 2007: 337; Melchert 2013: 34).

1. Followed by Sasseville (2023 *s.v.*).

2. Possibly, the PN ***q**tblo* (E.Th 10) → Greek **Κο**τοβαλως stems from the same Luwic root as *qtblem-*.

In addition to these examples, it is worth noting some less reliable ones. Thus, the place names *kb*(*i*)*d*- 'Kaunos' (cf. Lycian *Xbide*) and *kbo*- 'Keramos', as well as the personal name *kbjom* and *šar-kbiom* (rendered in Greek as Κεβιωμος), may contain reflexes of a Luwic stem represented also in Cuneiform Luwian *hāp*(*i*)- 'river' and Luwo-Hittite *hapā*(*i*)- 'to water, irrigate'[3] (Adiego 2007: 334),[4] perhaps ultimately from **h*$_2$*eb*^{h}-.

After reviewing this better-known evidence, we wish to reassess additional material that may shed new light on the origins of Carian *q*. The decipherment of the Carian letter Ϭ as a variant of Δ *l* (previously it was transcribed as *z*) in Adiego (2019) has led to a new reading of the inscription C.Hy 1 from Hyllarima. Here is the passage of interest to us:

Previous Reading (Adiego 2007)	New reading (Adiego 2019)
(a) *armotrqδos**q*** / (b) ***molš*** *msoτ ylarmiτ*	… *armo trqδos* ***qmolš*** *msoτ ylarmiτ*
	"…in the month of Tarhunt, the priests of/for the gods of Hyllarima"

C.Hy 1 comprises two stone fragments (a, b) that were read in a different order up till 2019 and a text written in Greek, which is shorter than the Carian one. The correct segmentation of the word †*molš* has now emerged as *qmolš*. This discovery does not affect its likely meaning, 'priests', which had been inferred from context: ***q***/***molš*** *msoτ ylarmiτ* "**the priests** of/for the gods of Hyllarima" echoes the phrase ιερεῖες θεῶν πάντων 'the priests of all gods' in the Greek part. As a result, what once seemed like a clitic *-q*, and perhaps a copulative, has now vanished. The word *qmol* could also be identified in two other inscriptions, C.My 1 from Mylasa (Adiego 2019: 33) and C.Eu 2 from Euromos (Adiego 2020):

Mylasa (C.My 1)
† *idrayridsemδbqmolštyk̂*[
→ *idrayridsemδb qmolš tyk̂*[

3. Lydian *kof*(*u*)- 'water' may belong here too, pointing to a similar development **h*$_2$ > /k/ in Lydian (Yakubovich 2022: 197).

4. Differently, Melchert (2013: 35–36) tentatively links *kbi*/*jom* with reconstructed Luwic */hwiyamma/i-/ 'running, runner, attendant'. The comparison between Carian *Šar-kbiom*- (PN) and Lycian *hri-xuwama* 'super-attending/attendance'(?) is offered in support.

C.Eu 2
† *omob k̂i* : *temazi*/*śδun* : *śośniabkol*
→ *qmoλ k̂i* : *temali*/*śδun* : *śośniabkol* "Under(?) *temali*, who is a/the priest…"

It was immediately noted in Adiego (2019: 33–34; 2020: 142) that *qmoλ* recalls Lycian *kumaza-* 'priest' and *kumalihe* 'sacrificial, sacred', Cuneiform Luwian *kumma-* 'sacr(aliz)ed' and *kummayall*(*i*)- 'a type of priest', and hieroglyphic Luwian *kummayala-* 'temple official'. All these forms can be traced to Luwic **kumma-* 'sacred, holy', so it was suggested that Carian *qmoλ* stems from **kummā́ll*(*i*) 'priest', with the agent suffix -*ā́ll*(*i*)- that regularly yields Carian -*oλ*.[5] Schindler (*apud* Watkins 1987: 401) proposed to derive **kumma-* from PIE **k̂wen-* 'holy, sacred' (the source of Avestan *spənta 'holy'*) via **k̂wn̥-mo-* > **k̂unmo-*, but this is not of major importance for our current purposes.[6] What matters is that the analysis of *qmoλ* in Adiego (2019, 2020; followed by Simon 2022c: *s.v.*) has provided us with the first solid example of Carian *q* matching Luwic **ku* rather than **Hu*.

It is fair to say that this last idea is not new. Simon (2011: 545; see also 2017: 378) entertained that Carian *q* derived not just from **H* but also from **k* before **u*. In connection, he derived a hypothetical Carian clitic -*q* 'and' (C.Hy 1, C.Tr 2) from a Proto-Anatolian form *-*ku*, alongside Hittite -*kku*, Cuneiform Luwian -*ku*, and Palaic -*ku* 'and'. The problem with this proposal is that the existence of a Carian clitic -*q* is questionable. Not only the alleged example from C.Hy 1 (proposed in Adiego *et al*. 2005: 617) is now clearly a 'ghost word', but also the possible second instance on inscription C.Tr 2 is dubious: *an siδi artmi pauś parŋaq*[?]. As noted in Adiego (2007: 131, 289–290), the inscription is lost, and it is impossible to confirm that the last letter (Θ) is *q* Ⴔ and not *ś* Ⴓ, as suggested by Schürr (2001: 109, n. 12). Moreover, even if we assumed *parŋaq* is the correct reading, its interpretation would still be problematic. Despite the arguments of Kloekhorst (2008: 140–141), no independent evidence imposes the segmentation of *parŋa-q* and the identification of a clitic with the meaning 'and'. Conversely, the alternative *artmi pau-ś parŋa-ś*[?] would yield a typical Carian succesion of names in genitive form: 'Artmi, (son) of Pau, (son) of Parŋa' (cf. Adiego 2007: 290). This is the reason that

5. Or, less likely, **kummayall*(*i*)-.

6. Melchert (2012) cited this etymology approvingly, but the author informs us (personal communication) that in a forthcoming publication he proposes to derive Luwian *kumma-* 'pure, sacred' from a reconstructed form **k̂oub*^{h}*-mo-* < **k̂ub*^{h}- 'bright, white' (for the sense, compare Arm. *surb* 'pure').

we have not considered this very hypothetical Carian form *-q* here, and treat *qmoλ* as the first compelling example of Luwic **ku* > Carian *q*.

In Blümel and Adiego (1993: 94; see also Adiego 2007: 407) a tentative comparison was also made between Carian *qrds* (C.Ka 2; C.Ki 1) and Luwo-Hittite *gurta-* 'city, town'.[7] This suggestion is worth exploring further. The word *qrds* is relevant in the honorific inscription C.Ka 2 from Kaunos, where it occurs in the first line, as part of the phrase *qrds γrdso*[λ?]*i*[:

[*ui*?]*omλη qrds γrdso*[λ?]*i*[

The reconstruction offered here for broken *γrdso*[λ?]*i*[is based on *qrdsoλš*, which occurs in the eighth line of C.Ka 2. This *qrdsoλš*, likely a plural, is clearly derived from *qrds* by means of the suffix *-oλ-*, so that its basic sense is 'belonging to the *qrds*' or similar (Adiego 2007: 407).[8] As a result, *qrds γrdso*[λ?]*i*[appears to be a sort of *figura etymologica* (Adiego 2007: 301). Moreover, *qrds γrdso*[λ?]*i*[seems to have an 'institutional' meaning, with *qrds* likely standing for "a city institution, such as the assembly" (Adiego 2007: 301–302, 310). This notion is supported by the similarity of this first line of C.Ka2 with the beginning of the famous Carian-Greek bilingual found in the same city (C.Ka 5):

kbidn uiomλn… = ἔδοξε Καυν[ί]οις… "It seemed well to the Kaunians…"

Following this trail, Simon (2022d *s.v.*) has treated *qrds* as an example of Carian *q* < **k* before **u* and plausibly analyzes it as a derived form, whose components are cognate with Luwian **kurta-* */kurda-/ and the genitival adjective suffix *-aššа/i-*. Accordingly, the source of *qrds* emerges as a virtual Luwic form **kurdassa/i-* *'pertaining to the city'.

What we are missing, then, is additional contextual evidence to support the etymological link with Luwo-Hittite *gurta-* 'city' and the reconstruction of **kurdassa/i-*. This can be achieved by narrowing down the meaning of *qrds*, *qrdsoλš* and *γrdso*[λ?]*i*[. We may start with the observation that the first letter in the sequence *γrdso*[λ?]*i*[is 𐊧 (a variant of 𐊫). Until now, this letter was transcribed as *γ*

7. That *gurta-* existed in Luwian is strongly suggested by the form *gurtawanni* 'from *gurta-*' (see Simon 2022b *s.v.*), which bears the typical Luwian suffix *-wanni*, but in our opinion it is difficult to decide whether *gurta-* was borrowed from or into Hittite. For a recent treatment of *gurta-*, see also Simon (2022a: *s.v.*).

8. Followed by Simon (2022e *s.v.*), for whom the literal meaning should be 'pertaining to urban'.

as a mere convention, based on the comparison between Carian śu𐊫λiś (E.Me 30), likely an ethnic in the genitive, and the Anatolian placename Σουαγγελα. Thus, it was proposed in Adiego (2007: 251–252) that *γ* represents either a nasal + velar/uvular sequence of sounds, or a phoneme historically derived from it, such as the velar nasal /ŋ/. This notion can be supported, again by comparing the initial lines of C.Ka 2 and C.Ka 5:

C.Ka 2: [*ui*$^{?}$]*omλŋ* ***qrds γ****rdso*[*λ*$^{?}$]*i*[
C.Ka 5: ***kbidn*** *uiomλn* = ἔδοξε Καυν[ί]οις "It seemed well to the Kaunians"

The form *kbidn* in C.Ka 5 must be analyzed as *kbid-* 'Kaunos' (cf. Carian *kbdyns* = *kbd-yn-š* 'Kaunian-s' and Lycian *xbide* 'Kaunos') plus a grammatical ending *-n*. If we assume that the formulae in the two inscriptions are identical but their word order is reversed, then we can also suppose that [*ui*$^{?}$]*omλŋ qrds γ*… means "It seemed well to the *q*. (and?) *γ*…" (notice that C.Ka 2 does not use word dividers). We can further assume that the grammatical case is the same, and that ***qrds γ****rdso*[*λ*$^{?}$]*i*[reflects ****qrdsn q****rdso*[*λ*$^{?}$]*i*[, with sandhi. Thus, *γ* would spell the outcome of *q* in contact with a preceding nasal. We can also say more about the meaning of the sentence. It is tantalizing that in the Greek inscriptions from Hellenistic Caria, including Kaunos, the name of the inhabitants of the city who commissioned an honorific monument was often replaced by the names of two institutions in the very frequent opening formula: ἔδοξε τῆι **βουλῆι** καὶ τῶι **δήμωι** "It seemed well to the **city council** (***boulē***) and the **people** (***dēmos***)". We believe this expression is directly comparable to Carian [*ui*$^{?}$]*omλŋ* ***qrds γrdso***[***λ***$^{?}$]***i***[. Thus, *qrds* < **kurdassa/i-* can match the '(council) of the city', called *boulē* in Greek, and etymologically it would reflect the substantivization of an adjective. In turn, *qrdsoλ-š* may denote the 'citizens', understood as the '(members) of the *qrds* = city council' and used as a rough equivalent of Greek *dēmos* 'the people of a polity (with political agency)'. Not only does this shed new light on the Carian honorific inscriptions from Kaunos, but it also reinforces *qrds* as the second solid example of Carian *q* < Luwic **ku*.

We now have a more precise view of the origins of Carian *q*, and can avoid any temptation to automatically equate Carian 𐊬/𐊭 with Lycian 𐊗 and interpret both letters as labiovelars—even if they are both transcribed as <q> and occur in pairs of cognates like Carian *trq*(*u*)*δ-* / Lycian *Trqqñt-*. The situation is summarized in the following table:

Carian	Lycian / Milyan	Cuneiform Luwian	Proto-Luwic reconstruction	PIE reconstruction
q ***q***tblem tr***q(u)***δ-	*q* ***q***etbleimi- Tr***qq***ñt-/Tr***qq***as	*hu* ***hu***id/twal- Tar***hu***nt-	*H^w *$\boldsymbol{H^w}$itwalāimi- *Tr$\boldsymbol{H^w}$-n̥d-/Tr$\boldsymbol{H^w}$-a-nd	*h_2wV *$T_{\text{ʀ}}rh_2w$-ent-/ *$T_{\text{ʀ}}rh_2u$-nt-
q ***q***uq	*x* /k/ ***x***uga / ***x***uga	*h* ***h***ūha-	*H (before *u*) *$\boldsymbol{H}$uHa-	*h_2euh_2- / h_2uh_2
q ***q***mo- ***q***rds	*k* /c/ ***ku***ma-/***ku***ma-(?)	*k* ***ku***mma- ***gu***rta-	*k (before *u*) *$\boldsymbol{ku}$mma- *$\boldsymbol{ku}$rda- (?)	*$\hat{k}$wen-mo-/$\hat{k}$un-mo- (?) *$k^w{}_{\text{ʀ}}r$-to- (?)[9]

Table 1. Sources of Carian *q* and their divergent trajectories in Lycian

Table 1 shows that Carian *q* matches at least three different Lycian sounds. Notice that some scholars (for instance Norbruis 2022: 31) also accept **TrHu-nt* (< **T$_{\text{ʀ}}$rh$_2$u-nt-*) as a valid reconstruction of the source of Lycian *Trqqñt-*. Yet, no ambiguities arise if we assume that Lycian *q*(*q*) in *Trqqñt-* is the outcome of labialized **H^w*, but *xu* in *xuga* is the result of **Hu*. We can also accept that **TrH^w-n̥t-* yielded Pre-Carian **TrHund-* and Carian **Trq*(*u*)*δ-* with **H^w*C > **Hu*C, the same development we pose for *qtblem*. As an additional implication of this scenario, the interpretation of Lycian and Milyan *q* as a labialized velar */k^w/ becomes very economic.

Therefore, the data supports the view that Carian merged two sounds, **H* and **k*, before **u*, and that this merger was motivated by the back or rounded articulation of **u*. However, in theory this environment can favor both labialization and uvularization.[10] To understand which alternative fares better, we need to revisit the evidence for the synchronic value of Carian *q*.

9. It is worthwhile mentioning that Simon (2016: 196–197) recovers Sturtevant's (1933: 157) Indo-European etymology for *gurta-* 'city': **k$^w{}_{\text{ʀ}}$rtó-* 'cut off' (i.e. 'delimited') from PIE **k^{w}er-* 'cut'.

10. For instance, Ge'ez has labialized velars before round vowels in positions where its Semitic relatives have plain velar stops: cf. Ge'ez *k^{w}əll-* 'all' vs. Hebrew *kōl*, Arb. *kull-* 'id.'; *bak^{w}r* 'first-born' vs. Akkadian *bukru*, Hebrew *bəkōr*. Loanwords show that foreign sequences with plain velars received the same treatment: Ge'ez *k^{w}əryāḳ* < Greek Κυριακός; *ḳ^{w}ərbān* 'offering, Eucharist' < Syriac *ḳurbānā* (Kogan 2011: 82) As regards uvularization, the Castilian Spanish velar fricative /x/ can be pronounced uvular [χ] before a back vowel and the semivowel /w/ (Martínez Celdrán *et al*. 2003: 258). Additionally, *k, g* tend to have a back articulation before back vowels and /w/ in many languages, including Spanish (*cf*. Quilis 1993: 23).

§ 3. *The synchronic value of Carian q*

When Carian *q* is followed by a vowel or semivowel, it is mostly a back or 'rounded' (i.e. labial) sound, but there are exceptions: *a* (9x), *e* (2x), *i* (3x), *o* (7x), *u* (10x), *w* (1x), *y* (1x), and *ý* (2x). Here we present a list of all the relevant evidence:

- *q+a*: *mañšqara*T*śrλ*-?-[(C.St 2); *meýqak* (E.AS 8); *mqaba*(-)*ewl*º (E.Th 12); *qan* (E.Si 2); *qanor* (E.Th 34); *qarpsi-ś* (E.Me 36); *qarsio*[(E.Me 7); *niqauś* (E.Me 18); *šasqarioδ*º (C.Hy 1).
- *q+e*: *qebśτ* (E.Th 12); *rqemw* (E.Th 52)
- *q+i*: *beτkrqit*[(E.Si 5); *mlqi-ś* (E.Th 27); *šamsqi*[(E.Me 24)
- *q+o*: *ai*[-]*iqom* (E.AS 7); *plqo* (E.Me 40); *plqodse* (E.Th 52); *qorb* (E.xx 1); *qoτ₂omu* (C.Kr 1); *triqo* (E.Me 6);]*qo* (C.My 1)
- *q+u*: *dquq* (E.Th 44); *ḱiqud* (E.Si 1); *mýqudem* (E.AS 7); *quqś* (E.Me 17); *qurbo-ś* (E.Ab 10); *qutbe* (E.Th 8); *šrquq* (C.xx 1); *šrquq-ś* (E.Me 43, 44); *š*ʔ*rquq-ś* (E.Lu 2).
- *q+w*: *qwsal* (E.Th 12)
- *q+y*: *qyrbmuδolo* (C.Eu 2)
- *q+ý*: *qýblsiś* (E.Me 21); [*q*ʔ]*ybls* (C.Ki 1); *qýris* (E.Sa 2)

Thus, the sequences *qa*, *qo*, and *qu* are particularly productive. A priori, this data does not favor any of the two interpretations of Carian *q*: while *a*, *o*, and *u* are back vowels and may point to a uvular articulation of *q*, *o* and *u* are also rounded or labial vowels and may imply a labiovelar pronunciation. Notice that the productivity of *qa* might favor slightly the role of 'backness' (*a*, *o*, *u*) over 'roundedness' (*o*, *u*) in the development of *q*, but most of the forms with this sequence come from Egypt and are not necessarily Carian (see below). The Greek transcriptions of Carian names, based on the material collected in Adiego (2007), provide us with a starting point:

- *dquq* (E.Th 44), ***quq***- (E.Me 17) → Ιδα**γυγο**ς, **Γυγο**ς; cf. Hesychius' gloss **γυγαί** · πάπποι 'ancestors'
- *plqo* (E.Me 40) → Πελ(λ)ε**κω**ς — cf. also Πελε**ϙο**ς at Abu Simbel, in which Carian *q* matches Greek *qoppa* + o. This recalls the early Attic use of *qoppa* to write /k/ before back vowels (Woodard 2008: 16), especially because this letter derived from Phoenician *qop* <ḳ> or <q>, which represented a glottalized velar or, more likely, an uvular stop.

– *plе**q**-ś* (E.Me 30) → Πελδη**κο**ς
– ***q**laλi-* (E.Me 37; G 2) → **Κο**λαλδις, **Κυ**λαλδις
– ***q**tblem-ś* (C.xx1) → **Κο**τβελημος, **Κυ**τβελημις
– ***q**tblo* (E.Th 10) → **Κο**τοβαλως
– ***qý**blsiś* (E.Me 21) → **Κυ**βλισσεις
– *-yri**q**/-yri**ḱ*** (several) → -υρι**γο**ς
– *yr**q**so-ś* (C.My 1) → Υρ**γο**σως

Thus, Carian *q*, followed sometimes by back vowels or semivowels like *o, u*, and *ý*, is consistently transcribed with Greek κ/γ + ο/υ/ω. Unsurprisingly, γ is used when Carian *q* appears in intervocalic position or after a sonorant, both contexts favorable to a voiced allophone. The only exception is *quq-* ≈ Γυγος (cf. also γυγαί), in which some form of assimilation may have intervened. This picture has changed little since the same evidence was used in Adiego (2007: 244) to suggest a uvular pronunciation of *q*. However, we think it is more relevant than it has been considered so far, in that it is the same strategy employed by people who wrote in the Greek alphabet in Antiquity whenever they encountered foreign uvulars. Examples are not abundant, but there are some relevant instances of Semitic material in Greek transmission:

– **κου**λω = Punic ***q**l* 'his voice' (Krahmalkov 2015: 25, with ref.).
– Ια**κώ**β (Biblical personal name) = Tiberian Hebrew *Yaʿă**qō**b̲*.
– Greek Σαδδου**κ**αῖοι 'Sadducees' ← Hebrew *Ṣədūqīm* (or, rather, from the form *Ṣādō**q***).
– Greek σάκκος 'sackcloth' ← Semitic form akin to Akkadian *s/ša**qqu***, Ugaritic ***ṯq***, Old Aramaic *š**q***, and Hebrew *ś**q*** 'sack', etc. (see *DULAT*: 913).
– Greek **γά**βαθον 'cup, bowl' (Hesychius) and **κα**βαθα ~ **κό**βαθος 'a vessel' ← probably from a West-Semitic word related to Ugaritic ***q**bʕt* 'goblet', Hebrew ***qu**bbaʕat* 'cup', etc. (for the etymology, see Valério 2016: 262, n. 655; for the Semitic comparanda, see *DULAT*: 681, with refs.).

The rationale behind this strategy is obvious. The Greek alphabet did not have letters for uvular sounds, which were not part of the language's phonological in-

ventory. Hence, foreign /q/ was rendered with the letters corresponding to the velar stops /k/ or /g/, which are the closest Greek approximations.[11]

Crucially, this strategy is very different from the way Greek writers adapted foreign labiovelars:

- Lydian ***q****λdãn*- a divine name' → Hesychius' **κοα**λδδεῖν · Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα (with, Payne 2019[2020]: 181–182, now read as κοαλδδ<ᾶ>ν). For Lydian *q* as a labiovelar /k^{w}/, see Gérard (2005: 57).
- Latin ***Qua****dratus* PN → **Κουα**δράτου (Marek 2006: no. 134).
- Latin ***Qui****ntum* PN→ **Κόϊ**ντον (Dragon and Feissel 1987: no. 32).
- Latin ***quae****storia*→ **κυαι**στορείας (Sartre 1982: no. 9112).

These examples show that foreign /k^{w}/, especially before a vowel, was consistently rendered in alphabetical Greek with sequences of the type κ + ο/ου/υ + V. Such sequences are not found among Greek transcriptions of Carian names with *q*, with one exception:

- Κυατβης ← Carian *qutbe* PN (E.Th 8), not ****qatbe*(!)

However, this unique case need not mean that *q* was a labiovelar. Carian *qutbe* could reflect */qūtbē/ as a syncopated variant of */qú(w)atbē/, and Greek Κυατβης might render this unsyncopated form. It is worthwhile mentioning that foreign phonetic sequences of the type /K(u)wV/ (where K = 'tectal', i.e., any velar or post-velar obstruent) were rendered with κ/χ + ο/ου/υ + V in alphabetical Greek. At least two examples are known to us:

- Bactrian **χοα**ζαοαργο 'self-powerful, autocrat', written in a Greek-based script ← Iranian ****hwā́****-zawāraka*- (Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995–1996: 94).
- Greek **κύα**νος 'name of a dark-blue substance (enamel or blue copper carbonate)', which lacks an Indo-European etymology and is related to Hittite ***ku*(*wa*)***nna*(*n*)- 'copper (ore); ornamental piece' (see Puhvel 1997: 308–311; Beekes 2010: 793).

11. The rendering of a foreign voiceless uvular as a voiced velar stop seems trivial: cf. Portuguese and Spanish *guitarra* 'guitar' < Arabic *qīṯārah* (ultimately from Greek κιθάρα) (Corriente 2008: 320); and Greek βύρσα < *γύρσα 'bag, purse', probably from Semitic **qursa* (cf. Ugaritic *qrsů* 'fleece, skin, wineskin', Akkadian *gursanum* 'id'.; *DULAT*: 701), rather than directly from Hittite *kursa* 'fleece, hide'.

Thus, there is little difference in the spellings adopted in the transcription of labialized tectals and tectals followed by /uwV/ or /wV/. Accordingly, **Κυα**τβης could render either */**k**$^{\mathbf{w}}$**a**tbē/ or */**qú(w)a**tbē/ and is not necessarily a counter-example.[12]

From a bilingual inscription found at Saqqarah, in Egypt (E.Sa 1), we learn that the Carian personal name ***qýri-*** was rendered in the Egyptian script as ***Kʒrr***. The hieroglyph used in the transcription is *kʒ*, not *q*, but this is hardly surprising. Egyptologists have gathered evidence that after the late 2nd millennium BCE Egyptian *q*, probably a uvular stop /q/, merged with velar *k* and *g*. The merger yielded a single sound, /k/ or /k^{h}/ (Loprieno 1995: 15; Loprieno and Müller 2012: 107; cf. also Peust 1999: 107, 114, and Allen 2013: 51–52, 54). This is the reason that the biliteral hieroglyph *kʒ*, despite being a sign of the velar series, was also used in the spellings of words with etymological *q* during the 1st millennium BCE. What is more: in Late Egyptian *kʒ* was used in the spelling of loanwords from Greek where *k* was followed by back vowels (Vittmann 1996).[13] Thus, it would make sense if the Carian sound it rendered in *qýri- = Kʒrr* also had a back articulation.

If we now turn to the opposite kind of situation, that is, the use of Carian *q* to render foreign names, the Egyptian material again provides us with a telling piece of evidence:

Egyptian PN *Nj-**kʒ**w* ‘Necao’ → Carian *ni**qa**u-*; Greek Νε**κώ**ς, Νε**χα**ώ

The underlying form of this Egyptian name must be roughly */nik(^{h})αυ/ ~ */nik(^{h})ōw/, which also accounts well for the Greek adaptations. For the development [aw] > [ōw] in Late Egyptian, we may compare Demotic *mtww* /ṇtáw/ > Coptic ⲛⲧⲁⲩ / ⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩ / ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ‘independent 3rd plural pronoun’ (Allen 2013: 70).

12. In addition to a palatalized /k/ sound (Melchert 1994: 282), Lycian *q* has been interpreted as a labiovelar /k^{w}/ (Kloekhorst 2008: 125), and yet in no case does the Greek version of names written with Lycian *q*(*q*) show the sequence κ+ο/ου/υ+V: cf. ***Q**ñturahe/i* (attested as) → **Κο**νδορασις; *Tr**qq**ñt-* (divine name) → Τρο**κο**νδας (personal name); *Urta**qi**(ja)* ~ Ορτα**κι**ας; *Zis**qqa*** ~ Σεσ**κω**ς (for the forms see Melchert 2004). However, we also reject these as counterexamples due to a sum of factors: (1) the interpretation of Lycian *q* is not definitive; (2) some of the names may be Lycian transcriptions of foreign names (e.g., *Zisqqa* ~ Σεσκως, a clear Carian name); and (3) some other names might be exemples of consonant clusters where the alleged Lycian labiovelar is not followed by a vowel (***Q**ñturahe/i* → **Κο**νδορασις and *Tr**qq**ñt-* (divine name) → Τρο**κο**νδας) and the Greek vowel could have been inserted as a reflex of the labial trait of /k^{w}/ and to avoid a consonant group that was prohibited in the Hellenic language (-κνδ-).

13. In this regard, it is interesting that the hieroglyph *kʒ* represented foreign *ku* in the so-called Egyptian ‘group writing’ spellings (Kilani 2019: 149).

More importantly, there is no labiovelar /k^{w}/ nor velar + /wV/ in *Nj-kʒw*, so the Carian spelling *niqau* is another indication that *q* was not a labiovelar sound. Conversely, *niqau* may support the uvular hypothesis: if Late Egyptian /k(^{h})/ was realized as back [k̠(^{h})] or even [q(^{h})] before diphthongs like /ɑʊ/ ~ /ōw/, then the Carians may have captured that phonic nuance. To put it differently: two Egyptian allophones, [k] and [q], could be perceived as dictint phonemes in the target language (Carian) if in the latter they contrasted.

In passing, we should also note the personal name Egyptian *Nj.t-jqr.tj* → Carian *ntokris*, which does not pose any obstacle. Here, we may simply have a late Egyptian velar sound spelled with *q*, which was rendered directly in Carian as *k* /k/.

The last (though admittedly circumstantial) piece of evidence is *kuka*^{o}, the Lydian form of Gyges (Greek Γύγης, Neo-Assyrian Akkadian *Gug*(*g*)*u*), the name of a renowned king of Lydia. This form is attested on Lydian coins in the phrase *kukalim* (*kuka=li=m*), presumably 'I am of Gyges' (Browne 2000). Based on historical and linguistic arguments (see the recent synthesis in Valério and Yakubovich 2022: 348–349), it has been proposed that this historical character was of Carian origin and bore a Carian name. What is interesting about *kuka*^{o} is that it is written with the Lydian letter *k*, almost certainly a velar stop, and not *q*, most probably a labiovelar /k^{w}/ (see above). Thus, if *kuka*^{o} were really the Lydian adaptation of a name akin to Carian *quq-* (→ Greek -γυγ-), then it would square well with the notion that Carian *q* does not conceal a labialized sound.

There is one last potential obstacle to the uvular interpretation of *q* that we should consider. There are 16 instances of *q* followed by a vowel or semivowel other than *o, u, w*. They include *y* and *ý*, which, according to the interpretation in Adiego (2007: 237), may represent a front 'rounded' sound:

(1) *mañšqara*H*śrλ*-?-[(C.St 2)
(2) *meýqak* (E.AS 8)
(3) *mqaba*(-)*ewl*^{o} (E.Th 12)
(4) *qan* (E.Si 2)
(5) *qanor* (E.Th 34)
(6) *qarpsi-ś* (E.Me 36)
(7) *qarsio*[(E.Me 7)
(8) *šasqarioδ*^{o} (C.Hy 1)
(9) *qebśτ* (E.Th 12)
(10) *rqemw* (E.Th 52)
(11) *beτkrqit*[(E.Si 5)
(12) *mlqi-ś* (E.Th 27)
(13) *šamsqi*[(E.Me 24)

(14) *qyrbmuδolo* (C.Eu 2)
(15) *qýblsiś* (E.Me 21) – cf. Greek Κυβλισσεις
(16) *qýris* (E.Sa 2)

We address first the cases (1–13). Seen from a diachronic perspective, sequences like *qa*, *qe*, *qi* could contradict the idea that *q* is the outcome of Luwic **H* and **k* before *u*, the favorable context for the uvular interpretation. However, at the synchronic level, none of these words is automatically a counterexample. First, some could be transcriptions of yet unidentified Egyptian names or loanwords, as 11 out of 13 occur in inscriptions from Egypt. Thus, in some of these sequences (3, 4, 5, 7, 9) Carian *q* might render an Egyptian uvular allophone before *a* (like *niqau-* ← *Nj-kꜣw*, as per above). Second, other sequences might reflect incomplete or incorrect segmentations of words, so that *q* could actually be separated from the following vowel by a morpheme or word boundary. Third, we cannot exclude the possibility of incorrect epigraphic readings (the Carian letter *q* may sometimes be hard to distinguish from *ś*, as we have seen), especially as some of the inscriptions from Egypt lack detailed editions (Abydos, Thebes, Silsilis, cf. Adiego 2007: 79, 95, 110). Whether these three kinds of situation can explain away all forms in the list is difficult to say at present, but they are sufficient to cast doubt on their status as obstacles to the uvular interpretation of *q*.

Cases (14–16) need to be considered separately. One of us has proposed that Carian *y* and *ý* can represent /y/ and its corresponding semivowel-/ɥ/, noting that *y* renders Greek υ in the Kaunos bilingual (cf. *lysiklas* and *lysikatras* ← Λυσικλέους and Λυσικλέα) (Adiego 2007: 237).

If the articulation of *y*/*ý* was more fronted, then this would place the *q* of *qyrbmuδolo*, *qýblsiś* and *qýris* in contexts adverse for uvularization. In fact, their 'rounded' nature would be favorable to labialization. Not all contexts where *y* and *ý* emerged are clear due to limited evidence,[14] but there is at least strong indication that one of them was /u(:)/ or /w/ in the vicinity of /i/ or /j/ (Adiego 2007: 257). Thus, the ethnic suffix *-yn-* / *-ýn-* (cf. e.g. *kbdyn-ś* 'Kaunians') compares well with Luwian *-wanni-* and Milyan *-wñni-*, and its Luwic source is likely **-wanni-*. Other examples seem to support this view, even if the etymologies remain uncertain: cf. the onomastic components *-ýdḱ-* / *ýdiq* and *-yriḱ-* / *-yriq*, as well as the interchan-

14. Melchert (2021) has proposed that Carian *y*/*ý* emerged as an unconditioned change from a Proto-Luwic /u/ (spelled <ú> in Cuneiform Luwian) different from Proto-Luwic /o/ (spelled <u> in Cuneiform Luwian). This proposal might account for some Carian forms, but it merits to be analyzed in more detail elsewhere, and in any case it does not preclude the possibility that other instances of /y/ arose as conditioned changes in Carian (e. g. by metaphony, as suggested here).

ging *yomλn* / *uiomλn*. This suggests *Umlaut*, in analogy with the shift *a* > *e* seen in Carian *en-* 'mother' (< **anni-*) and *ted-* 'father' (< **tadi-*). If this view is correct, then the few examples of *qy*º / *qý*º are no obstacle for the uvular interpretation of *q*, as it all becomes a matter of relative chronology: */qu/ and */qwV/ would have shifted to /qy/ or /qɥ/ at a time when the consonant was already a uvular.

§ 4. *Conclusion*

At the beginning of this essay, we formulated two questions that are intertwined but must be addressed independently: (1) what Luwic sound or sounds yielded Carian *q*? And (2) what was the synchronic phonological value of Carian *q*? From our analysis the following has emerged:

(1) We have corroborated that **Hu* (including probable instances from **Hw*(V)C) and **ku* were likely the two main sources of Carian *q*. This implies a merger of Proto-Luwic **k* /k/ and **H*, whatever this last sound was, before *u*, a back rounded vowel. This vowel was likely the trigger for the merger. But was this a process of labialization due to the 'rounded' nature of the vowel, or uvularization owing to its back articulation?

(2) After revisiting the synchronic data stemming from the transcriptions of names, into or from Carian, we have found that they are not consistent with a labiovelar sound, and there is only one suspicious exception (Κυατβης ← Carian *qutbe*). Conversely, they align well with the uvular interpretation of *q*.

The corollary to these conclusions is that Kloekhorst's interpretation of Luwic **H* as a uvular stop /q/ presents the most economical scenario in terms of historical development: */k/ merged with */q/ (at least) before */u/ in Carian. This also implies that elsewhere Luwic **H* /q/ was de-uvularized, becoming Carian *k* /k/, as seen e.g. in *kδou-* 'king, ruler' from */Handawa-/. What remains very uncertain due to the lack of evidence is the fate of Luwic */k/ in Carian. Did it shift to *k̂*, possibly a palatal stop /c/? So far, we only have evidence that Luwic **k*^{w} yielded Carian *k̂* before *i* (cf. the Carian relative pronoun *k̂i* vis-à-vis Hittite and Luwian *kuis*, Lycian *ti*, and Milyan *ki*; Adiego 2007: 259, 320). This question is out of the scope of this paper and would require separate investigation.

There are also ramifications for Lycian phonology. As we have seen, the different paths of Luwic **H*^{w} /q^{w}/ and **Hu* /qu/ can be interpreted in the following terms: while **H* /q/ became Lycian χ /k/, even before */u/ (hence **HuHa-* > *χuga*), **H*^{w} /q^{w}/ may have retained the labial trait by evolving into a labiovelar /k^{w}/ (hence

**TrH^{w}n̥t- > Trqqñt-*). This, again, agrees well with Kloekhorst's formulation. The same development is possible for Milyan *qetbeleimi-* < **Hwitwalāimi-* as well.

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